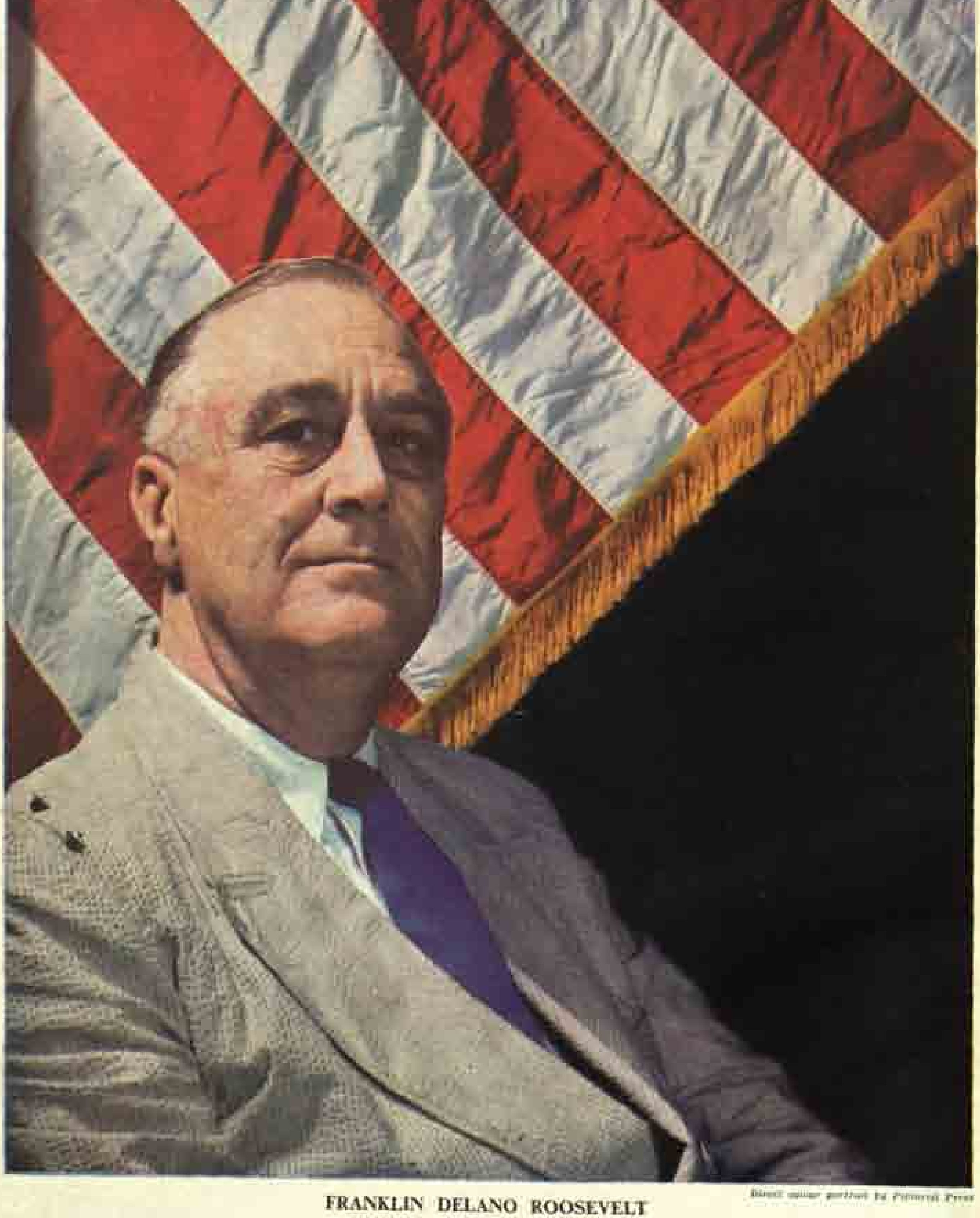
Vol. 5



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Frontis.

THE SECOND GREAT WAR

A Standard History

Edited by

SIR JOHN HAMMERTON

Editor of The Great War, World War 1914–18, Europe's Fight for Freedom, etc.

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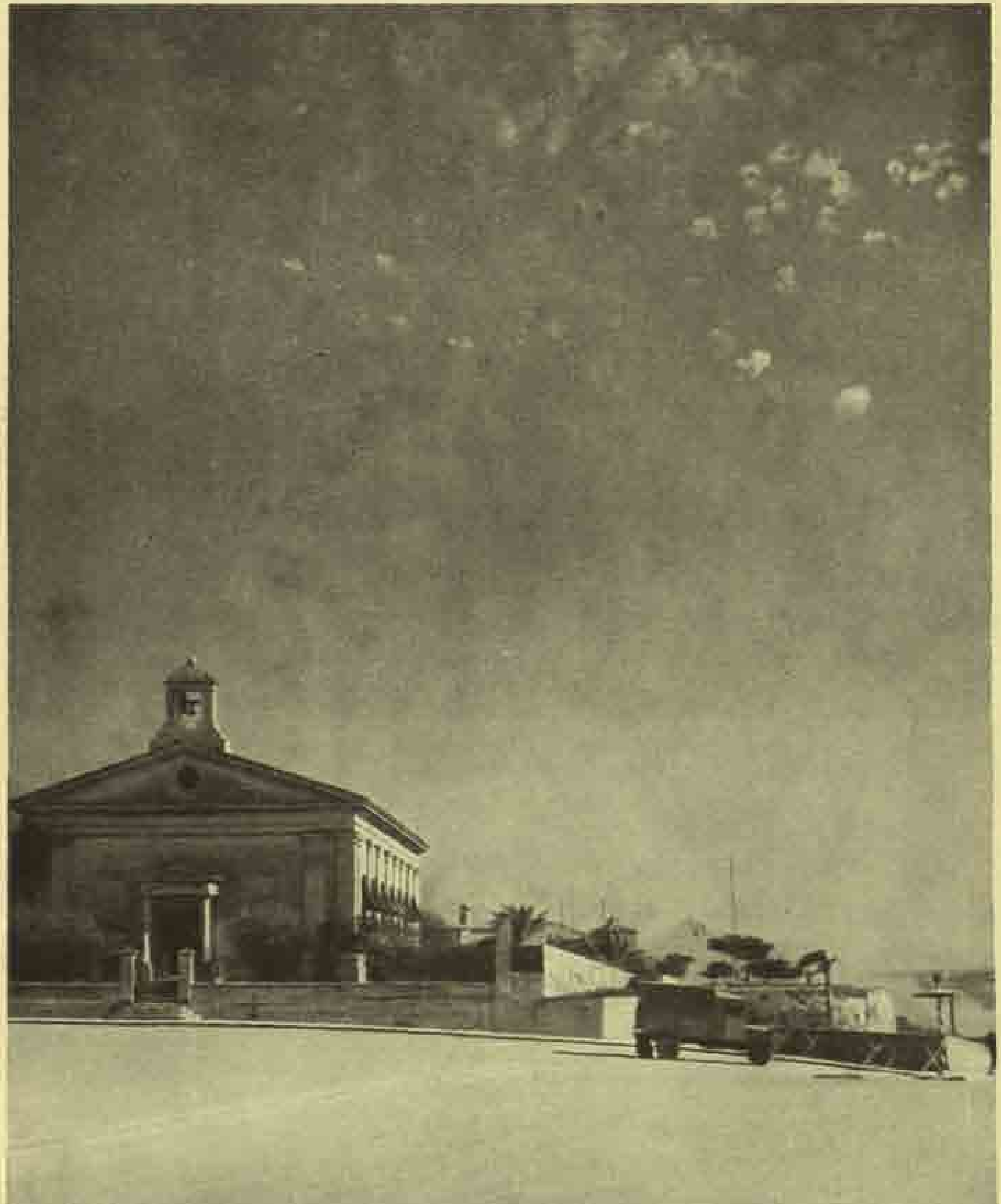
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MALTA'S 'UMBRELLA' BARRAGE WHICH FOILED AXIS RAIDERS

Taken during Malta's 243rd air raid, in June, 1941, this photograph reveals one of the island's most potent defences—a tremendous barrage of A.A. shell which boxed in German or Italian bombers as they strove to penetrate to vital points. Bursts of smoke from scores of projectiles can be seen in the sky. Rising to a climax of fury at intervals, the raids went on day by day, and averaged two per twenty-four hours.

Photo, Associated Press



GALLANT TOBRUK GARRISON HONOURS ITS DEAD

This worthy and imposing memorial was erected within the Tobruk perimeter to honour the dead heroes who fell in its defence and in the brilliant sorties which were such a plague to the investing Axis forces. Built by Royal Australian Engineers, it was dedicated by Major-General D. M. Morshead, himself an Australian. Here, after the unveiling, a British and an Australian soldier stand at the salute. The inscription reads: 'This is hallowed ground, for here lie those who died for their country.'

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Chapter 160

THE MEDITERRANEAN OUTPOSTS OF MALTA, GIBRALTAR AND CYPRUS

Navy, Army and Air Force Chiefs at Malta—Life Under Constant Air Attack—Torpedo Attack on Valetta, July 26, 1941—Luftwaffe's Offensive from Sicily: The Assault on H.M.S. 'Illustrious'—Malta Hits Back—The 1,000th and 2,000 Alerts—George Cross for Malta—French Raid on Gibraltar, Sept. 25, 1940—Italian Torpedo Attack, Sept. 20, 1940—Lord Gort Takes Command—The Position in Cyprus

Up to the moment of Italy's jackal-like entry into the war Gibraltar and Malta, the powerful and supremely important British naval bases in the Mediterranean, had been fairly quiet. Preparations were made, of course, but neither Nazi ships nor Nazi aircraft gave any trouble, so life in these island fortresses went on as usual. When Mussolini, on June 10, 1940, dragged the Italian people into the conflict, the whole aspect of affairs in the Mediterranean changed. Within twelve hours of the Duce's declaration Italian aircraft were bombarding Malta, and thenceforward the island (half the size of the Isle of Wight) was continually raided.

The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the island was at first Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, and when ill health compelled him to relinquish his duties they were taken over (May, 1941) by the Acting Governor, Major- (later Lieut.-) General Sir William Dobbie. The Lieutenant-Governor was Sir E. Jackson. The Naval chief was Vice-Admiral Sir W. Ford, who was succeeded in January, 1942, by Vice-Admiral Sir Ralph Leatham as Flag Officer in charge. Malta's military forces were under Lieut.-Gen. D. M. W. Beak, V.C., D.S.O. (appointed General Officer Commanding). R.A.F. squadrons, which did such magnificent work against the enemy, came under the Mediterranean Command, of which the A.O.C. was at first Air Vice-Marshal A. C. Maynard and later Air Vice-Marshal H. P. Lloyd (appointed in June, 1941). In May, 1942, after two years of onerous service in this battered outpost of Britain, Sir William Dobbie came home on retirement, and was succeeded by Lord Gort, from Gibraltar.

Up to the middle of March, 1942, there had been some 1,300 attacks from the air, an average of more than two every twenty-four hours. Yet, according to General Beak, the effect was not comparable in violence or damage with that of the raids on London or other cities in Britain, such as Coventry or Plymouth. Buildings and homes, being of stone, could not be easily destroyed, and it was possible for the population to be dispersed quickly over 90 square miles and to take shelter in rock tunnels.

The rock can be worked without much difficulty, yet has good power of resistance. Very few places could be better off for shelters from air raids. In the long underground corridors bunks were provided, and many made a regular practice of sleeping every night in them. As soon as the All Clear signal went, shelterers hurried up to the surface and resumed their ordinary life. Inevitably the raids, occurring almost daily, had an effect on many people's nerves, but protests were made against the islanders being regarded as the victims of "terrible conditions and unrelieved strain." In many ways life was carried on as usual. There were even, in the words of the Lieut.-Governor, Sir E. Jackson, "very attractive little parties, gatherings of fashionably dressed women." More important, the farming on which the food supply of the people mainly depended was kept going.

Yet, although well fed and well sheltered from the bomb attacks, the Maltese existed in a state of perpetual peril, and the resolute courage they showed stirred the admiration of the world. King George VI became Colonel-in-Chief of the Maltese Artillery; Mr. Churchill spoke of the "magnificent and ever-memorable defence of the heroic garrison," and the British Government contributed one million pounds to the Malta Relief Fund, to which the Navy, the Dominions, the United States and Egypt gave generously. Admiral Cunningham, commanding in the Mediterranean, congratulated people and garrison on the gallantry they showed and the undaunted spirit which enabled them to fight back with such vigour that the enemy "found it well to keep his distance." This hardly applied to aircraft, but it described the naval situation correctly. After one attempt to penetrate the harbour of Valetta on July 26, 1941, the Italians held discreetly aloof. On that occasion they used E-boats and one-man torpedo-craft.

The latter craft were described by Sir E. Jackson as small, narrow motor-boats with the explosive in the bow. The navigator had a high seat in the stern. He approached his target at full speed and after aiming the boat carefully pulled a lever which jerked him backwards, seat and all, into the sea. The seat could then be used as a raft, but there was not much chance of escape. All the vessels which attacked at Valetta were destroyed

MALTA AND GIBRALTAR CONTROL THE WEST MEDITERRANEAN

Gibraltar, at the western gate of the Mediterranean, came into British hands in 1704, when it was taken by a combined British and Dutch force. Malta was ruled by the Knights of St. John from 1530 to 1798, when Napoleon captured the island. In 1814 it became a British possession. Only about 60 miles from Sicily, it has been in the battle front throughout the conflict, and from its aerodromes the R.A.F. have waged war against the Regia Aeronautica and the Luftwaffe.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Harris*





FOUR LEADERS AT THE MALTA OUTPOST

Lieut.-General Sir William Dobbie, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O. (above, left), became Governor of Malta in 1941, after about a year as Acting Governor. The troops were under the command of Maj.-General D. M. W. Beak, V.C., D.S.O. (above, right). (Below, left) Vice-Admiral Sir Ralph Leatham, who, before his appointment as Flag Officer in charge of Malta (January, 1942), was C.-in-C., East India Station. Air Vice-Marshal H. P. Lloyd, C.B.E. (below, right), A.O.C.-in-C., Mediterranean, was appointed in June, 1941.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Vandyk; Sport & General



either by shore batteries or by aircraft. The Italians failed as completely on the water as they had done in the air.

Italian airmen called Malta "the devil's island" because of its effective anti-aircraft defences and the bold efficiency of its fighter planes. An Italian radio commentator described it as "a colossal and unsinkable aircraft carrier." Only when German bombers with fighter escort were raiding the island from airfields in Sicily did the population in general consider themselves to be in danger. Heavy Nazi attacks were made during the earlier months of 1941. The aircraft carrier "Illustrious" was then at Malta and the most desperate efforts were made to destroy it (see Chapter 154). The "Illustrious" had been pursued into Malta harbour on January 9, but beat off the Stukas; on the 18th there began a series of heavy attacks on the harbour. The enemy lost nearly forty machines on Jan. 20, and on February 9 Mr. Churchill told Britain that more than ninety had been destroyed over Malta or at their Sicilian bases.

Withdrawn in the early summer for the opening of the Russian campaign, the Germans returned at the end of the year. On Nov. 30 the island had its 1,000th alert. During December, 1941, and the first half of January, 1942, there were as many as 250 raids, and in March they became even more formidable. The fact that forty enemy machines were brought down or damaged in the first nine days of the month indicates the number employed. But it was not only in warding off the enemy that the R.A.F. excelled. As the Minister for Air, Sir A. Sinclair, put it, "alike in attack and defence they kept their mastery over the German and Italian air forces, a brilliant achievement which nothing in the stirring history of the island surpassed." They kept the sea lanes open for British shipping; they made them very risky for enemy vessels. Being so much nearer to Italy's vital centres than airmen at any other British base, they were able to inflict severe damage on Naples and Sicily at frequent intervals.

The battle for Malta went on with periods of comparative quiet which were broken again by furious bursts of Axis activity. Steadily the strength of the defence was built up until by early summer of 1942 the R.A.F. had achieved parity with the enemy—and our fighter pilots were destroying 112 raiders in a single week-end. On April 16, 1942, H.M. The King awarded the George Cross to Malta.

On May 8, 1942, Malta had its 2,300th air-raid alert, and a few days later Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore told for the first time some remarkable facts about the early days of the island's battle with Axis raiders. It had been thought that the operation of any aircraft, even fighter defence, from Malta would be out of the question because of the close proximity to Sicily. There were no aircraft on the island when Italy entered the war, and only Air Vice-Marshal Maynard and a nucleus of R.A.F. officers remained. Incensed by Italian bombers cruising leisurely overhead, these officers searched the dockyard and found some packing cases in which were parts of Gladiators: four of these fighters were assembled, and after a few practice flights the pilots took off on real business and met with immediate success against the next lot of Italians to come over the island outpost.

Position at Gibraltar

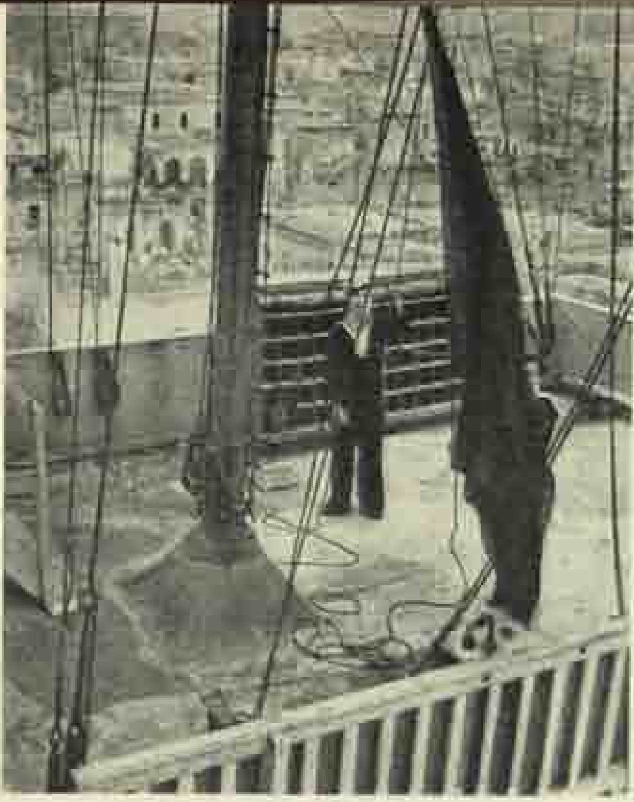
Gibraltar, at the other end of the Mediterranean, did not have to go through the same ordeal as Malta. It was too far away from Italy to be bombed by Mussolini's air force. The only serious raid was actually the work of French aircraft, which dropped bombs on Sept. 25, 1940, as a reprisal for the British Navy's action against French ships at Dakar. Some houses and other buildings were damaged and one small ship



GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR, APRIL, 1941-MAY, 1942

Lord Gort, here seen congratulating winners in a storm-platoon competition at the Rock, left Gibraltar on May 8, 1942, to become Governor of Malta.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





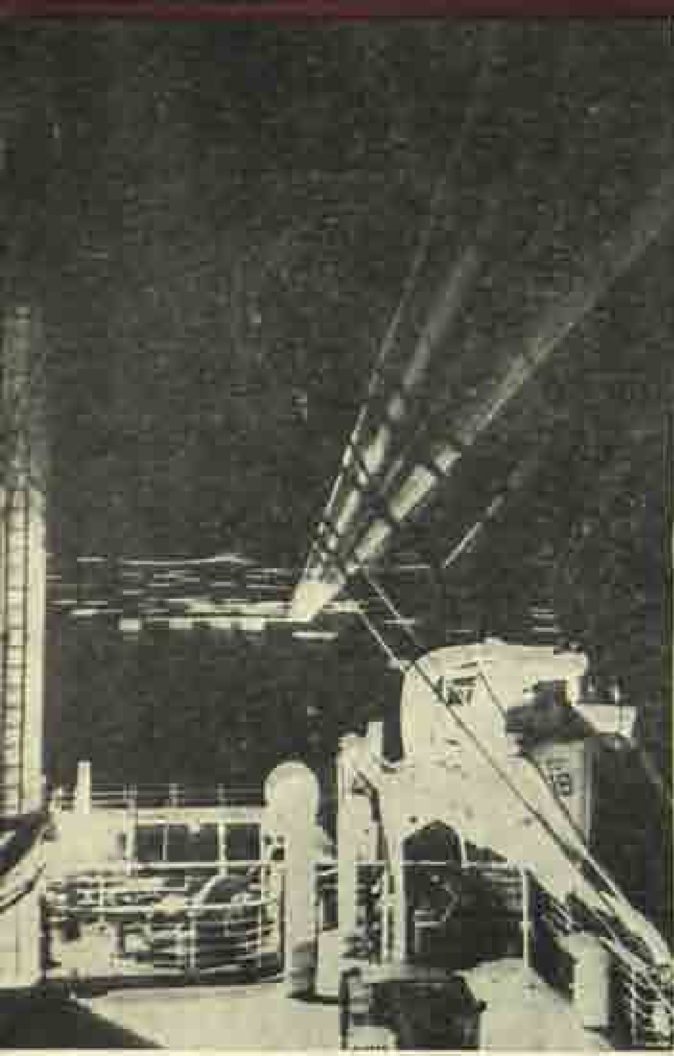


AIR RAID SCENES IN ISLAND CITADEL

By Nov. 30, 1941, there had been 1,000, and by April 7, 1942, 2,000 air alerts at Malta. Sometimes the red warning flag (seen being hoisted, top, left) was flown for hours. Top, right, one of thirty underground galleries used as raid shelters. A scene during a raid in December, 1941, is shown below, with bombs bursting in the harbour waters. British bombers operating from Malta hit back most vigorously, and in November alone they dropped over a million bombs on enemy targets. One of our Hurricanes is seen refuelling in centre, left.

British Official: Crown Copyright; Planet News





WESTERN GATEWAY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Left-hand lower photograph was taken from Gibraltar, looking northwards towards the Spanish town of La Linea—separated by a neutral strip from the British boundary. Just within the latter is the airfield in the former racecourse. Top, left, searchlights probe the sky for enemy aircraft. Top, right, a Coastal Command Catalina takes on bombs. Lower, right, guarding an ammunition store within the Rock.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone; Topical Press









ON GUARD IN THE BRITISH COLONY OF CYPRUS

After the fall of Crete Cyprus became increasingly important as a Mediterranean outpost. Ceded to Britain for administrative purposes by Turkey in 1878, it was annexed in 1914 and made a British Colony eleven years later. The photograph shows a look-out post manned by units of the Cyprus Regiment (Cypriots).

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

sunk, but most of the explosives fell in the sea or on bare rock and did no harm.

From the date of the crumpling of the French resistance (May 21, 1940) the evacuation of women and children from Gibraltar began as a precautionary measure, and this was extended to civilians generally who were not directly concerned with defence. All who remained were subject, from August 29, 1940, to compulsory military service, if between the ages of 18 and 41. Every effort was made to render the place impregnable against attack by land or sea. Attack from the air was less to be feared, since the nature of the Rock was in itself defensive, and below the surface there were ten miles of tunnels, where 20,000 men could not merely shelter but could live; where vast quantities of stores had been accumulated; and where concealed guns and searchlights could be worked as effectively as if they had been in the open. These searchlights had a range of eight miles.

Three zones of defence were in existence; one was against land attack from Spain; the second protected the harbour, docks and seaplane base; the third covered the interior of the fortress. From 1939 onwards these zones were worked on continuously, and by the summer of 1940 they were five times as strong as they had been before the war. When Lord Gort (formerly commanding the B.E.F. in France and after that Inspector-General of Training in the U.K.) was sent to Gibraltar on April 25, 1941, as governor and commander-in-chief, exchanging places with Gen. Liddell, he found it in as good a state of preparedness as could be attained. How well the harbour was guarded had been proved on September 20, 1940, when Italian "Grasshopper" torpedo-boats of the same type as those used in the futile raid at Valetta were employed. Claims were put out by Rome radio that these had done great damage, sinking one vessel of 12,000 tons, four of 6,000 each, and a 10,000-ton tanker. The British Admiralty described this statement as "grossly exaggerated" and reported that one coal hulk had been sent to the bottom.

Cyprus, the third British Mediterranean outpost, with Turkey to the north of it and Syria to the east, had little to do with war beyond paying income tax for the first time in history, with heavier duties on tobacco, spirits and beer, and subscribing a sum of £2,500 towards a 'Plane Fund. This was not a large amount in itself, but better than it seemed when one considered that the annual Budget of the island came to no more than £50,000. Regulations were made for the arrest and internment of Fifth Columnists who might try to help Italy, and there was strict control of photographic cameras, wireless and propaganda. Otherwise Cyprus went on as usual. It proved a convenient half-way house for a meeting between the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Sarajoglu, and Mr. Anthony Eden, on March 18, 1941.

After the fall of Crete there were fears that the island would be the next objective of the Nazi air forces. Obviously it was in an important strategical position in relation to Turkey, Syria and Egypt, and its defences were enlarged. But the time was not ripe for any development of German plans in this part of the Middle East and no action followed.

ITALIAN BOMBS ON HAIFA

The modern town of Haifa, on the Bay of Acre in Palestine, was built by Jewish pioneers and has a population of about 100,000. This photograph, looking down from Mount Carmel, was taken during an Italian bombing raid early in 1941, and shows an oil storage tank ablaze.

Photo, Keystone



Chapter 161

ROMMEL'S ADVANCE IN LIBYA AND THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

German Afrika Korps in Libya: The Clash at El Agheila—We Withdraw from Benghazi, April 3, 1941—Capture of Three British Generals—Rommel's Swift Drive to the Egyptian Frontier—Tobruk Remains as a Spearhead Against the Enemy Flank—Italo-Germans Checked on the Frontier—British Offensives in May—The Lull

(The Defence of Tobruk is described in Chapter 162)

For some six weeks after Feb. 9, 1941, when the Army of the Nile occupied El Agheila, 175 miles S.W. of Benghazi, there was no change in the Libyan situation. At El Agheila the conquerors came to a halt, and there were many far away from the battle-front and not too well acquainted with the difficulties and the possibilities of the situation who girded at General Wavell for not exploiting his victory to the utmost by pushing on to Tripoli and so clearing the enemy out of North Africa altogether. But in fact there were reasons enough for calling a halt on the borders of Tripolitania. One reason stands out: the fact that many of General Maitland Wilson's best troops and a large proportion of his armoured strength had gone with him to Greece.

Such a diminution of strength could not be hidden for long from the Axis commanders in Libya, and as soon as it was suspected they hastened to profit by it. Towards the middle of March there came reports from Berlin of the activities of an "Afrika Korps" under the command of General Rommel, and on March 24 a small enemy detachment had occupied El Agheila. This force consisted of mechanized units of mixed Italo-German composition, well supplied with tanks and dive-bombers. Apparently the Germans had landed at Tripoli or at points in the Gulf of Sirte; and there were strong suspicions that this had been done with the connivance of the Vichy-French authorities in Tunis. It was significant that as early as March 23 the R.A.F. had bombed shipping at Sirte, among their targets being transports which may well have brought over the Germans from Sicily; and from the night of March 24 Tripoli was a constant target for British bombers for several weeks.

Withdrawing before the enemy's advance, the British patrols moved back along the road to Benghazi, and on April 3 Cairo announced that the Libyan capital had been evacuated.

"In the face of a determined advance by strong Italo-German forces," read the communiqué issued the next morning, "and in pursuance of the policy so successfully adopted at Sidi Barrani of waiting to choose our own battlefield, our light covering detachments have been withdrawn to selected concentrated areas. In the course of this withdrawal the town of Benghazi has been evacuated after all military stores and equipment had been destroyed. Benghazi is indefensible from the military point of view, and it has not been used by us as a port. As in the autumn of 1940, the enemy is evidently seeking a propaganda success at the expense of stretching still farther an already extended line of communication. In their withdrawal our troops have already inflicted on the enemy considerable casualties in personnel and in tanks."

A British official spokesman in Cairo did his best to minimize the importance of the withdrawal. In desert warfare, he pointed out, it was not the policy to capture towns but to prevent armies being scooped up, as Marshal Graziani's Italian army had been by General Wavell. The British would fight on a battlefield of their own choosing, and the enemy would be allowed to penetrate eastwards until he reached a point where battle could be given with the assurance of success. In what the spokesman described as "worthless desert wastes" the object was to punish the enemy by inflicting the greatest possible damage to his men and material with the ultimate object of wearing him down. And that we were doing, since many casualties had been inflicted on the enemy, whereas ours were slight. Moreover, Benghazi was useless to either side. . . .

Cairo Spokesman's Version

All the same, the news of Benghazi's fall came as a bitter pill, and it was noted that the military spokesman's comfortable words were hardly echoed by Mr. Churchill. In the House of Commons on April 9 the Prime Minister gave a review of the war situation in which he admitted that, although our submarines and aircraft had taken a heavy toll of the transports carrying German



COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF GERMAN AFRIKA KORPS

In March, 1941, it became known that Major-General Erich Rommel, who had commanded a division in France, was at the head of a special corps of Germans trained and equipped for desert fighting. They had been landed at Tripoli, and first came into touch with our forces at El Agheila later in the month. Here Rommel (left) is seen during a journey of inspection in Libya.

Photo, Associated Press





TRIPOLI, WHERE AXIS REINFORCEMENTS WERE LANDED

The seaport capital of Libya, Tripoli unfortunately was not taken from the Italians in the first British campaign and proved invaluable to the enemy later. Top, a light anti-aircraft gun defending Tripoli harbour, manned by units of the German Afrika Korps. Beneath is seen a blazing tanker outside the harbour, set on fire by bombs from one of our Blenheims

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press

troops and vehicles, the enemy had built up strong armoured forces on the African shore. "With these forces they have made a rapid attack in greater strength than our commanders expected at so early a date, and we have fallen back upon stronger positions and more defensible country."

The next day the War Office gave some particulars of the withdrawal from Benghazi. During its course—it lasted several days—a number of casualties had been inflicted on the pursuers, but, on the other hand, such was the fluid state of the front, a number of prisoners had fallen into the enemy's hands. The German claim to have captured some 2,000 British was stated to be not impossible, and it was admitted that among them were three generals, whose capture was "sheer bad luck": Lt.-Gen. Sir Richard O'Connor (who was in command of the armoured divisions of the Army of the Nile in their triumphant march through Cyrenaica a few weeks earlier), with Lt.-Gen. Neame, V.C., fell into the "bag" at Marwa, while Maj.-Gen. M. D. Gambier Parry was captured at Mekili. About the same time yet another British commander, Maj.-Gen. Carton de Wiart, V.C., was captured in Cyrenaica while flying from Britain to the Middle East.

Benghazi was but one stage in the enemy's advance. On April 7, four days after Benghazi's fall, Derna was entered by the Italo-Germans; on April 12 they claimed to have occupied Bardia after they had by-passed Tobruk, and on April 14 they were reported in Fort Capuzzo. From there it was but a step into Egypt, and within a day or two German patrols clashed with British on Egyptian soil. Thus in little more than a fortnight practically all Wavell's territorial conquests had been wiped out; and the threat to Egypt and the Suez Canal, which Mr. Churchill had so recently declared was completely banished, was once again all too manifest. Yet many of the strategic results of Wavell's victories remained. The masses of prisoners and great accumulations of material captured could not easily be replaced. The R.A.F. maintained its supremacy in the air and continually harassed Rommel's advancing columns and his communications. Moreover, Tobruk had not been



BRITISH GENERALS CAPTURED IN THE DESERT

Sent from Berlin to New York by radio and thence to London, this photograph shows (left to right) Lieut.-General P. Neame, Lieut.-General Sir Richard O'Connor and Major-General M. D. Gambier Parry, prisoners in Italian hands. During the British withdrawal from Benghazi Generals Neame and O'Connor were making their way to new H.Q. on April 4, 1941, when, some 16 miles from Derna, on making a detour they ran into an enemy motor-cycle patrol and were captured. General Gambier Parry was taken prisoner about this same period at Mekili.

Photo, Associated Press

abandoned and effectually limited the size of the force which could by-pass it.

The decision to hold Tobruk, whose defences had been of so little value to the Italians, was as bold as it was to prove important, for the garrison available was none too strong to hold the 30 miles of its perimeter.

Speaking in the House of Commons on April 27, the Prime Minister, after referring to the disasters which had just occurred to the Allied arms in the Balkans, went on to describe the "vexatious and damaging defeat" sustained in Libya.

"The Germans," he said, "advanced sooner and in greater strength than we or our generals expected. The bulk of our armoured troops which had taken a decisive part in beating the Italians had to be refitted, and the single armoured brigade which had been judged sufficient to hold the frontier until about the middle of May was worsted and its vehicles largely destroyed by a somewhat stronger German armoured force. Our infantry, which had not exceeded one division, had to fall back on the very large Imperial armies that had been assembled and could be nourished and maintained in the fertile delta of the Nile."

With the Germans over the Egyptian frontier the situation in Libya held some peril. Rommel, it was clear, had under his command a force far more powerful than had been at first supposed, and a large-scale offensive designed to cut that life-line of the British Empire which runs through Egypt and the Red Sea was an ominous possibility. If Rommel could be sufficiently reinforced and could build up resources for a drive across the desert to the Canal, Egypt might be in grave danger.

Fortunately, however, Rommel seemed to have shot his bolt; at the end of April Sollum was reported to be in German hands, but after a further advance of some five miles into Egypt the campaign subsided into a matter of small skirmishes and patrol activity. Tobruk was invested on all sides save the sea, but every attempt to take it by storm was repulsed with heavy loss. An Axis convoy taking supplies and reinforcements to Libya was wiped out by Cunningham's ships between Sicily and Tripoli on April 15. Fort Capuzzo was heavily shelled by the Navy's guns the next day, and on the night of April 19–20 Bardia was raided by a small British force which blew up an important bridge and destroyed a quantity of stores. A few days later Tripoli was fiercely bombarded from both the sea and the air.

The Germans refused to admit that the halt in their advance was to be attributed to intensified British resistance. Rather—and this was true enough—they were experiencing great difficulty in supplying their troops by way of a line of communication which was strung out across the desert for many hundreds of miles to its terminus at Tripoli, their chief base port. All their oil, their foodstuffs, their ammunition, even their fresh water, had to be brought by lorry or by transport 'planes. Near the front the conditions were described by one German radio reporter as "hellish." Many vehicles had been lost in the desert, he said, and many men rejoined their units after spending several days and nights in the desert without food and drink, subjected to sweltering heat by day and frost by night, to attacks by low-flying British aircraft and motorized forces, and to the "death-hail" of British naval guns. Compared with the conditions of the coastal road on either side of Tobruk, "the worst fields of Poland seem paths of paradise to old campaigners."

On May 7 the Prime Minister again reviewed the campaign. The loss of the Nile valley and the Suez Canal and of our position in the Mediterranean, he said, as well as the loss of Malta, would be among the heaviest blows which we could sustain.

Mr. Churchill Reviews Campaign

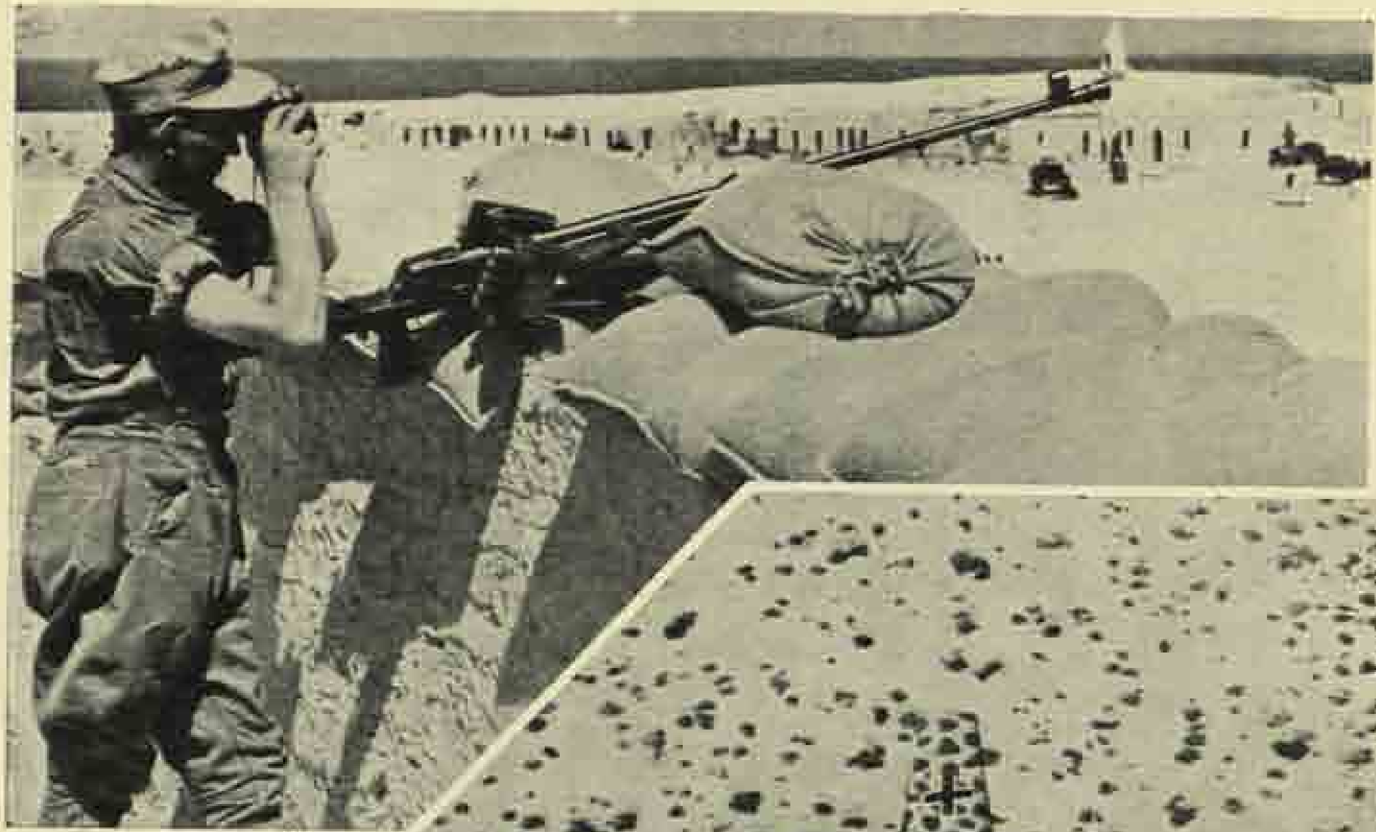
"We are determined to fight for them with all the resources of the British Empire, and we have every reason to believe that we shall be successful." General Wavell, he went on, had under his orders at that moment nearly half a million men; equipment had been flowing into the Middle East during the last three months; forces which had just overcome Italian resistance in East Africa were now being steadily concentrated northwards, and General Smuts had ordered the splendid South Africans forward to the Mediterranean shores. "Warfare in the Western Desert can only be conducted by a comparatively small number of highly equipped troops. Here the fortunes of war are subject to violent oscillation, and mere numbers do not count." When the German advance began, Rommel's armoured force was not much larger than our own. But, went on Mr. Churchill, "tactical mistakes were committed and mischances occurred, and with very little fighting our armoured force became disorganized." From the examination of prisoners it had been learnt that the Germans at the outset had no expectations of going beyond

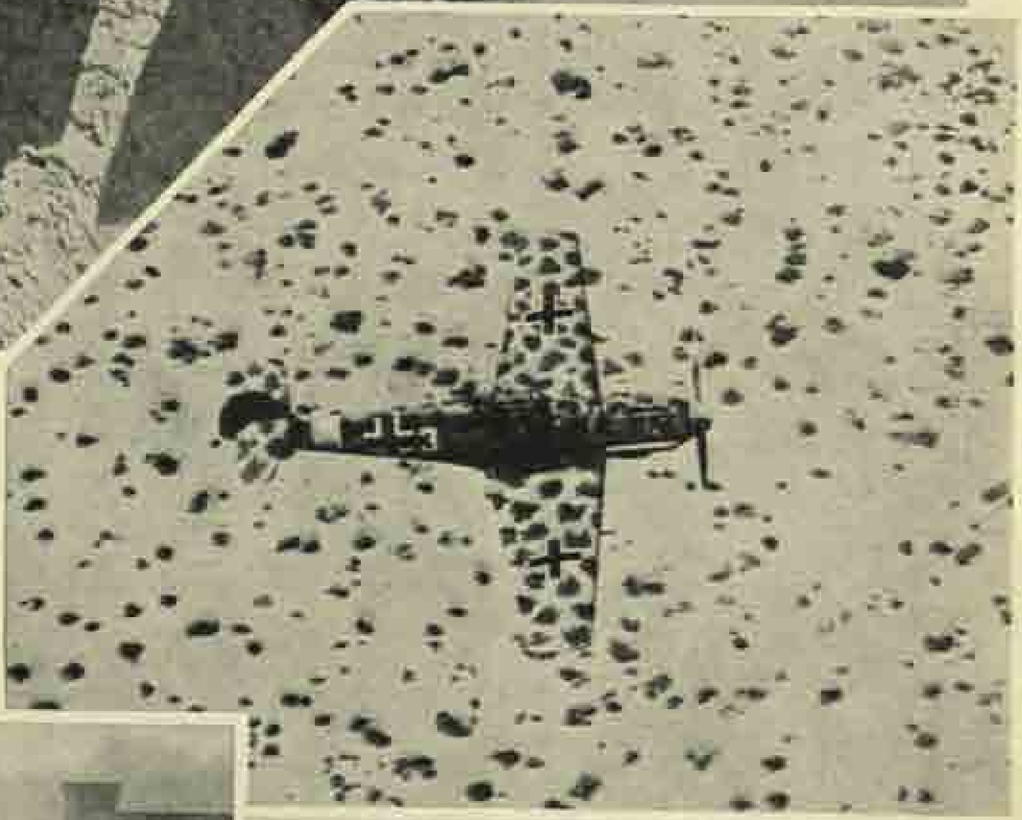


A CONTRAST IN RESPIRATORS

The familiar British Service respirator is seen without its haversack at the left. The filter-element, of course, is supported normally by the webbing sling of the haversack. In contrast, the filter of the German mask (right) is fixed to the facepiece.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





AFTER ROMMEL RETOOK BENGHAZI

Top, at El Agheila a Nazi with anti-tank rifle scans the desert. Centre photograph shows a low-flying Messerschmitt 109 camouflaged to blend with the ground pattern. Below, left, German tanks entering a barracks enclosure. Right, an armoured car of the Deutsche Afrika Korps outside Benghazi.

Photos, Keystone







Jedabia. "They meant to engage our armoured troops and create a diversion to prevent the dispatch of troops to Greece while they were bringing larger forces from Italy and Sicily, and building up their supplies and communications. But when they won their surprising success they exploited it with organized and enterprising audacity. They pushed on until they came up against Tobruk, and there they met their prop. They pushed on until they came in contact with the large forces which guard the frontier of Egypt and lie back securely based on the road, railway and sea communications. There for the present they stopped. . . ."

For the present. . . . Following an enemy reconnaissance from the Sollum area on May 12, when five small columns of Nazi tanks made a sortie in the direction of Sofafi, the British took the offensive on May 15 and made considerable progress in the Sollum-Halfaya area; Sollum itself was reported to have once again changed hands, together with Fort Capuzzo. But the tide swiftly turned, and on May 27 came the announcement that the Empire forces had again withdrawn from the battle-scarred Halfaya slopes. Another month of patrol and harassing activity supervened; then there was another spasm of conflict. Again the Empire forces attacked in the Sollum-Halfaya-Sidi Omar-Capuzzo area; again there were initial gains, since the British secured a footing on Halfaya and made a penetration of the Capuzzo defences. But Rommel brought up reinforcements and for several days there was fierce fighting. Such a tank battle, it was said, had not been seen since the classic clash at Cambrai in 1917, and Reuter's Correspondent described the struggle as "a fantastic Wellsian clash of metal monsters." On both sides the claim was made that large numbers of the opposing tanks had been knocked out, but in the end the Nazis' superiority in armoured strength told. Forced to withdraw from the Halfaya and Capuzzo sectors, the British had to abandon, too, their gains in the plain below. So the Battle of the Sollum Triangle, as it was styled at the time, ended in a draw. Henceforth for weeks and months the opposing armies on the Egyptian frontier were content with a war of waiting watchfulness. But always Tobruk stuck like a thorn in Rommel's side.



CAPTURED MEN AND MATERIAL OF GERMAN AFRIKA KORPS

Something of Germany's keen hunger for an African foothold is suggested by the lavish way in which she equipped a corps d'élite for service in Libya. On the Nazi tank (taken at Sollum) at top is the palm-tree-and-swastika symbol of the Afrika Korps. Men of the Royal Tank Regt. are examining the vehicle. Lower photograph, an Afrika Korps prisoner having his wound dressed.

Photos, British Official; Crown Copyright; International Graphic News

HEROIC DEFENCE OF TOBRUK, APRIL 13 TO DECEMBER 8, 1941

Major-General Morshead and His Garrison—Desperate German Attacks—Successful Sorties : Garrison Takes Many Prisoners—Life in the Beleaguered Stronghold—Navy Keeps the Back-door Open—Destroyers' Nightly Dash With Supplies—British, Polish and Czech Troops Come to Tobruk—Auchinleck's Columns Open a Corridor—Garrison Fights a Way Out

EARLY in April, 1941, Tobruk watched Rommel's armoured columns sweep past in the desert to the south, in pursuit of other portions of the force of occupation which was continuing its retreat. From then until the opening of Auchinleck's offensive in November it was an island of British power in the heart of the enemy's territory, a persistent thorn in his flank, a prop—to use Mr. Churchill's term—which did much to



THORN IN THE ENEMY'S SIDE

Though encircled by Axis troops on April 13, 1941, Tobruk held out against repeated attacks until its garrison under Maj.-General L. J. Morshead (above) effected a junction with General Ritchie's advancing force in December. Throughout eight months of investment the garrison made many offensive sallies and took prisoners.

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright

prevent the Italo-Nazis from exploiting their victory to the uttermost and securing positions from which a threat to Egypt might eventually develop. During all those months the place was raided by high- and low-flying bombers and raked by shellfire times without number, while on occasion Rommel unleashed his tanks against the defences carved out of the sand and the rock of the desert.

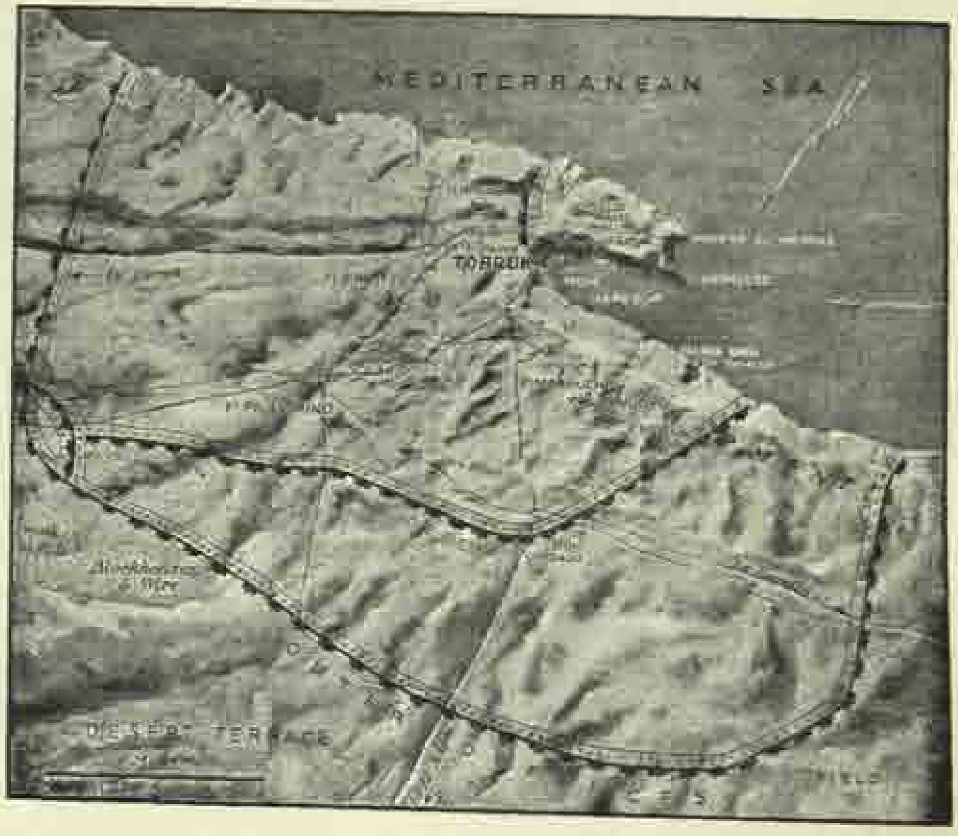
So suddenly was the decision taken to drop a garrison into Tobruk and hold it to the last that there was little time to organize the defences on a proper scale. But the Australians under Maj.-Gen. L. J. Morshead, who constituted the greater part of the garrison, were quick at improvisation, nimble in resource. From the outset they took full advantage of the large stocks of captured weapons and ammunition which the Italians had left behind, and these made it possible for the defenders to develop a formidable fire-power in the posts which were established in the perimeter—that 30-mile-long arc drawn over the desert. The Australian sappers also made good any deficiency in mines by going out into the desert at night and appropriating mines which had been laid by the enemy.

The beginning of the siege—some may cavil at the use of the word, since, throughout, the way into Tobruk from the sea was kept open by the Royal Navy—was marked by some hard fighting. On April 14, when the town had been cut off for a week or so, the enemy launched a heavy attack with infantry and tanks. At one point, reported G.H.Q. at Cairo, twenty German tanks crossed the outer defences, but an immediate counter-attack restored the position, heavy losses being inflicted on the enemy in both personnel and tanks. Another attack on April 17 was similarly repulsed, again with heavy loss to the enemy. Yet another desperate attempt to take the place was launched two days later. German tanks charged in waves down the Derna road and across the low slopes north of Tobruk; twelve succeeded in penetrating the outer defences, but were there met with such a terrific artillery fire that they were compelled to withdraw. Four were knocked out, and the remainder limped slowly back beneath a curtain of shrapnel to their lines. So fierce had been their reception

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE INVESTMENT OF TOBRUK

When Rommel's army swept over the desert eastwards in April, 1941, Tobruk was held by a garrison consisting mostly of Australians under the G.O.C., 9th Division, A.I.F., Maj.-General Morshead. The Royal Navy maintained supplies and in due course relieved most of the original defenders by British, Polish and Czech formations. Up to the middle of December, when the "siege" was raised, British destroyers had landed some 34,000 tons of supplies

Specially modelled for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Felix Gardon*





GRAVE OF TOBRUK HERO

On the night of April 13-14, 1941, a party of German infantry established themselves with machine-guns and small field pieces inside the Tobruk wire defences. One of seven sent to attack them, Corporal John Hurst Edmondson, A.I.F., was wounded in neck and abdomen but carried on and killed one enemy with the bayonet. Then, when his officer was attacked by two Germans, Edmondson rushed to his aid and killed both the assailants. Soon after returning the brave corporal died of his wounds: posthumously he was awarded the well-merited V.C.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

that the enemy infantry had no opportunity of entering the battle.

Followed some successful sorties by the Australians; then the enemy tried his luck again, on April 24, and again was repulsed.

A week went by before the next assault. On April 30 Italian infantry, supported by a number of German tanks, once again managed to break through a sector of the outer defences. Fighting continued for several days and nights, but on the afternoon of May 3 the invading tanks were driven out of the perimeter by artillery fire, and the Italian infantry were given no chance to consolidate the ground which had been won in the first few hours of the engagement. After the enemy's repulse the Imperial forces threw up new defences facing the south-western sector of the outer perimeter, which had been breached for a length of some 2,000 yards, and where the enemy succeeded in maintaining a wedge inside the wire.

By this time the Tobruk garrison had taken 3,000 prisoners, and during the weeks that followed—weeks during which the communiqués declared as often as not that there was "No change at Tobruk"—the Australians maintained a series of small-scale offensive operations, clashing frequently and successfully with the enemy patrols amid the scrub and dunes. On the night of August 9 an attack by Italian infantry on a British post in the outer defence ring was frustrated, practically all the assailants being wiped out by heavy artillery and machine-gun fire at close range; but such was the torrid heat, so hampering the dust-storms, that activity on the one side and the other was at a minimum. Still, however, the Nazi 'planes were not idle, and many dive-bombing attacks were made on Tobruk and the defenders' lines in and about the town and its harbour. Artillery fire, too, was kept up, so that the organ of war was never entirely silent.

Such in brief was the story of Tobruk until November, when the Eighth Army set out to smash Rommel. In the opening phase of that terrific struggle the gallant garrison played a most manful part, but it was not until December 9 that a junction was effected with Ritchie's men, and then—such were the swiftly changing fortunes of war in that grimly fantastic battle—it was but a short time before Tobruk was once again cut off from the main British force.

But this is to anticipate. Here we are concerned with the first phase of Tobruk's history—with that "siege" which, lasting as it did for eight months in all, ranks among the longest in our imperial history. Now and again the place was visited by correspondents of the British press, and they had much to say that was dramatic and of impressionistic intensity. "As seen from the sea at night," wrote Richard Capell of The Daily Telegraph, "Tobruk rather suggests the Ypres salient in the old days, with an elaborate display of rockets, Very lights, gun-flashes and bursting ack-ack shells." Daylight revealed its spacious harbour as a graveyard of ships, while of the town itself, once picturesque enough with its white houses set against a background of brown heights, little remained that was not torn and battered by bomb and shell. Hospital and school, wine-shops and shady arcades—all were now wrecked; while, for the rest, within the 100 square miles—about the size of the Isle of Wight—that was contained within the perimeter, there was hardly a landmark. Altogether the place was unprepossessing enough, windswept and barren save for a few palms, fig trees and prickly pears in the wadis near the sea. On the plateau above there was

Eight Months' Siege



H.M.S. 'LADYBIRD,' TERROR OF TOBRUK

The 625-ton river gunboat 'Ladybird' was brought to the Libyan coast from Chinese waters and took part in the shelling of Sidi Barrani and Bardia during December, 1940. (See illus. p. 1463.) In the following May, while anchored off Tobruk, she was attacked by 47 enemy dive-bombers and sunk, with only her gun turret above the water line. Her guns thundered at the Nazis till the last. Later she was used as a gun platform, and this photograph shows an A.A. gun-crew at action stations aboard 'Ladybird.'

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



VIVID SCENES IN TOBRUK AREA

The central photograph conveys a good impression of the country over which, near the coast, there raged the stern battles for supremacy; it shows Australians returning from an eastward patrol. Top, a British party crosses a Tobruk street. Bottom, taking cover from an Italian shell in the forward area.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright







little to be seen save occasional tufts of camelthorn, set in the midst of a waste strewn with the motor vehicles left behind by the Italians in their hurried retreat of months before.

"Although Australia is the predominant partner in the defence," to quote from Mr. Capell's account again, "many British counties are represented, too, and the coming years will hear yarns of tawny Cyrenaica, its tyrannical sun, its withering sandstorms, its flies and fleas, and its invariably ultramarine sea, told in the village inns of the North Country, the Midlands and East Anglia." "Australian infantrymen call the British gunners incomparable, and while our men equally admire the grit and daring of the Australians who sortie into the unknown, these men in their turn think that the Indians, rich in North-West Frontier experiences, are the supreme masters of patrolling."

When the enemy had endeavoured for some months to force Tobruk into surrender, a military commentator in the Berlin press was put up to explain the German failure. He did so by expatiating on the strength of the defences, which, he alleged, were now among the best in the world, better than the Maginot Line, in parts better even than the Siegfried Line: and they were held by the British with a stubborn tenacity. To take them by assault, said the commentator, was impossible; he refrained from mentioning that the Italian defence of those same lines had lasted thirty hours . . .

Life in Tobruk was not only exciting but hard. There were few amenities for the defenders, whether they had their quarters in the ruined houses of the little town or in caves in the hillside, in trenches cut in the open desert or in the Italian-built fortifications in the outer perimeter, some ten or eleven miles from the harbour. They had enough food, but it was bully, bully, all the time. Fresh vegetables and fruit were hard to come by. Drinking water was rationed, and so, too, were cigarettes. There were no cinemas, no canteens. Even worse, there was no beer. Bathing was to be had, but it was apt to be unpleasantly interrupted by low-flying Nazi raiders. Mails were irregular and few, but the garrison produced its own newspapers—"The Tobruk Truth (Dinkum Oil)," whose motto was "always appears," and an even livelier production, "Mud and Blood."

After ten days in the line the men were given two days off, which they passed in Tobruk or in lazing on the beaches; for the fortunate few there was an occasional week-end in Cairo. But, in spite of the discomforts, difficulties and dangers, casualties were not heavy. The place was healthy and, except for sores, the troops kept very fit.

The wireless and the Navy kept the garrison in touch with the outside world. The Navy, indeed, did a grand work. Between April 12 and Dec. 10 it carried 29,000 men of all ranks into Tobruk, evacuated 23,000 and ran in 34,000 tons of supplies and foodstuffs. "During the early days," said Rear-Admiral Glennie, "supplies were run in by a mixed collection, including minesweepers and escort vessels, then later by destroyers who were the only vessels with sufficient speed in face of the increased German threat from the air. We ran an average of three destroyers every night, sometimes accompanied by a minelayer carrying stores. The run took about 17 hours, arriving about 11 o'clock at night and allowing a maximum of two hours for unloading. When we got there, what navigation lights there were were necessarily very dim. In that ships' graveyard were twenty-two wrecks; some were clearly visible, others submerged. The quays were very poor, having been knocked about by repeated bombing. The problem of handling gear was especially difficult, and minesweepers worked up a high speed of efficiency by careful and rapid unloading into lighters. But on a very few



LUFTWAFFE'S BOMBS AND BLANDISHMENTS

The propaganda leaflet shown below, dropped upon Tobruk, appears to have been worded by someone who had long enjoyed British hospitality; of course, it failed entirely in its object. Top (from an enemy raider), bombs exploding among British A.A. gun-positions at Tobruk. Centre, a German bomber we shot down.







SCARS OF BATTLE AT GALLANT TOBRUK

A journal entitled the Tobruk 'Truth' (and nicknamed 'Dinkum Oil' by the troops) was issued regularly by the Australians of the garrison; below is a glimpse of the editorial-cum-production department. Top photograph shows wrecked and battered ships in Tobruk harbour.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

occasions have we failed to deliver our goods." Admiral Glennie paid a particular tribute to the work of the Australian destroyers, "who were a grand party of chaps and who carried the heat and burden of the day when Tobruk was first invested."

Before Auchinleck's offensive most of the original garrison were relieved. In place of the Australians came a British division, a Polish brigade and a Czechoslovak battalion. But one Australian battalion was not taken off for lack of time, and it, together with three British artillery regiments and a battalion of Northumberland Fusiliers, went right through the siege. And they were, too, under Maj.-Gen. Scobie, in the van when on that day in December the "Tobruk rats," as the Germans had early dubbed them, shook hands in El Adem with South Africans and Indians advancing from the south-east

Diary of the War

MARCH and APRIL, 1941

March 1, 1941. Bulgaria signs Tripartite Pact: Germans march into Sofia and occupy Black Sea port of Varna. R.A.F. make night raids on Cologne, Rotterdam and Boulogne.

March 2. Day raids on Borkum, Haamstede, Harlingen and List. Heavy night attack on Brest.

March 3. Cardiff suffers destructive night attack. We bomb Cologne severely.

March 4. Commando raid on German interests in Lofoten Islands; 11 enemy ships sunk, fish oil factories, storage tanks and power station destroyed; 225 prisoners taken. Cardiff raided again.

March 5. Sixteen enemy aircraft destroyed over Malta. R.A.F. attack Boulogne docks.

March 7. Destroyer "Dainty" reported sunk. Destructive raid on Midlands town.

March 8. Heavy night raid on London, causing great damage. Athens announces further progress.

March 9. Severe night raids on London and Portsmouth. Italian offensive in Albania opens.

March 10. R.A.F. launch heavy night attacks on Boulogne, Cherbourg, Brest and Cologne.

March 11. American Lease-Lend Bill becomes law. Night raids on Kiel and Bremerhaven. Portsmouth bombed.

March 12. R.A.F. make heaviest raid of war on Berlin, also Hamburg and Bremen. Large-scale attack on Merseyside; nine enemy bombers destroyed. Heavy fighting reported in Albania.

March 13. Very heavy night attack on Hamburg. Enemy makes prolonged attack on Clydeside, Merseyside and elsewhere. Thirteen bombers destroyed.

March 14. Clydeside again attacked; town in N.E. England has sharp raid. We bomb oil plants at Gelsenkirchen and Düsseldorf.

March 15. Greeks report Italian offensive defeated with great loss. London is enemy's chief night target. R.A.F. raid Düsseldorf and Lorient.

March 16. Submarine "Snapper" considered lost. British recapture Berbera, Brit. Somaliland. Heavy night raid on Bristol.

March 17. British occupy Jijiga, Abyssinia. Night attacks on Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, Rotterdam and Emden.

March 18. Heavy night raid on Kiel. Enemy attacks Hull.

March 19. British steadily advancing on Keren, Abyssinia. London heavily raided at night. We attack Cologne.

March 20. British recapture Hargeisa, Brit. Somaliland. Main enemy night target is Plymouth. We raid Lorient.

March 21. Jarabub, Libya, surrenders after 15-week siege. Plymouth again heavily raided. R.A.F. attack Lorient and Ostend. Crisis in Yugoslavia over proposed pact with Axis.

March 23. Capture of Neghelli, Abyssinia, announced. Heavy night raids on Berlin, Kiel and Hanover. Thirteen Stukas destroyed over Malta.

March 24. Enemy troops occupy El Agheila, Libya. British force Marda Pass, west of Jijiga.

March 25. Yugoslavia joins Axis.

March 27. British capture Keren. Harar occupied. Prince Paul and Yugoslav Govt. deposed; King Peter assumes power and Gen. Simovich forms new Cabinet. Agreement for lease to U.S. of naval and air bases in Atlantic signed.

March 28. Battle of Matapan. Italy loses three cruisers and two destroyers; battleship damaged. British ships untouched. R.A.F. bomb naval base of Brest.

March 29. British capture Diredawa. Night raid on Bristol Channel area.

March 30. Heavy R.A.F. raids on Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in dock at Brest. Calais and other invasion ports bombed. All Italian, German and Danish ships in U.S. ports seized to prevent sabotage.

March 31. Powerful new bomb used during night attack on Emden; other German ports also attacked. In Libya British are in contact with enemy in Mersa Brega area. Destructive night raid on N.E. coast town.

April 1. Asmara, capital of Eritrea, surrenders. Raiders attempt attacks on aerodromes; some casualties and damage at one station. Iraqi premier resigns.

April 3. Admiralty announces destruction by naval aircraft of two Italian destroyers. British evacuation of Benghazi announced. Heavy night raid on Brest. Enemy makes four-hour raid on Bristol. Count Teleky, Hungarian Prime Minister, commits suicide.

April 4. Heavy night bombing of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau at Brest. Bristol raided again.

April 5. Imperial forces enter Addis Ababa. Adowa and Adigrat reported captured.

April 6. Germany invades Greece and Yugoslavia. Belgrade devastated by mass air raids. R.A.F. bomb targets in Sofia and German transport in Struma valley. Brest attacked.

April 7. Nine relays of heavy bombers raid Kiel. Enemy recapture Derna, Libya. Severe night raids on Liverpool area and elsewhere. Yugoslav southern army forced to withdraw.

April 8. Massawa surrenders. Heavy night raid on Kiel. Coventry suffers destructive double attack. From Doiran, on frontier, Nazi mechanized division advances into Greece towards Salonika. Yugoslav troops in Albania retreating.

April 9. Three-hour night raid on Berlin; Opera House destroyed. Night bombers over west Midlands, including Birmingham; twelve shot down. Germans occupy Salonika.

April 10. British and Imperial forces contact Germans in N. Greece. Hungary invades Yugoslavia. Night raids on Birmingham and Coventry, causing great damage and casualties. R.A.F. bomb cruisers at Brest.

April 11. Heavy night raid on Bristol and south-coast town. Croatia declared independent State.

April 12. Norwegian warship destroys large fish oil factory near Hammerfest, Norway. Bardia occupied by enemy. Night attacks on Brest and Lorient.

April 13. Empire forces in Greece withdraw to Mt. Olympus line. Germans occupy Belgrade. Soviet Union and Japan sign neutrality pact.

April 14. Heavy night raid on Brest. Germans capture Sollum and Fort Capuzzo. Athens suffers first day raid.

April 15. Enemy convoy of five transports and three escort vessels sunk by Navy off Tripoli; destroyer "Mohawk" lost. Severe night attack on Kiel. Enemy bombers raid Belfast.

April 16. Enemy attacks on Tobruk repulsed. Big battle in Macedonia; Empire forces begin withdrawal to Thermopylae line. R.A.F. bomb Heligoland, Bremen and Brest. Great force of raiders make 7-hour indiscriminate attack on London. St. Paul's damaged.

April 17. Yugoslavia capitulates. Portsmouth has destructive raid. R.A.F. make severest attack yet on Berlin with new heavy bombs. Imperial troops arrive at Basra.

April 18. Greek and Imperial forces withdrawing while Germans advance both sides of Mt. Olympus.

April 19. London suffers violent night attack. Registration of women for war service begins. Brest bombed.

April 20. Greek forces in Epirus and Macedonia capitulate. Night raids on Channel ports and targets in Ruhr.

April 21. Navy bombards Tripoli; great damage to port and shipping. Heavy night attack on Plymouth. Withdrawal of Greek and Imperial forces covered by brilliant rearguard action of Anzacs.

April 22. Evacuation from Greece begins. Another severe night raid on Plymouth. Two attacks on Brest.

April 23. Sinking of armed merchant cruiser "Rajputana" announced. Night raid on Brest. Enemy attack Plymouth.

April 25. Germans claim capture of Pass of Thermopylae. Lord Gort appointed Governor and C.-in-C. Gibraltar. Night raids centre on Kiel. British troops reported in Mosul.

April 26. British capture Dessie, Abyssinia. Empire troops fighting rearguard action N.W. of Athens. German parachutists capture Corinth. Big night attack on Hamburg. Merseyside raided. Enemy cross frontier near Sollum.

April 27. German forces enter Athens. Heavy night raid on Portsmouth.

April 28. Germans capture Sollum. Plymouth raided at night. We bomb cruisers at Brest.

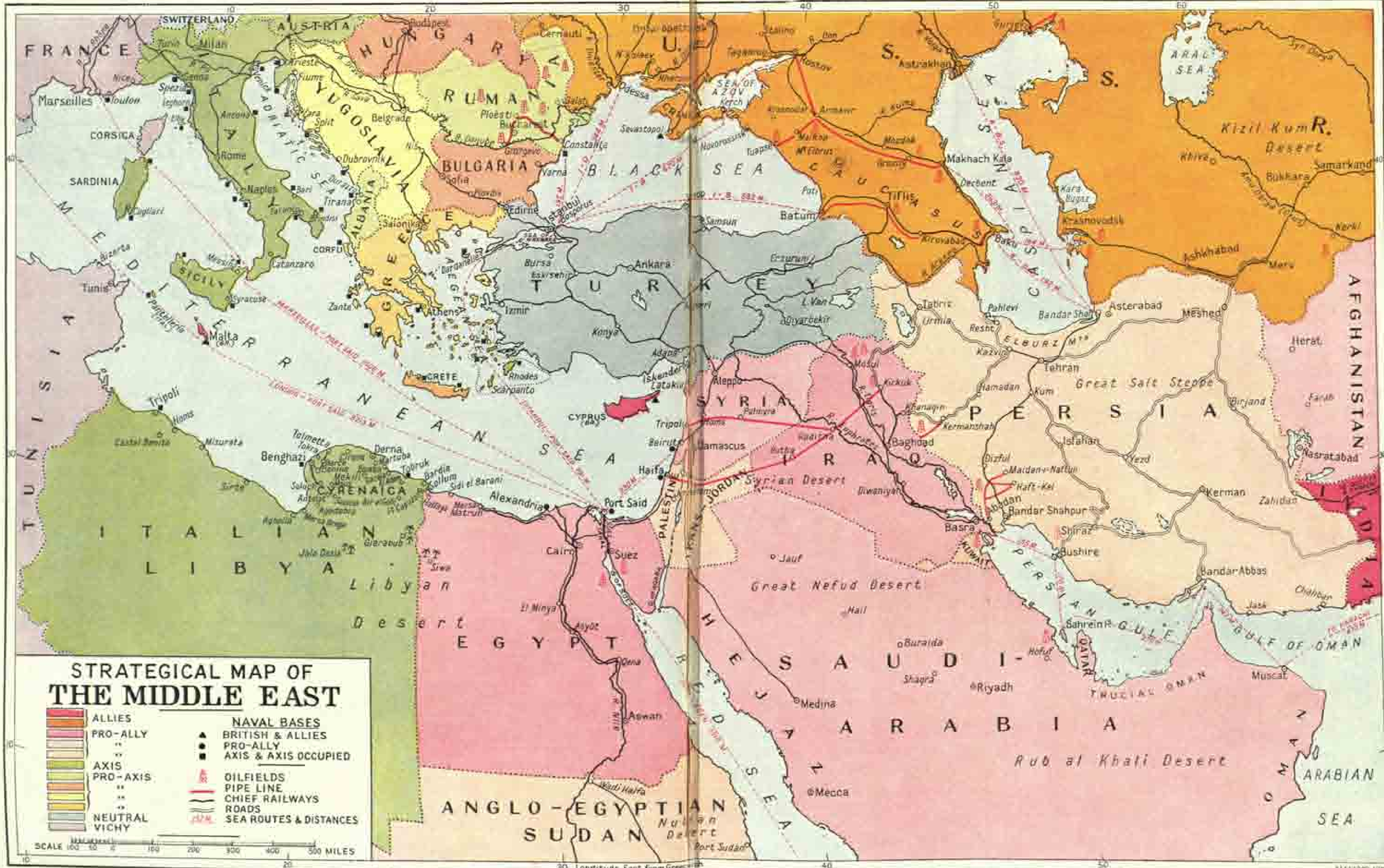
April 29. Another severe night raid on Plymouth. R.A.F. attack Mannheim and Rotterdam.

April 30. Main night attack on Kiel; other targets are Berlin, Hamburg and Emden. Enemy penetrate outer defences of Tobruk.



WARTIME BADGES OF BRITAIN'S ARMED FORCES

The badges shown above came into use between September, 1939, and December, 1941. All are worn on the sleeve except those of the Army Catering Corps, Pioneer Corps, and Reconnaissance Corps (worn on cap), Air Gunner (on left breast), and the King's Badge for men and women invalided from the armed forces (in coat lapel). The Eagle Squadron, composed exclusively of American fighter pilots, was attached to the R.A.F. for operational purposes.


STRATEGICAL MAP OF
THE MIDDLE EAST
ALLIES
PRO-ALLY
AXIS
PRO-AXIS
NEUTRAL
VICHY
NAVAL BASES
BRITISH & ALLIES
PRO-ALLY
AXIS & AXIS OCCUPIED
OILFIELDS
PIPE LINE
CHIEF RAILWAYS
ROADS
SEA ROUTES & DISTANCES
SCALE
MILES
Longitude East from Greenwich
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
ITALY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
CORFU
CRETE
CYPRUS
TURKEY
U. S. S. R.
SEA OF AZOV
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
CAUCASUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
AEGEAN SEA
TUNISIA
ITALIAN LIBYA
CYRENAICA
Libyan Desert
EGYPT
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Nubian Desert
PALESTINE
TRANS-JORDAN
SYRIA
IRAQ
Syrian Desert
PERSIA
Great Salt Steppe
ELBURZ Mts
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
SAUDI-ARABIA
HEJAZ
Great Nefud Desert
Rub al Khali Desert
KUWAIT
QATAR
TRUCIAL OMAN
OMAN
PERSIAN GULF
GULF OF OMAN
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
Kizil Kum Desert
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Spezia
Leghorn
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Bari
Taranto
Cagliari
Messina
Catanzaro
Syracuse
Bizerta
Tunis
Pantelleria
Malta
Tripoli
Homs
Misurata
Sirte
Benghazi
Derna
Tobruk
Bardia
Sollum
Sidi el Barani
Mersa Matruh
Giarabub
Siwa
Alexandria
Port Said
Cairo
Suez
El Minya
Asyût
Qena
Aswan
Wadi Halfa
Port Sudan
Trieste
Fiume
Zara
Split
Dubrovnik
Durazzo
Tirana
Belgrade
Budapest
Nis
Ploesti
Bucharest
Giurgevo
Constanta
Galatz
Cernauti
Varna
Sofia
Plovdiv
Edirne
Salonika
Zante
Athens
Rhodes
Scarpanto
Istanbul
Bosporus
Dardanelles
Bursa
Eskisehir
Izmir
Ankara
Konya
Adana
Iskenderun
Latakia
Aleppo
Kayseri
Samsun
Erzurum
L. Van
Diyarbekir
Odessa
Nikolaev
Sevastopol
Crimea
Kerch
Novorossisk
Tuapse
Rostov
Krasnodar
Armavir
Maikop
Mt Elbrus
Mozdok
Grozny
Makhach Kala
Derbent
Poti
Batum
Tiflis
Kirovabad
Baku
Astrakhan
Krasnovodsk
Kara Bugaz
Khiva
Bukhara
Samarkand
Ashkhabad
Merv
Kerki
Tabriz
Urmia
Pahlevi
Resht
Kazvin
Tehran
Bandar Shah
Asterabad
Meshed
Herat
Hamadan
Kum
Isfahan
Yezd
Kermanshah
Khanaqin
Mosul
Kirkuk
Baghdad
Diwaniya
Basra
Abadan
Bandar Shahpur
Dizful
Maidan-i-Naftun
Haft-Kel
Shiraz
Bushire
Kerman
Zahidan
Birjand
Nasratabad
Bandar Abbas
Jask
Chahbar
Muscat
Bahrein
Hofuf
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Haifa
Palmyra
Jauf
Hail
Buraida
Shaqra
Riyadh
Medina
Mecca
Gulf of Suez



FORMER AMERICAN DESTROYERS HELPED TO GUARD BRITISH CONVOYS

The watch over convoys in the Atlantic shipping lanes imposed a strain on the resources of the Royal Navy, so that the accession of fifty 'obsolete' destroyers formerly in the U.S. Navy proved extremely valuable. The first of the vessels came into use in September, 1940. This photograph shows one of them on convoy escort, weaving its way between the merchantmen and keeping a perpetual watch for U-boats or hostile aircraft.

From a direct colour photograph by Fox Photos

Chapter 163

ITALY LOSES HER DREAM OF EMPIRE IN EAST AFRICA, MARCH, 1941

Italy's Strategic Objectives and Her Supply Quandary—General Cunningham's Forces for His Manifold Battle Front—Advance into Somaliland—Enemy's Collapse on the Juba—Capture of Mogadishu—British Landings at Berbera—Siege and Battle of Keren—Capture of Asmara and Massawa—Operations in Abyssinia (see Chapter 164 for full account)—End of Mussolini's African Dream

The close of 1940 roughly coincided with the turn of the tide of war in Italian East Africa, as Abyssinia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland had been styled by decree of June 1, 1936, after the formal Italian annexation of Abyssinia on March 9 of that year.



BRIGADIER DAN PIENAAR, D.S.O.

Commander of the South African Forces in East Africa, Brigadier Pienaar was awarded the D.S.O. for his brilliant leadership at El Wak, taken by South Africans and Gold Coast troops on December 16, 1940.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

In the north the Sudanese Defence Force was making it exceedingly uncomfortable for the enemy occupation of Kassala and Gallabat, the former on the Port Sudan line, and both key points for attacks on the irrigated cotton areas of Gezireh. In the south the trackless scrub of Kenya's Northern Frontier Province had become too unhealthy for Italian advance units. Major-General A. G. Cunningham was already taking the initiative east of Lake Rudolf, in the El Wak region and west of it, employing South African and Gold Coast troops and the South African Air Force as a composite East African Force. The Royal Navy was shelling the Italian Somaliland port of Mogadishu. The Emperor Haile Selassie was at Khartoum (he entered Ethiopia on Jan. 15, 1941), and to the apprehensive ears of Italian fighting men in Ethiopia came the distant beat of the imperial drums of war, bringing with it fear of revolt among the Amhara Abyssinians.

So much for the situation in the first days of 1941. What of the ingredients of the Italian African campaign as a whole? The main strategy was the invasion of Egypt through Libya; of the Sudan from northern Eritrea and Ethiopia; and of Somaliland and Kenya from the bastion of Ethiopia's central massif. Success would have solved many pressing problems for Fascist Italy. With an African Empire reaching from the southern shore of the Mediterranean to the East African Indian Ocean seaboard, Italy would have become the first-class Power which she already believed herself to be. Far more than Nazi Germany Italy needed *Lebensraum*, for in such over-populated provinces as the Romagna not even her thrifty and

British and Imperial Units Engaged in East African Campaigns

Royal Armoured Corps (Royal Tank Regt.)	Indian Cavalry
Royal Artillery	Punjab Regt.
Royal Engineers	Sikh Regt.
Royal Corps of Signals	Frontier Force Regt.
Royal Fusiliers	Frontier Force Rifles
West Yorkshire Regt.	Rajputana Rifles
Worcestershire Regt.	Royal Garhwal Rifles
Royal Sussex Regt.	Mahratta Light Infantry
Highland Light Infantry	Baluch Regt.
Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders	Sudan Defence Force
	King's African Rifles
	Gold Coast Regt.
	Nigerian Regt.

hardworking peasantry could scratch more than the barest living from the grudging earth. By 1940 her national Treasury held only £20,000,000, a figure which assumes absurd dimensions beside the £133,000,000 long-term plan for Italian East African expenditure. There was a serious wheat shortage, for the British Fleet stood before the Port Said entrance of the Suez Canal, through which formerly had come no less than 80 per cent of Italy's imported



AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON EL WAK

Opening their offensive against the Italians, the East African Imperial Force, on December 16, 1940, invaded Jubaland and took El Wak. Mainly composed of South African formations, the force was supported by an East African armoured car unit and a Gold Coast battalion with tanks. The photograph shows the frontier post left burning after the successful action.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





IMPERIAL FORCES ADVANCING TO THE JUBA

Troops of the Gold Coast Brigade are seen marching through Kismayu (captured on February 14) in the top photograph. Below, the British flag flies over Afmadu; at the left some of our troops, in a lorry, are passing through to reach the Juba river, which was crossed on the 20th.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

wheat. Coal, too, was short, despite German overland deliveries.

Military success meant for Italy the automatic solution of all such problems. But the East African campaign involved risks very much greater than those of the Libyan attempt upon Egypt: foremost among them was the problem of maintaining communications, and here the map clearly reveals the nature of the problem. British control of the Suez Canal brought total paralysis to the modern Eritrean Red Sea port of Massawa. The returns of traffic for the Suez Canal showed how vitally important was the Canal for this terrain, for Italian shipping into Massawa in normal times accounted for no less than one-eighth of the total world tonnage passing through the Canal. The Duke of Aosta, Italian Commander-in-Chief, thus became dependent upon such sea-borne supplies as could get through the British blockade of the Gulf of Aden to Italian Somaliland—to the fine modernized port of Mogadishu and the smaller ones of Kismayu, Brava, Merca and Obbia, each little more than a roadstead. Beyond this he had only such supplies as could be got to him by air from Italy's many and fine air-fields.

Italy's Supply Problems

Against these impediments to a free and copious flow of war materials, essential foodstuffs and reinforcements, the Duke had the advantage of operating from a strong natural position with interior lines against an enemy under the necessity of operating in the field upon a multiplicity of fronts. It might almost be said that, given British control of the sea paths and the tourniquet on the Suez Canal, the duration of the East African campaign could have been estimated by an inventory of the Italian commander's stores, for these were irreplaceable.

One final factor in the general situation remains, and, as events proved, it was one of the most important in the campaign—namely, the reactions of large sections of the tribes of Ethiopia to their new master, that master being busy with an external enemy. It is true that when Italy invaded Abyssinia her native populations in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland did not rise, nor were they anywhere near revolt. But in Abyssinia Italy introduced air war on a large scale and with an abominable ruthlessness, and the memory remained in many primitive minds of how the Italians had sent the rain that burnt and blinded and the fire that killed.

How Britain mobilized this reservoir of righteous wrath is told in Chapter 164. The task was accomplished by a small number of intrepid British officers with Abyssinian rebel followers, who penetrated far into Abyssinia and raised the standard of revolt.

Such, in little, was the East African scene at the beginning of 1941. By the end of March the campaign was at an end: a mushroom empire had shrivelled to nothing. It is clear that no other end was possible on the logic of the facts and the psychology of the human elements engaged. There can be no doubt that success was achieved so soon because good generalship went with first-class fighting qualities and adequate training—though when General Cunningham took over command training was still proceeding with many units. Our troops, moreover, were prepared to meet extremes of climate and had adequate knowledge of the terrain and of the political affinities of the many peoples inhabiting it.

The troops were made up of a wide range of elements, all carefully selected for this particular task. There were British, Rhodesian, Indian, Somali, South African, Gold Coast African, and, for the Ethiopian revolt, tribesmen of many clans. As to the enemy, Italy had built up a large colonial army both of nationals and native levies, and had in addition a reservoir of trained soldiers to draw upon in her Abyssinian settlers, all ex-service men chosen for immigration. These were settled in groups, organized on semi-military Fascist lines.

A notable feature of the whole campaign was the part played by the R.A.F.

and South African Air Force on the one hand and the Italian Air Force on the other. By the start of 1941 the Italian Air Force had lost some of its best air-fields and, what was more important, its morale. In the Juba River battle, described below, and at Keren, one of the most remarkable single engagements in military history, while our airmen bombed and bombed again, not a single Italian machine went into action against them. This absence of the offensive spirit in the air was matched by a like lack of enemy initiative in ground operations. It is true to say that the duration of this campaign might be measured by the amount of the enemy's stores, but in the final analysis it was morale that collapsed—and that long before there was any shortage of food or war materials.

The East African battle-front was manifold, and one correspondent reckoned that there were fourteen "fronts."



Three or four main fronts there certainly were. In the north the southward-driving force debouching from the Sudan divided into two, advancing towards Keren in Eritrea and towards the Abyssinian tableland in the direction of Addis Ababa. The Abyssinian enterprise was not so much a part of the war between Britain and Italy as that of Ethiopia against the usurper in possession. The forces operating in the south and south-east had as objectives the occupation of Italian Somaliland, with a northern drive to link up with the force directed to the retaking of British Somaliland. Upon another front, they made minor inroads upon Abyssinian territory in the south.

The whole picture builds up into a contracting movement, with pressure exerted inwards from the periphery. The plan called for pressure constantly maintained everywhere over a battle-front where it was never possible to concentrate large numbers of troops, where there were many engagements between small bodies, and where a battle involving several brigades was the exception. Because of this limiting factor the campaign against Italian Somaliland began with a plan to capture Kismayu, the small port at the mouth of the Juba. It was occupied on Feb. 14. At least six brigades were reckoned to be necessary for the capture of Mogadishu on Feb. 26 by the S. Africans. It is the capital, a good modern port, and the terminus of the highway planned to replace the 1,200 miles of track built during the war against Abyssinia.

Action was joined on the Juba river, where the Abyssinian, Kenya and Italian Somaliland frontiers converge. Here the Italians had piled their best troops, or the best that could be spared from Keren, in deep defence formation of some 150 miles along the highway to the capital. This was an interesting battle, in which may be seen the sort of manoeuvre by fast-moving mechanical vehicles that so strongly suggests the analogy of sea fighting. On the Juba our armoured units "sailed" down on the enemy, who, wedded to a defensive policy, contained himself in a series of strong-points. In the end each of these became, like Duffer's Drift, all front and no rear. A powerful enemy force, amply strong enough in men and materials to dispose of the attackers, disintegrated and split up into many small units almost as though to assist the swift-moving British force. Here the Italians were not defeated by the British so much as by the antiquated tactics employed by their own commander.

The disintegration was moral as well as physical. For example, the Italians had fortified the Juba bridgehead and declared to the native levies that the British would not be able to cross. But on Feb. 20 they did, and the African levies fled in panic. With the exception of the Italian gunners, who did very well, the enemy's morale was everywhere low. He gave the battle away, and, with it, as the next few days were to show, the whole colony of Italian Somaliland. To sum up, our success was due to the errors of the enemy and his lack of

WHEN BERBERA BECAME BRITISH ONCE AGAIN

It had been a bitter though necessary step to relinquish Berbera with the rest of British Somaliland on August 19, 1940. Its recapture after seven months of Italian occupation on March 16, 1941, was all the more gratifying. Top, the Union Jack flies on Government House. Below, alongside the gaudy emblem of Fascism, Somalis at Mogadishu (captured on Feb. 26, 1941) gaze at a British light cruiser.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





THREEFOLD ADVANCE ON ERITREA

The sketch map gives an idea of the strength of the key-point of Keren, in Eritrea, where the Duke of Aosta had built up a force of some 40,000 men. (1) Line of advance of Free French troops along the coastal plain; (2) and (3) lines taken by Imperial troops. Top, an R.A.F. bomber on the way to Keren. Below, left, pack mules and Bren carriers in a forward area. Right, an advanced dressing station near Keren. Invested from Feb. 6, Keren was taken after a battle which lasted from March 15 to 27, 1941.

British Official: Crown Copyright; Map, "Daily Express"







fight, then to our artillery, armoured cars and the volume of automatic fire, but perhaps most of all to the speed of our operations.

The result of the collapse of the Juba defence was the disintegration of civil authority in the colony. Administration broke down everywhere, and natives gave way to looting. Mogadishu, which had seemed too far a plum for our reach, fell sweetly into our hands on Feb. 26. The great stores taken in the capital proved conclusively that the eventual defeat was not due to the isolation of the East African Empire. There were 315,000 gallons of petrol, 7,000 tons of sugar, 3,000 tons of rice, and much else. The Italians had foreseen the severing of their sea lines of supply and had made adequate provision against it.

The British and Imperial force then worked its way north towards Harar, using Mogadishu as the operational base. Little or no opposition was met with, the enemy rot being everywhere general. It may be said that from the capture of Mogadishu Italian Somaliland was virtually conquered. On March 6 our troops were on Abyssinian soil. Four days later came the fall of Dagga Bur, by which date it was reckoned that the Italians had lost 31,000 men since the Juba crossing.

In the south-west South African troops under General Brink took Hoboka, Gorai and Mega in conditions of drought and heat, cold and wet, in forest and flooded river. On March 16 Berbera, capital of British Somaliland, was the objective of a well-organized assault which in its way was as interesting as the Juba battle, since it illustrated the effective orchestration of air, sea and land forces for offensive purposes. Apart from its political importance Berbera provided a landing point for supplies to troops moving along the Jijiga-Harar-Addis Ahaba road, a route chosen by General Cunningham to skirt the rains that fell earliest at Neghelli, the alternative approach. The political significance of Berbera lay in the fact that British Somaliland represented the sole remaining Italian gain resulting from Mussolini's entry into the war against the Allies.

Recapture of Berbera

At Berbera two separate landings were effected at midnight, under a moon only occasionally obscured by cloud, the troopships working their way off shore under the guns of a protecting unit of the British Navy. On the west the attack was made by picked Indian troops, engineers and artillery; on the east Somalis and Arabs made the landing. The attack had the advantage



INDIAN TROOPS ENGAGED IN THE PINCER MOVEMENT ON KEREN

Lower photo shows Indians resting at a signal point in a fort overlooking Mt. Sanghill (or Amba) —see map in page 1662. Brigadier's Peak, a main objective mentioned in page 1664, is the tallest spur of Sanghill. Top, Indian troops clearing a village.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright







BRITISH ENTRY INTO ASMARA

Asmara, capital of Eritrea, was occupied on April 1, 1941, five days after the fall of Keren, and General Platt's army pushed on to capture Massawa on April 8. Above, Indians marching into Asmara; right, Maj.-General (later Lt.-General Sir William) Platt bids farewell to his Sudanese bodyguard on leaving Asmara to become C.-in-C., East African Command.

Photos, British Official: Crown copyright; Sport & General

of surprise. By 9.20 a.m. on March 16 the operation was complete. British Somaliland was regained.

On March 17 Jijiga was taken, followed within a week by Jarabub (21st) and Marda Pass (24th). Our casualties up to February 23 were 2,966 wounded, 604 killed. The Italians lost 200,000, of whom 180,000 were prisoners. On March 29 South African troops occupied Diredawa, and only one point of strong resistance remained—Keren, in Eritrea, where we had seized covering positions on the 16th. It had been invested since February 16.

The natural stronghold of Keren was regarded by the Duke of Aosta as essential to resistance in Eritrea. To it he sent his finest troops—Bersaglieri, Alpini, Grenadiers. The British force faced appalling natural obstacles, for Keren is pitched in a cup of rock on the Eritrean escarpment, ringed by towering ridges rising nearly perpendicularly from the plain and topped by arrow-head peaks. It was up these frightful ramparts that our troops had to make their assault.

Aosta's Army in Keren

Italian engineers had blasted roads through this rock mass to the hidden town above. And Keren had to be taken by assault against fire from the dominating peaks, which carried gun positions covering every point below. The battle opened with an intense barrage and bombing on March 15, 1941, the R.A.F. unloading 120 tons of bombs on the town in 12 days. Luck was with the British from the start, for fog cloaked their assault on the seven main peaks. Brigadier's Peak, the main objective, was taken in two hours, while the capture of Left and Middle Bump followed soon after. The heights once stormed, the town surrendered (March 27). Armoured cars raced away towards the coast: Keren had ceased to be a military problem and had become a civic one.

Troops of the Free French forces took part in the battle around Keren. A field battalion which made its way from the Lake Chad territory distinguished itself in the capture of Kub-kub, 30 miles N. of Keren, where it took 400 prisoners and three guns.

On April 2 Asmara, 3,000 feet above Keren, was taken, and General Platt's troops captured the Red Sea port of Massawa on April 8.

One task remained to General Cunningham: to round off the Abyssinian campaign before the rains (see Chapter 164). By April 1 effective resistance had been broken from Lake Tana to Lake Rudolf. Gondar was cut off by Abyssinian irregulars, and Dessie was thronged with frightened men in flight. Like a leaping flame, the revolt was advancing across the tableland. By April 15 Haile Selassie, at the head of his troops, was in the Debra Marcos area. The Duke of Aosta sent an envoy on April 16, by which date our forces had been already eleven days in Addis Ababa. In little more than a month (May 19) the Duke surrendered at Amba Alagi.

The East African campaign was ended; so too, was the Caesarian dream of Mussolini. One great column of the African edifice had crumbled; restitution had been made.

INDIAN HERO OF KEREN

Subahdar Richpal Ram, 6th Rajputana Rifles, was posthumously awarded the V.C. for outstanding courage and devotion during an attack at Keren on Feb. 7-8, 1941. He led the forward platoon of his company and when the commander was wounded he took charge of the other two platoons. Though surrounded he fought his way out with a handful of survivors. On the 13th he led another attack on the same objective and was fatally wounded. Below, his widow receives Subahdar Richpal's Ram's V.C. from the Viceroy at New Delhi.

Photo, Sport & General





THE LIBERATION OF ABYSSINIA FROM THE ITALIANS

The reconquest of Ethiopia really began when, in January, 1941, the Emperor Haile Selassie entered his former realm and his adherents raised the standard of revolt in Gojjam. By the beginning of April much of the country had been liberated; Addis Ababa, the capital, was taken on the 5th. At Amba Alagi the Duke of Aosta, Italian C.-in-C., surrendered on May 19; a large enemy force held out at Gondar until November 27, when they, too, yielded

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Harrop*

THE RESTORATION OF HAILE SELASSIE'S ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE

Abyssinians Take Heart Anew—Organizing Patriot Activities—Guerilla War Against the Oppressors—British Mission Arrives—Haile Selassie Enters the Country—Revolt in the Gojjam—A Brilliant Campaign—Swift Collapse of Italian Rule—Recapture of Addis Ababa—Italian Stand at Amba Alagi: Duke of Aosta Surrenders—Gondar: Last Italian Stronghold

Italy declared war on France and Great Britain on June 10, 1940. Two days later the execution of Ras Hailu, a wealthy Abyssinian chieftain who had co-operated with the Italians during the war of 1935-6, was reported—a happening which seems to suggest that even those Abyssinians who had acquiesced in the Italian conquest had not been too well pleased with the results. Simultaneously it was reported that one Fiturari Birru had taken command of forces to be raised in Kenya under the Abyssinian imperial flag. Within a week General Ras Tifrauri Biddu, a former Abyssinian War Minister who had been a refugee in Jerusalem since the Italian conquest, was appointed by the Emperor Haile Selassie to be Commander-in-Chief of the Abyssinian forces, and left Palestine for an unknown destination in Africa. Many other Abyssinians of fighting age who had gone into exile accompanied him.

In Abyssinia itself the British took the offensive and began to make lightning raids over an extensive area of the frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland. At first they met with little resistance—some of the raiding parties, indeed, found that Banda troops (native levies in the Italian forces) had abandoned their posts. But at the end of June the Italians were showing more fight. One small force of Somaliland police holding a frontier post was attacked by a strong detachment of enemy troops reinforced by tanks and, after holding them off for four hours, withdrew intact and without casualties. On July 4 the Italians captured Gallabat, and on July 7 they took Kurmuk, both in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; on July 14 our garrison was withdrawn from Moyale (Kenya) in face of attack by an Italian force of superior strength.

Haile Selassie arrived in the Sudan towards the end of July, and immediately became the rallying point for all Abyssinians in exile and for many who came over the frontier from Abyssinia itself.

At the beginning of August, 1940, the Italians invaded British Somaliland from Abyssinia. On the 4th they took Hargeisa and Zeila, occupying Oadweina two days later. On the 19th Somaliland was evacuated by the British, who had not strength to stem the enemy advance. In the meantime British and South African air forces were constantly bombing the towns of Abyssinia in which the Italians were most strongly established. Diredawa had its first air raid on August 6, Dessie on the 15th, Addis Ababa on the 18th, Harar on the 27th (when Dessie was again bombed). Frontier skirmishes continued, with varying success on either side.



PRELUDE TO THE CAPTURE OF GALLABAT

Gallabat, on the Sudan-Abyssinian border, was occupied by Italian forces on July 4, 1940 (See illus., p. 1136.) During the British advance in November it was recaptured on the 6th, fell again into enemy hands on the 9th, and was finally retaken by our forces on November 10. Here one of our guns is seen shelling the Fort before its capture.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

The news during the next few months seemed to indicate little activity. The British continued to carry out bombing raids and reconnaissance flights. November 25, 1940, brought the more encouraging news that the Italians had "to all intents and purposes" evacuated Metemma (on the Sudan frontier, opposite Gallabat) as a result of continued aggressive action by our patrols and artillery.

In a written reply to a Parliamentary question, Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated on November 26, first, that His Majesty's Government was anxious to see Ethiopia liberated from Italian aggression, and, second, that we had no territorial ambitions in that country, which we wished to see free and independent. His Majesty's Government, he said, was "therefore affording every assistance possible to those Ethiopians who have taken up arms against the common enemy." But he gave no indication as to the form this assistance was taking. Three weeks later, after reiterating the Government's policy of extending all possible help to the Emperor and to "all elements within Abyssinia willing to bear arms against the enemy," Mr. Butler added, "Information as to conditions in Abyssinia is naturally difficult to obtain, but the movement of revolt against the Italians appears to be making progress."

Successful attacks on Italian convoys were being made by guerilla bands, known as "shifta," of loyal Abyssinians who had never been entirely subdued. They had long chafed under Italian rule. Now, armed with the spoils of attacks on Italian caravans and out-

posts, they were constantly gaining fresh strength. Their leaders, reinforced by many dispossessed Abyssinian landowners and peasants and by native soldiers who had deserted from the Italian army, began crossing the border to make contact with the British authorities in Kenya and in the Sudan. In the Gallabat area one Abyssinian patrol devoted itself to sabotage. Crossing the border under cover of darkness, it set fire to stores, exploded ammunition dumps, sniped Italian officers, laid mines along strategic roads—and trained Patriot Abyssinians living in the area to do the same.

Towards the end of the year on the road south of Addis Ababa Abyssinian shifta ambushed two columns of colonial infantry, killing 80 (including 4 Italians) and capturing 60 rifles. An Italian attempt at punishment failed: a whole battalion was lured into a forest, 50 being killed. These guerilla fighters also helped to spread information through the country.



READY FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF LIBERATION

Here the Emperor Haile Selassie inspects Abyssinian troops, together with their British officers, in the Sudan prior to the beginning of the advance. Speaking of Patriot activities inside Abyssinia, he said: "My chiefs only await the signal to march against the Italians."

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

The first news of more effective action came when, early in January, 1941, it was reported that Patriot Abyssinian forces, assisted by the Royal Air Force, had compelled the Italians to evacuate Gubba. And then at last, on January 20, the world learned what lay behind Mr. Butler's assurances and the trickle of news about guerilla activity that had been coming through. Since July, 1940, a British Mission had been at work in Abyssinia, training, encouraging and assembling the Abyssinians to fight in their own defence. The Mission consisted of one colonel and a handful of other officers and N.C.O.s, all well acquainted with the country, its customs and its languages. They had carried with them the seal of the Emperor, and had been accompanied by an important convoy of arms borne on pack mules along mountain tracks. Their goal had been the Gojjam region, which lies between the Sudan frontier and Addis Ababa. The river Gijon, one of the legendary rivers flowing from the Garden of Eden, rises there, and gives birth to the Blue Nile. The Mission reached its headquarters only after weeks of trekking through wild mountainous country and dense jungle in the oppressive heat and heavy rains of the Abyssinian summer.



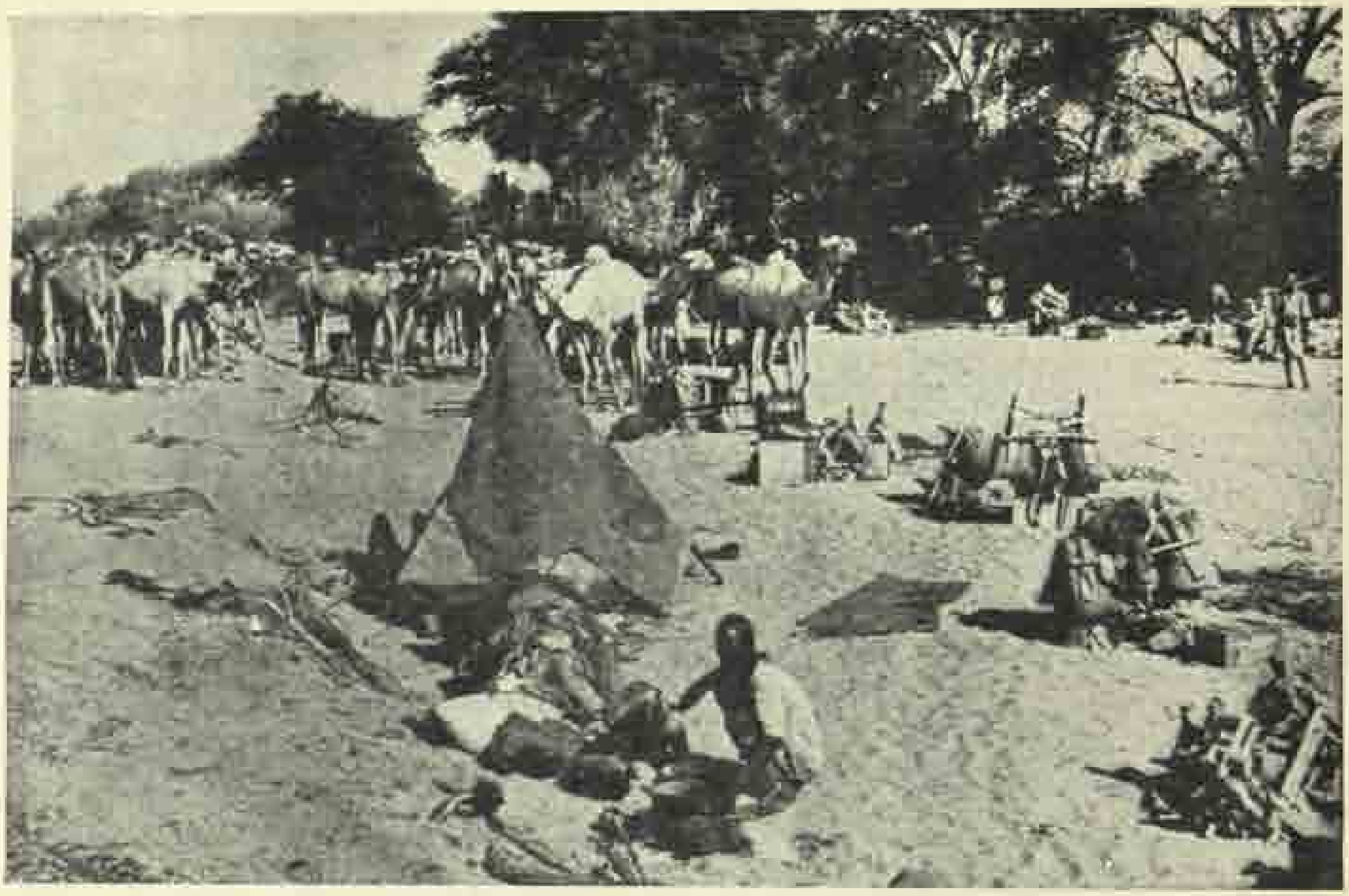
SOME OF THE BRITISHERS WHO PREPARED THE WAY

A small party of British officers went into Abyssinia some six months before the campaign opened, there in secret to organize internal resistance and rally the loyal chiefs. Two of the party are shown with some of the troops they had trained; nearest the centre is an Intelligence Officer.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

On his arrival the British colonel read the Emperor's proclamation, to the drone of Italian warplanes overhead. The peasants demanded a sign—and the Royal Air Force supplied it by bombing Dangila and other fortified Italian centres in the district. The Italians completely failed to locate the Mission, which lived in caves and under cover of the woods. Other convoys of arms, carried on camels and mules and escorted by Ethiopian troops from the Sudan, followed the first: and regular communication was maintained by courier with the authorities in the Sudan until January, 1941, when messages ceased, and a British major set out by

R.A.F. Gives a Sign



HAILE SELASSIE RETURNS TO ETHIOPIA

On January 15, 1941, the Emperor once again set foot in his realm. He is seen below alighting from an R.A.F. 'plane. He took command of Abyssinian troops which had been trained for the fight to free the country. Above, camels of the first battalion of Ethiopian troops and their drivers; this unit was led by an Australian officer and four Australian N.C.O.s

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



air to make contact, if possible, with the rebels and with the Mission that had been organizing them.

British Mission Lands

The country proved far from easy to traverse, even by aeroplane, on account of the difficulty of getting down low enough among the mountains to decide on the direction of flow of the rivers and thus identify positions on a map; but after the observer had almost given up hope he sighted the patch of level ground for which he was looking, and the pilot landed safely. The British Mission proved to be intact, and the newcomers found that knowledge of its presence and of the Emperor's nearness, backed by the activities of the R.A.F. in the district, had raised Abyssinian spirits to a great height. After a night's rest the major and his R.A.F. observer mounted mules and trekked to the source of the Blue Nile, where the major addressed a large gathering of Patriot chieftains. Afterwards he and the observer were baptized by an Ethiopian chief priest in the sacred spring of Gijon. A feast followed. Next day the piece of ground on which the pilot had alighted proved too small for him to be able to take off. One of the chieftains sent warriors to the summits of the surrounding hills, where they sounded



C.-IN-C. VISITS SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE BORDER

General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East (third from right), is here seen with South African officers near the Abyssinian frontier. Extreme right is Lieut.-General Alan Cunningham, G.O.C. East African Forces. Below, in a 700-mile journey to Dambacha, in the Gojjam, the supply lorries had often to be hauled through dense jungle by man-power.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



long brass horns summoning Patriots from far and wide who worked with such a will at enlarging the landing ground that in twenty-four hours the 'plane was able to depart.

The Emperor himself, accompanied by his two sons, the Crown Prince and the Duke of Harar, arrived in Abyssinia on January 15, 1941. This was the signal for Ras Mongasha to raise the signal of revolt at Gojjam, and within a few days, without any definite action, a large part of the country between the Blue Nile and the River Seti was in the hands of the Patriots, except for isolated Italian garrisons.

With the co-operation of British and Imperial forces, particularly in the air, the Patriot forces rapidly extended their sphere of control in the Gojjam area.

Italians Abandon Dangila

The Italians abandoned Dangila, a large town which they had made into a garrison and air base, and other important posts. On February 18 the Duke of Aosta, the Viceroy, appointed General of the Italian Air Force in Abyssinia, telegraphed to Mussolini: "We will last somehow, at any cost, thanks to my enthusiastic collaborators of the Air Force, and thanks to the generous people who are ready for any sacrifice for the achievement of the







ADDIS ABABA, APRIL 5, 1941

After an advance of 1,800 miles in 60 days Imperial troops entered Addis Ababa. Top, left, a Transvaal Regiment marches through; right, Ethiopian troops lead the way. Centre, Haile Selassie returns in triumph after five years of exile; the Crown Prince is behind him, and on the right of photograph Lt.-Gen. Cunningham stands with outstretched hand. Below, left, the Emperor with his escort; right, hoisting the Union Jack over the Governor's palace.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





Fascist Italian victory." But Patriot gains continued. Kujabara, 18 miles from Dangila, was captured with many prisoners. Piccolo Abbai, evacuated by the Italians, was occupied. The revolt swept on across the uplands of Gojjam, driving nearer and nearer to the main Italian base in Addis Ababa, which was constantly raided from the air. So also was Gondar, the base on which the Italian forces in the north had begun to retire, pursued by Patriot and British troops to such good purpose that they had to abandon and destroy quantities of material and stores of all kinds.

By March 5 the Patriot forces had occupied Burye in the Gojjam and were pressing on towards Debra Marcos. In this area 1,300 Italian irregulars and 200 colonial troops deserted with their weapons to join the Patriots. Bombers continually harassed the retreating Italians. By the end of the month all effective resistance between Lake Tana and Lake Rudolf had been broken, and the Italians, soldiers and settlers, driven much less by fear of the British than of the Ethiopians, were retreating on Dessie, Jimma, and Addis Ababa. As Italian rule collapsed local chiefs took over control.

In the meantime, British and Imperial forces had captured Afodu, 45 miles inside Abyssinia from Kurmuk, and Asosa, near the Sudan border. In the south-east the British crossed the frontier from Italian Somaliland on March 6, and advanced with great rapidity. All the way to Harar there was a good metalled road, and the Italians offered no resistance—in fact, all contact with the enemy was lost except through air reconnaissance. Jijiga was occupied on March 17; Harar on the 27th. On the 30th an Italian communiqué announced the evacuation of Diredawa. It had been occupied on the 29th by South African troops, who arrived just in time to prevent ill-treatment by native deserters of Italian civilians left behind. Having restored order, the South Africans continued their advance westwards. Constant air attacks by the South African Air Force were made on the railways connecting Addis Ababa with Diredawa and Jibuti. Gambela, in the south-west, was captured by Abyssinian, African, and Belgian troops; and the Free French Sudan Squadron were in action in the air in the Gondar region, where they brought down one of the last Italian fighter 'planes remaining in the country.

Advance from Somaliland

By the end of March half the country had been conquered and only three considerable towns remained in Italian hands. But the campaign was by no means at an end yet, though the British advance continued on all sectors. Following heavy air raids on April 5, Addis Ababa fell on the 5th, and a comparative handful of Imperial troops, mostly South Africans, disarmed 5,000 prisoners, of whom 1,000 were Italians. On the same day—five years exactly since Italian troops entered the city—the Emperor returned to his capital. After giving thanks in the sanctuary of the Virgin Mary on the summit of Mount Entotto, he rode in an open car to the royal palace of Menelik through crowds of priests, soldiers, and white-clad women, who bowed before him as he passed. Three days later he announced his desire to collaborate with the British government and people, and requested from the British government the assistance of advisers to help him carry out his work in Ethiopia.



FIRST INDIAN OFFICER V.C. OF SECOND GREAT WAR

Lieutenant P. S. Bhagat, 21st Bombay Sappers, went ahead of our troops to clear up minefields during the advance from Gallabat to Wami, and was blown up twice in four days; though on each occasion a companion in the carrier was killed, the gallant lieutenant himself received only minor injuries. Lieut. Bhagat is one of three officer brothers serving in the East.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Debra Marcos (where the French Sudan Squadron took part in the bombing) was captured on April 7, and a week later the Emperor had arrived in the district and local chiefs were swearing fealty to him. Fighting hard all the time, the Italians retreated on Dessie, which was captured on April 26 in the fiercest battle of the campaign, fought on our side entirely by South African infantry, armoured cars, and artillery; over 8,000 prisoners were taken. The Duke of Aosta, who had moved to Dessie on the fall of Addis Ababa, flew on to Amba Alagi, which at once became the target of growing attacks from the air.

The mountain of Amba Alagi rises to 11,000 feet. By an odd twist of fortune, its caves, in which Haile Selassie had taken shelter five years earlier, became the last refuge of the Italian Viceroy and his army. The Italians had tunnelled galleries into the cliffs and cut gun emplacements out of the rock, making Amba Alagi almost impregnable. But the defences had been designed to meet an attack from the north, and while Indian troops were advancing in that direction from Asmara, the South Africans were pressing on from the south towards its more vulnerable side. The country through which our troops were advancing was wildly mountainous, with deep gorges and towering peaks, where the enemy fought desperate delaying actions, destroying and obstructing the roads as they retired. But Indian sappers and miners did notable work in clearing them, and the converging movement from north and south went on relentlessly. On May 17 Amba Alagi was surrounded, and on the 19th it surrendered—according to the Italians, owing to lack of food and water and the impossibility of caring for the wounded. The prisoners taken numbered 18,000, and included the Duke of Aosta, with five generals and a number of other senior staff officers.

Situation at Amba Alagi

In the winter of 1935-6 (during the Italian invasion of Abyssinia) De Bono and Badoglio had taken seven months to advance the 425 miles from Adigrat to Amba Alagi. In contrast, our Imperial troops took only 94 days to cover the 1,500 miles from Kismayu to Amba Alagi. In this tremendous march the water supply had been a constant anxiety. Water sometimes had to be carried as much as 200 miles in drums, and in the country traversed a water hole was an objective as important as a great railway junction would have been in a civilized land. Moreover, the whole operation had to be pushed through at the highest possible speed for fear not of lack of water, but of excess of it—with the coming of the rains.

The Italian Commander-in-Chief had surrendered, but fighting continued. In the south Shashamanna had been occupied a few days before the fall of Amba Alagi. A week later an Italian column was forced to surrender at





WOLCHEFIT SURRENDERS AFTER FIVE MONTHS' SIEGE

The Italian garrison at Wolchefit, 80 miles north of Gondar, surrendered on September 26; the position had been invested since April 15. Top, the garrison marches out with the Honours of War, past a guard composed of the King's African Rifles. Below, the enemy position seen from inside the Wolchefit Pass Fort.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

Agibar; and Soddu was captured on May 24. Right through June Italian troops were coming in to surrender in the Soddu area. By the middle of June Jimma, which had suffered constant air raids since April, was encircled by Abyssinian troops. It was captured on the 21st by Patriot forces, led by British officers and reinforced from the west by the Belgian contingent which had helped in the capture of Gambela; 8,000 Italians were taken prisoner. Agaro and Bedelli were captured a few days later. Lekamti, 170 miles west of Addis Ababa, was occupied by Patriot forces on June 11.

To the north, Debarech, taken by Patriots and twice re-taken by the Italians, was finally in our hands by June 4. The road between Debra Tabor and Gondar, strongest remaining place in Italian hands, had been cut a few days previously. Ghimbi, evacuated by the Italians, was occupied on June 27. General Bertello, who had commanded the Italian troops in British Somaliland, surrendered at Ghimbi together with two other generals, 245 other Italian officers, 1,941 Italian other ranks, and 841 Askaris. Debra Tabor, surrounded early in June, did not surrender until July 3, when 3,000 Italians and 1,200 Africans were taken prisoner. On July 4 General Sir Archibald Wavell said at Cairo:

"It's pretty well cleaned up. After today's news that Debra Tabor has fallen I don't think it will be long before the Italians in that pocket in the south will be forced to throw in their hands. That will just leave Gondar. The campaign has been a brilliant achievement of Generals Cunningham and Platt."

The remaining Italian forces operating in the province of Galla Sidamo surrendered the same day; and on the 6th it was reported that ten more Italian generals with their troops, numbering 5,000, had surrendered, and all Italian resistance had collapsed, except at Gondar.

At Gondar a force estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000 was still holding out. They were completely cut off from the rest of the country, not only by the British investment but also by the destruction of the three main roads by which the district could be reached. The area, however, produces a fair amount of foodstuffs, which reduced the possibility of starving out

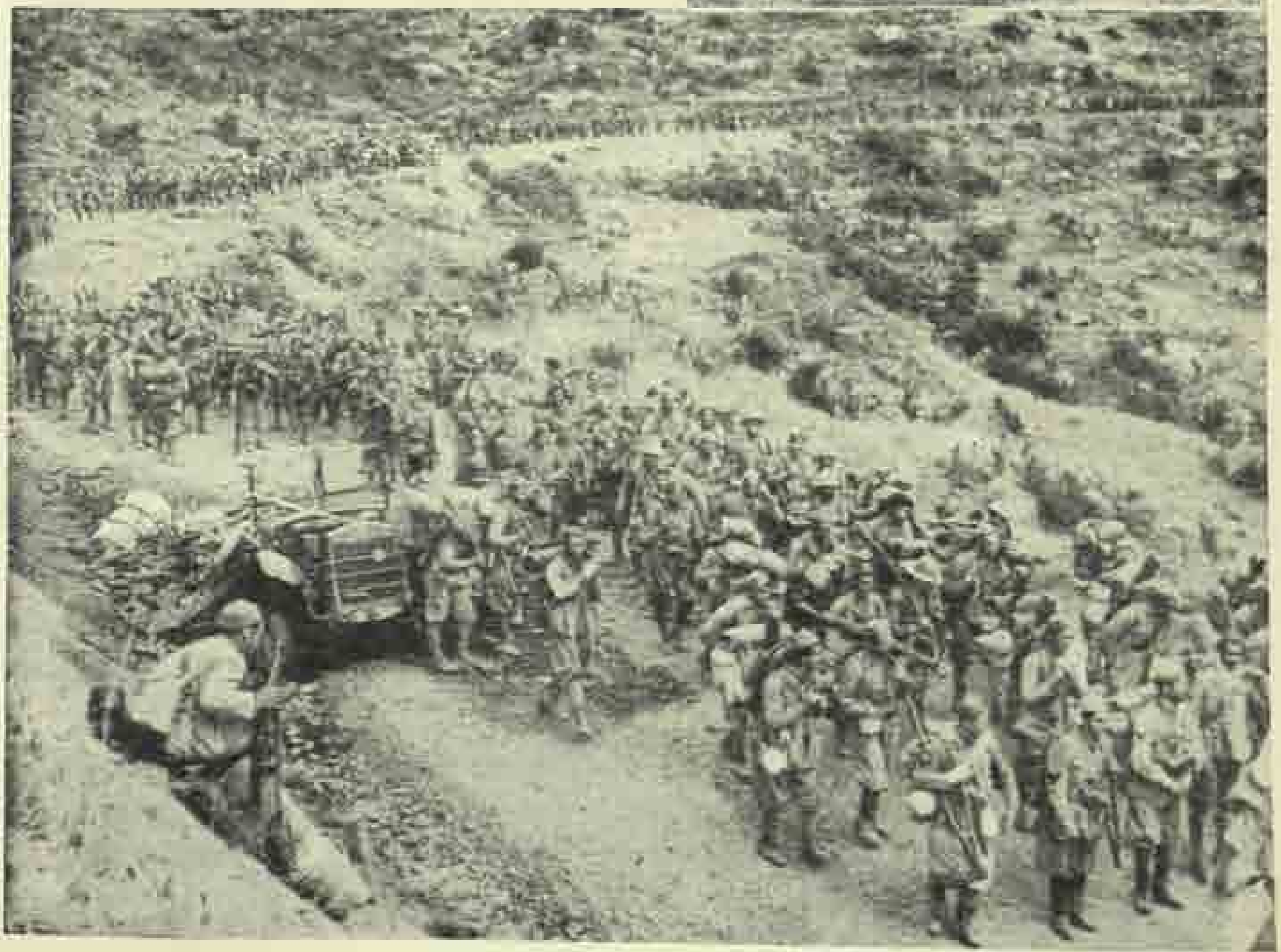




FALL OF AMBA ALAGI, REFUGE OF ITALIAN VICEROY

Surrounded on May 17, Amba Alagi surrendered two days later: the Duke of Aosta with five generals and 18,000 other ranks were taken prisoner. Top, left, the Duke (second from left) walks down from his mountain cave, which five years earlier had sheltered the Emperor in flight; right, Ras Seyoum harangues his Patriot troops before the assault on Amba Alagi. Below, Italians marching down from Fort Toselli after the surrender.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



the garrison, and General Nasi, commander of the Gondar forces, though over 60, was unlikely to surrender unless conditions became impossible. His garrison was divided into two parts. One brigade was isolated on the precipitous massif round Debarech, where it was protected against the advance of British troops from the north by the destruction of the road over the Wolchefit Pass. Supplies were reaching it by the three aircraft left to General Nasi. Round Gondar itself was concentrated a large body of Italians, including some hundreds of civilians.

Bad weather conditions with heavy rains now made movement very difficult, and for several months operations were restricted to pressure by patrols of British, Imperial, and Ethiopian troops and to bombing from the air. Towards the end of September, when weather conditions improved, the British offensive was resumed. Wolchefit, besieged since April 15, surrendered on September 26; among the 3,000 prisoners taken were 1,560 Italians. Patriot forces under British officers fought a number of successful minor actions in the Lake Tana area, and in the north established themselves between Wolchefit and Gondar. Low-level bombing attacks were made on Ambazzo, 10 miles north of Gondar, on October 21, and a day or two later British forces made contact with the Italians there, encountering considerable opposition. Guramba was attacked by the R.A.F. on the 25th, and Deva on the 27th. Fighting occurred on the Dessie-Gondar road between a detachment of British troops and mounted enemy irregulars, the enemy being driven off after a two-hour battle.

Gradually the chieftains were coming in to the Emperor, until at the beginning of November only three in the Kamant area were still supporting the Italians. Kulkaber, an isolated enemy fort east of Lake Tana, reported on November 2 to be completely cut off and dependent for supplies on boats across the lake, surrendered on November 21 and left the way open for an attack on the main defences 10 miles south of Gondar. Civilian refugees from Gondar began to come into the British lines in a steady stream. With the capture of Gianda by a British and Ethiopian surprise attack Gondar was completely encircled. Deserters, whose numbers increased daily, reported that outside Gondar on November 11 there had been a mutiny of colonial troops, which had been suppressed only after severe fighting.

British and Ethiopian troops were now advancing on Gondar from six directions, and on November 27 the garrison surrendered unconditionally to a combined attack. Highland, Indian and Sudanese troops, South, East and West Africans, Free French and Patriot forces took part in the assault. East African and Patriot troops played the largest part in the action. Prisoners taken numbered 11,500 Italians and 12,000 native troops. British aircraft dropped leaflets on the remaining Italian outposts telling of General Nasi's surrender, and all outlying garrisons surrendered on December 2, 1941, thus ending Italian rule.

Two months later, on February 3, 1942, the terms of an agreement and military convention between Great Britain and Abyssinia were published. Briefly they provided for the taking over of civil administration as soon as Ethiopian powers were effective, the grant of financial assistance, the appointment of British advisers in administration, law and police, and close association in military matters.





LAST ENEMY STRONGHOLD

Gondar, with its garrison of 10,000 under General Nasi, surrendered on November 27, 1941. Left, the Union Jack flies on the ancient Portuguese castle (beginning in 1490, Portuguese influence was considerable for a century and a half). Above, Lieut.-General Wetherall congratulates fighting French units on their share in the victory.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



BRITISH OBSERVATION POST ON A HEIGHT BETWEEN KEREN AND ASMARA

Photographs and maps in other pages have shown how difficult was the country over which the campaign in Eritrea was fought. Keren is a natural stronghold in a rocky cup high up on the Eritrean escarpment, fenced around with lofty ridges topped by towering peaks. Asmara stands on a yet higher plateau. This photograph of a forward observation post gives a clear idea of the nature of the terrain.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

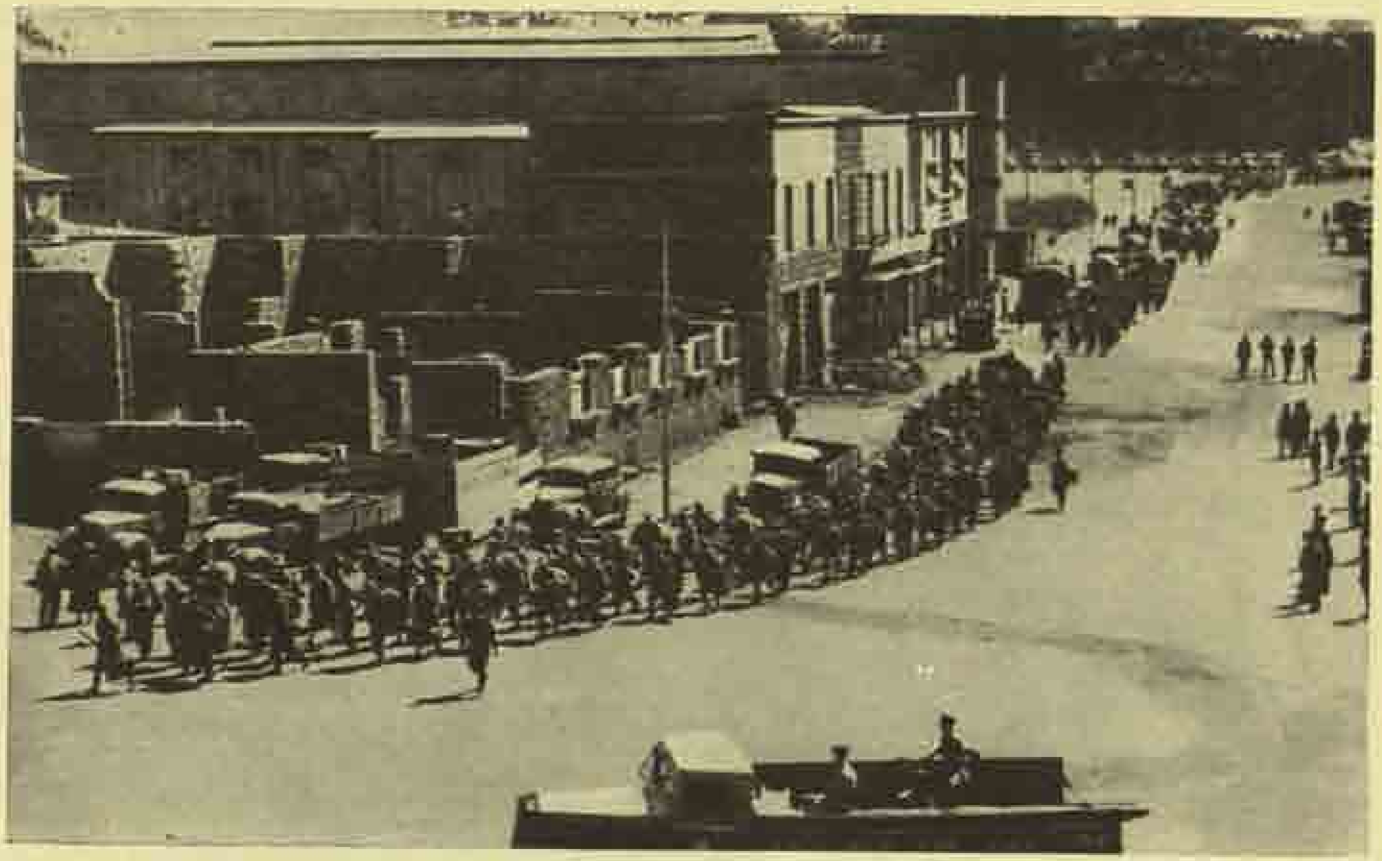


SOUTH AFRICANS AND ABYSSINIAN PATRIOTS GO ON TO VICTORY

In four long lines the troop lorries of the South African forces roar along over the rolling grass lands of Abyssinia to meet the enemy in the battles of Gerai and El Gumu. Below, wearing a captured Italian uniform, the Patriot General Ras Gorussa leads his levies across the Omo river, which runs into Lake Rudolf.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





AFTER FIVE YEARS OF EXILE HAILE SELASSIE RULES AGAIN

Once he was installed at Addis Ababa, a great many Abyssinian leaders rallied to their Emperor, and below is the scene when Ras Ababa Aragai swore allegiance; some of the soldiers kissed the ground in their enthusiastic devotion. Top, some of the many thousands of Italian prisoners march through Gondar, after its surrender on Nov. 27, 1941.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





BRITISH TROOPS ONCE AGAIN RESTORE ORDER IN ANCIENT BAGHDAD

British forces entered Baghdad on June 1, 1941—twenty-four years after the last British occupation in 1917. Upon the termination of the British mandate and the recognition of Iraq's independence in 1927 the Royal Air Force under treaty maintained several squadrons in the country. Here are seen British troops on the bank of the Tigris in June, 1941. In background are the domes and minarets of the Old City.

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright

SUPPRESSION OF THE RASHID ALI REVOLT IN IRAQ

The Iraqi Quisling—Axis Intrigues and Infiltration—First Act in a Middle Eastern Plot—Iraqi Attack on R.A.F. Station—Germans Send Aircraft—Iraqis Ejected from Habbaniya—Capture of Fallujah—Imperial Forces Reach Baghdad—Rashid Ali Flees—British Capture Mosul—Rebels Ask for an Armistice—Return of the Regent

The Iraq trouble flared up at the beginning of April, 1941, following the action of Rashid Ali al-Gailani, the Iraqi quisling designate of the Axis, in bringing about a "palace revolution" on April 3 and assuming power. It had really begun earlier, when the Germans started intriguing with Rashid Ali and the four Iraqi army commanders known collectively as the "Golden Square." These commanders were Salah ed-Din, commander of the Western Army; Kamil Shabid, commander of the 1st Division; Fahmi Said, commander of the Mechanized Forces; and Mahmud Salman, commander of the Air Force. Rashid Ali had been Premier until his resignation on January 31.

The German intrigue in Iraq formed part of an ambitious Axis plan, and was no mere isolated episode. The plan was designed to turn us out of the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean and to isolate us from our Turkish ally. It envisaged the Iraq revolt as the first act in a Middle Eastern drama of which the second act was to be Syria, the third Iran (Persia), and the fourth Egypt.

The Middle East is to be understood as a military command, replacing the older political term the Near East. This military area, first under the command of General Wavell and later under General Auchinleck, consists of Northern Africa (Libya and Egypt), Syria (with Lebanon and Transjordan), Saudi Arabia and Oman, Iraq and Iran. It thus stretches from Libya to the borders of Afghanistan and India.

Like all Hitlerian projects of the kind the ingredients of the German plan were the usual ones of the combination of Fifth Column action from within with military attack from without. The Germans played upon the Nationalist feelings and personal ambitions of Rashid Ali and the four commanders of the Golden Square, promising military, political and financial support, and the usual bait that if Iraq did the Axis bidding it would be a leader in Hitler's New Order in the Middle East. Rashid Ali was to stage his revolt and the Germans would then come to his assistance. Vichy was to play the role in Syria of allowing the Germans to use that country as a base for aerial operations in Iraq and a jumping-off place for a bigger operation against Britain in the Middle East. German 'planes with Iraqi markings did for a time reach Iraq, but Rashid Ali may have been too precipitate. In any case the promptness and energy of the British reply were such that his revolt was in the process of being broken before it reached the stage at which the Germans were in a position to intervene. This, together with the British action in Syria, forestalled the Germans, who had to leave Rashid Ali in the lurch.

The British acted with commendable speed because they realized, no less than the enemy, the big strategic issues involved. They knew that a German success in Iraq would make possible not only the establishment of the Axis in Iraq and Syria but would bring about the isolation of Turkey. Moreover, it would have meant a blow to our prestige throughout the Arab world, with the most deplorable consequences both military and political. Last, but not least, there was the





MAJOR GLUBB AND THE TRANSJORDAN FRONTIER FORCE

A Political Officer in Iraq in the war of 1914–18, Major (local Colonel) John Bagot Glubb, O.B.E., M.C., was transferred to Transjordan in 1932 to command the Arab Legion. During the Iraq operations of 1941 he was an inspiration to all who worked with him; with a mechanized squadron he led forays and harassed the enemy's communications. Later, in Syria, when attacked by an enemy mechanized column he completely routed it, taking 80 prisoners and much war material. He was awarded the D.S.O. Inset, Major Glubb; the other photograph shows a unit of the mechanized squadron of the Legion on patrol in Syria.

Photos, British Official; Crown Copyright; Planet News



HABBANIYA, WHERE THE CONFLICT BEGAN IN IRAQ

At Habbaniya, 60 miles west of Baghdad, was the Royal Air Force airfield and training school. Towards the end of April Rashid Ali concentrated troops around airport and cantonments, threatening to destroy any British 'plane which took the air. On May 1, 1941, the Iraqis opened fire, and later their aircraft tried to raid the airport. Below, under the eye of a British guard, a rebel N.C.O. interprets orders to prisoners taken at Habbaniya by the R.A.F.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; C. E. Brown



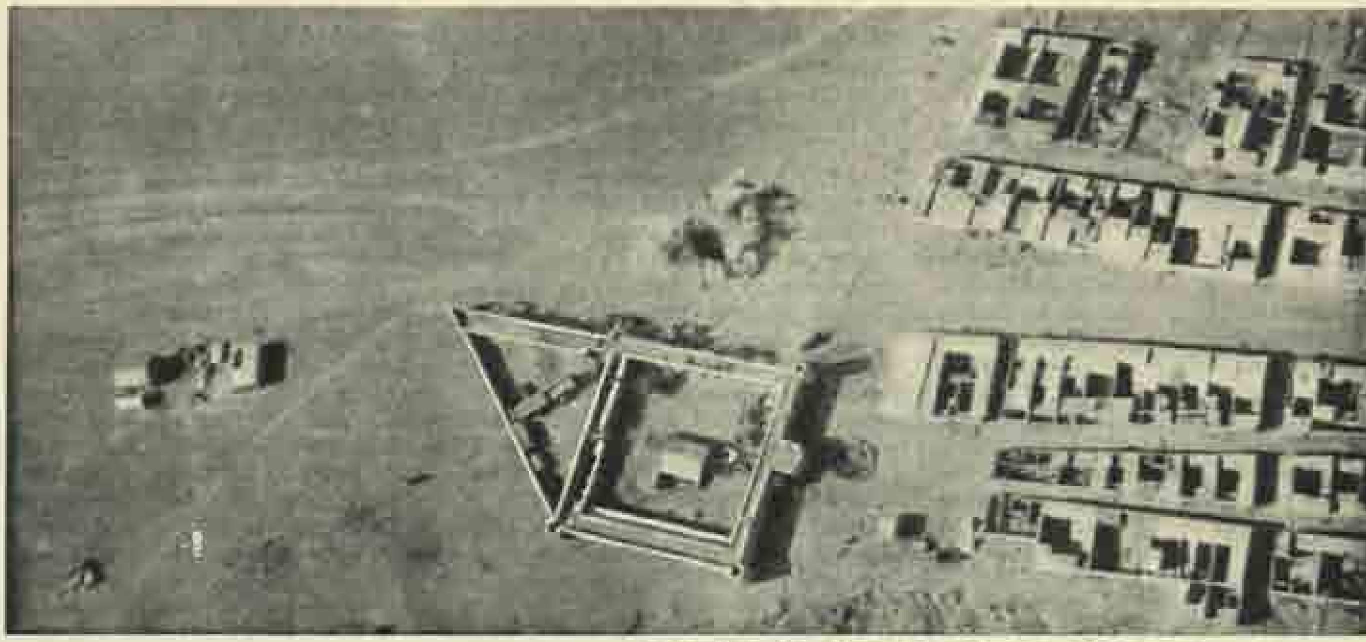
question of the oil fields and the pipe line. Both sides, therefore, were playing for high stakes.

After Rashid Ali seized power on April 3 his government at first adopted an apparently conciliatory attitude. It proclaimed that its policy would be to uphold the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. But it soon became evident that the new Premier was only playing for time. He wanted in the first place to secure recognition of his government; secondly, he wanted to lull the British into a false state of security in order that he might have time to bring his Nazi friends to his assistance. During the short period of conciliation the new British Ambassador, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, was able to negotiate the peaceful landing of British troops—as was provided by treaty—at Basra on April 17-18. But Rashid Ali's "friendliness" very soon changed to open hostility. He timed his change of attitude to coincide with our troubles in the Greek campaign. Without warning, while three more British troop transports were arriving off Basra, the Iraqi army marched by night across the Tigris and Euphrates to our airfield in the west. They ranged themselves on the low escarpments round Habbaniya and threatened to destroy any British aeroplane which took off.

On April 28 Rashid Ali demanded that no more British troops should be landed at Basra until the first contingent had passed through the country, and at the same time he appealed to Germany for help against the British. By this time British and Iraqi troops had clashed. On May 2 the British Embassy asked for the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops round Habbaniya. Instead, they were reinforced. The Iraqi air force then attempted to raid the British airfield, but without effect. Rashid Ali accused the British of having broken the treaty, and proclaimed a "holy struggle for the independence of Iraq." On May 3 the R.A.F. bombed the Iraqi forces round Habbaniya and silenced artillery.

Iraqi Raid on Habbaniya

Then the Regent, Emir Abdul Ilah, who had been obliged to leave the country at the time of the Rashid Ali coup and had gone to Palestine, issued on May 4 a proclamation saying that he would be returning "to restore the tarnished honour" of his country, and calling upon all true sons of Iraq to "drive out this band of traitors and restore to our beloved country true liberty and independence." The Emir declared that "a group of military tyrants, aided and abetted by Rashid Ali and other ill-disposed persons bought by foreign gold, have by force thrust me from my sacred duties as guardian of my nephew, your beloved King." The next day the R.A.F. bombed the Moascar Rashid aerodrome, outside Baghdad, and put out of action nearly half the strength of the Iraqi Air



CAPTURE OF RUTBAH FROM IRAQI REBELS

The station of Rutbah, near the oil pipe-line to Syria and 70 miles south of the Syrian frontier, was seized by the rebels on May 2; nine days later it was in British hands. Top, a bomb was dropped near Rutbah as a warning to the Iraqis to surrender; below, British armoured cars entering the fort after its capture.

Photos, British Official; Crown Copyright



Force. The airport, dock area and power station at Basra were occupied. The British then demanded the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops by a certain hour. Iraqi officials agreed, but took no action. The R.A.F. bombed and machine-gunned Iraqi mechanized troops and transport after the Iraqis had again shelled the Habbaniya airfield.

On May 6 moves were made by both Turkey and Egypt to mediate. The British, however, insisted upon the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Habbaniya before entering upon negotiations. Habbaniya was shelled again on May 7, and on the 8th British troops and loyal Iraqi levies, operating from Habbaniya, ejected the Iraqis from positions on the plateau overlooking the cantonment. Enemy losses were heavy, our own being slight. The aerodrome at Moascar Rashid was bombed again by the R.A.F. on the 9th, and on the 11th the British took Rutbah.

In the meantime Rashid Ali was with the Northern Army, but was not in touch with the border battalions in the south and on the frontiers. He had about 30,000 men under his control. Most of the Iraqi people showed no disposition to move against the British. The British army commanders had explicit orders, which they carried out to the letter, to avoid doing injury to civilians or their property and to endeavour as far as possible to keep the fighting away from the holy places.

Iraqi People Stood Apart

By May 15 the Germans began to take a hand by sending aircraft. Some thirty Nazi 'planes, which had been flown from Greece and the Dodecanese, landed in Iraq. It also became evident that the Vichy authorities were allowing the Nazis to make use of Syrian aerodromes for flying 'planes to Iraq. The British retaliated by attacking the aerodromes at Damascus, Palmyra, and Rayak on May 15, and the R.A.F. also bombed trains carrying German war material to the rebel Iraqis. Thus opened the prelude to the Syrian war.

On May 18 it was stated officially in India that the British authorities had irrefutable evidence that every move by Rashid Ali since his coup d'état had been inspired by the calculated intention to betray the Moslem nations in the Middle East and their British and Indian Allies into the hands of the Axis. Every subsequent action had been designed to give the Germans time to move into the country and to establish a hostile base in the centre of Arabia, in the rear of Turkey, and it was only the British action which had upset these plans.

A battalion of the Essex Regiment played a notable part in the capture of Fallujah. It had been stationed in Palestine until April, and then advanced with the mixed force into Iraq. By May 6 the column had occupied a pumping station 28 miles from Rutbah; Rutbah itself was taken on the 11th. Reaching Habbaniya on the 16th, they joined up with armoured cars from our airfield. Fallujah was taken by assault on May 19,

and later the Essex Regt. took part in driving out Iraqi rebels who had gained a brief foothold on the outskirts.

The Regent, Abdul Ilah, now returned to Iraq, and considered the formation of a new administration. On May 25 it was announced that the Iraqi Minister of Defence had flown from Baghdad and was seeking refuge in Turkey, and that Rashid Ali's family was already at Ankara. Berlin had informed Rashid Ali that Germany would not be able to render him military aid for at least two months, and he had, in effect, thrown up the sponge. By the end of May it was already clear that the game was up. The Germans started withdrawing their aeroplanes from the country, and the Iraqis asked for an armistice. After negotiations at Baghdad, at Sir Kinahan Cornwallis's headquarters, an armistice was signed on May 31.

The British forces, which had been reinforced by Indians, had reached Baghdad on June 1. Control of the country was then taken over by a committee of four under the leadership of the Mayor of Baghdad, Ashed Alumari, who stated that it was the people's wish that the Regent should enter Baghdad as soon as possible and restore constitutional government and "peace and independence." The Regent arrived in Baghdad on June 1. Rashid Ali, realizing that he could not hold Mosul without German help, had fled the country on May 30. He went to Iran, taking with him Sharaf, the puppet Regent he had set up, and accompanied by the German and Italian Ministers. The British capture of Mosul on June 4 ended this minor war of major significance.

On June 4 a new Iraqi cabinet was formed under the premiership of Said Jamil Madfai, who declared that the events of the last month had been the result of the "foul attempt on the part of fifth columnists to stir up trouble," and added that "our international relationships and our political and military situation were the best guarantees to keep us out of the conflict." Mr. Anthony Eden then sent a message to the Iraqi Government, stating that the British would respect the independence and integrity of the country.

Work of Fifth Columnists

After the stamping out of the Rashid Ali revolt and the restoration of the Regent, with a return to constitutional government, the Iraqi authorities had the task of purging the administration and the army of disaffected elements which had been working for Rashid Ali and the Axis. Herr Grobba, German Minister to Baghdad until the outbreak of war, and his agents had sown the seed in many directions, with the result that the mutineers who had backed Rashid Ali had had a number of civilian political supporters. These had been particularly numerous among the police.

Later in the year the Government was taken over by General Nuri Pasha (Foreign Minister until Rashid Ali's revolt), a strong and experienced man who was devoted to Iraq and loyal to the British connexion. The interim government of Said Jamil Madfai had done good work in the meantime, but it was felt that Nuri Pasha would be better able to "clear up the mess."

Actual military operations in Iraq were not extensive, and hardly deserve the appellation "war." Rather were they a series of small-scale operations. They consisted mainly of our action against the Iraqi troops surrounding the British airfield at Habbaniya and the capture of the Mosul position (mainly by British airborne troops). The British had held Basra, thus keeping open the sea communications, and from that base had operated against the Iraqis at Habbaniya, Mosul and Baghdad. A large part of the Iraqi army took no part in the fighting, neither the army nor the people as a whole being in sympathy with the Rashid Ali policy. The British throughout used considerable restraint. A "blitz" war could have ended the revolt in a few days, but this would have meant sufferings on the part of civilians and extensive damage to civilian property. Such was not the British desire. As Mr. Winston Churchill declared at the time, we were not at war with Iraq, but were fighting a gang of usurpers.



REGENT OF IRAQ AND THE USURPER
Left, the Regent, Emir Abdul Ilah, on his return to Iraq after the flight of the rebel leader Rashid Ali (right). The usurper had seized power on April 3, 1941, deposing the Regent and setting up a pro-Axis government.
Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Barratt's

Rashid Ali was an unsuccessful quisling who had been too optimistic. The Germans, too, had been unduly sanguine. But they quickly washed their hands of the whole affair as soon as the British actions in Iraq and in Syria had nipped in the bud the grandiose Axis plan for the Middle East. With the British and Free French forces driving into Syria, and the constitutional regime—and therefore the Anglo-Iraqi connexion—restored in Iraq, the ambitious Nazi projects regarding these two countries had been foiled. But the Germans still hoped to make use of Iran, whither their own agents lately in Iraq and some of the leading Iraqi quislings had taken refuge. But Axis machinations in Iran were to be cramped by their failures in Iraq and Syria. What had been planned as the third act in the Middle Eastern drama was to be reduced to an isolated episode which was to prove useless.

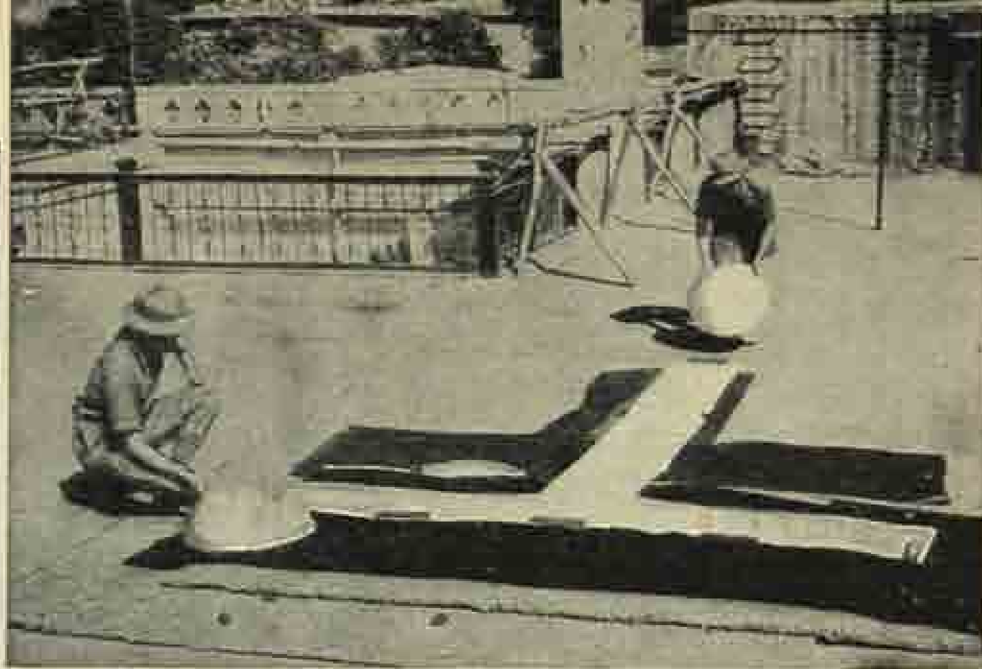
Germans Desert their Allies

To sum up, Egypt had been saved from a great pincer attack. The isolation of Turkey had been prevented. The Axis hope of inflaming the entire Arab world against us had been frustrated. The Middle East (including Palestine, as a great British military bastion) had been preserved for the great part it would have to play in Allied strategy. The British Navy could still hold the mastery of the Eastern Mediterranean. The eventual creation of the great front running from Egypt to the Caucasus was made possible.

A small affair in itself, the revolt in Iraq and the putting down of that revolt fall into their place as events of major importance, when seen in true proportion, as part of the greater Middle Eastern picture. Our success in handling the Iraqi affair cost us very little, but it continued to pay us handsome strategic dividends. The failure of the Germans to keep their promises to Rashid Ali was no doubt largely due to the prompt and firm British action; but after the losses sustained in Crete the enemy would probably have had great difficulty in mustering adequate forces without drawing on reserves earmarked for the imminent Russian offensive.

On May 4 six of Rashid Ali's confederates were tried by court-martial; three were sentenced to death and hanged next day, two were imprisoned and one was acquitted. Those hanged were Yanis Sabani; Colonel Mahmud Salman; and Colonel Fahmi Said.

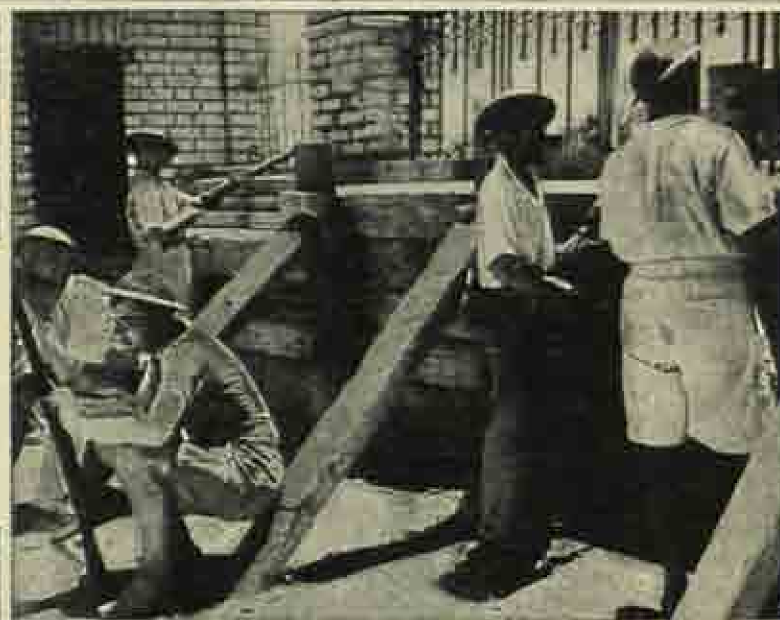




BELEAGUERED AT BAGHDAD EMBASSY

On April 29, 1941, about 200 British women and children were sent from Baghdad to safety at Basra. Shortly after, the 350 people remaining in the Embassy were cut off for a month—until the Mayor told them on May 30 of Armistice negotiations. Top, left, signalling to the R.A.F. to cease bombing during Armistice negotiations; right, laying down a sign on the Embassy roof after the Armistice had been signed. Centre, volunteers manning a barricade at the American Legation; below, early morning on the roof-top at the British Embassy.

Photos, British Official; Crown Copyright





Chapter 166

BRITISH AND FREE FRENCH LIBERATE SYRIA

Vichy Connives at German Aid for Iraqi Rebels—Royal Air Force Bombs Syrian Airfields—Joint British and Free French Entry, June 8, 1941—Three Allied Columns—Maitland Wilson's Order of Battle—British Naval Help —Check at Kuneitra—Capture of Damascus—Battle Around Merj Ayoun—British Column from Iraq—Successful War of Manoeuvre—Capture of Palmyra—General Dentz Asks for Terms—' Cease Fire ' at Midnight, July 11

The Syrian campaign opened with the advance of the British, Imperial and Free French forces into Syria on June 8, 1941, eight days after an armistice had been signed with the rebels in Iraq. But as early as the middle of May the Germans had been sending aeroplanes to Iraq via Syria and, with the connivance of the Vichy administration, using Syrian airfields for this purpose. Moreover, German staff officers, ground staff, technicians and political agents (including the Gestapo), and also a large number of Italian agents and agitators, had for some time been infiltrating into Syria. On May 15 and 18 the Royal Air Force had bombed aerodromes at Damascus, Palmyra and Rayak, and had gunned trains carrying war material. This action drew from General Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner, a proclamation on the 18th calling for resistance to what he described as "the criminal aggression of the British."

It soon became obvious that the German plans in Syria would not stop at assisting the Iraqi rebels, but envisaged also a more ambitious scheme: to establish an Axis Middle Eastern base for a great drive against us which would jeopardize our defence of Cyprus, lay all our Middle Eastern bases open to bombing, render precarious our naval position in the Eastern Mediterranean, threaten our positions in Egypt and Palestine, and isolate us from our Turkish ally. Thus, for British security, it became necessary to take Syria completely out of German and Vichy hands. Accordingly, on June 8 the British, Imperial and Free French forces crossed the border into Syria. The British Government issued a statement that this action was being taken in accordance with the policy that Britain would not tolerate the conversion of Syria into an Axis base. The Allies promised to restore the independence of Syria and the Lebanon, and leaflets to this effect were dropped from aircraft. The Vichy troops were invited to join the Free French forces, and many did so.

As soon as the Allied troops crossed the border there was a hasty exit of Axis personnel. German ground staffs and leaders were flown back to the Dodecanese, while others were evacuated by train. The initial phase of the campaign was a direct push northwards from our bases in Palestine and Transjordan, and necessarily followed the configuration of the country (*see* special relief map in page 1686). The dominant feature is the double range of hills, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon (Mount Hermon in the south), which runs north from the Palestine border to Tripoli and Homs. To the east stretches the open country of the Syrian desert; between them is the rich valley of the Beka; and on the west the foothills of Lebanon fall to the coastline, along which runs the Baif-Beirut-Tripoli road.

Natural Lines of Advance

Across the double chain there is one fairly easy pass, that from Damascus to Beirut, where the railway runs up the Barada Valley to Rayak and the northern (Homs-Aleppo) line. North of the Lebanon there is a gap of open country from the eastern desert to the sea, via Homs and Tripoli. North of this again, a single mountain range separates the Homs-Aleppo plateau from the Mediterranean; but to the east the fertile land merges imperceptibly into the desert steppe.

Our advance was made by three columns operating simultaneously—one in the open country of Mount Hermon, with Damascus as its first objective; a second up the central valley between Hermon (Anti-Lebanon) and the Lebanon range in the direction of Rayak; and the third along the coast road between the Lebanon range and the sea, making for Beirut. The lines of attack and the dates at which the principal points were reached are indicated in the map (p. 1686).

The right and left columns had the more important objectives—the Syrian capital and the headquarters of the Vichy Government respectively, since the capture of these was likely to decide the issue. The function of the central column was to maintain contact between the other two and to prevent any possible outflanking movement by the Vichy troops; Rayak, its nominal objective, could be taken from the flank, via Damascus or Beirut, as easily as by a frontal attack from the south.

The Vichy Government had long recognized the probability of our advancing into Syria and General Dentz had made his arrangements accordingly.



SYRIAN C.-IN-C. REPORTS TO MARSHAL PETAIN

On September 16, 1941, General Dentz (right), former Commander-in-Chief of the Vichy forces in Syria, was received by Marshal Petain. A breach by the Vichy authorities of the armistice convention, and the sending of British officer prisoners to Occupied France, led to the internment of Dentz and other Vichy officers for a time in Palestine.

Photo, Associated Press



ALLIED FORCES ADVANCE INTO SYRIA

British action to safeguard Syria was delayed dangerously by attempts to reach an agreement with the local commander, but at length, early on June 8, 1941, Imperial and Free French troops entered Syria. Top, Free French Senegalese advancing ; below, a British A.A. gun on the move.

Photos, British Official : Crown Copyright

He had under his command about 33,000 troops, comprising 20 battalions of Colonial and Foreign Legion infantry and 11 battalions of locally recruited "troupes spéciales"—Syrians, Circassians and White Russians. Dentz had also a considerable force of artillery (upwards of 80 guns) and 90 tanks; in addition, there was a small air force, which, during the operations, was largely reinforced from North Africa. About 2,000 fresh troops also arrived by air during the campaign. Dentz retained detachments in the north at Aleppo and Tel Kotchek, with somewhat stronger forces on the line Deir ez Zor–Palmyra–Homs–Tripoli. His main defences had been organized on the line Kiswe (south of Damascus)–Rachaya al Waali–Jezzin–Sidon. On the coast he had a second line on the Damour River. The bulk of his troops were holding these prepared positions and advance posts down to the Palestinian frontier.

'Allies' Order of Battle

The British and Imperial forces were led by Lieut.-General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, and the Free French contingent by General Catroux, who was General de Gaulle's representative. General Wilson's order of battle on June 8 was as follows. The eastern column was formed of the 5th Indian Brigade, with one field regiment of the R.A., a squadron of the Royals, and elements of the Transjordan Frontier Forces. On their right were the Free French under General Catroux, and beyond them Colonel Collet's cavalry. The Indian Brigade, with the Royals, captured Dera, Sheikh-Miskine and Ezra on June 9; the Free French passed through them at Sheikh-Miskine and pushed on towards Kiswe, where they were held; Colonel Collet's force reached Kiswe on June 11, but the position was too strong for frontal attack.

In the central sector were the 25th Australian Brigade and the Royal Fusiliers. The latter captured Kuneitra on June 9, while the Australians, starting from the Metulla salient, took Merj Ayoun on June 11 after heavy fighting on the frontier, and then advanced north to Nabatiyeh. On the coast there was the 21st Australian Brigade, with the Cheshire Yeomanry (horsed) on their right flank. The Yeomanry brushed aside opposition at Ras Naqura (the frontier), and with part of the Australian Brigade pushed inland through the hills towards the upper valley of the Litani, occupying Mazra'at ech Chouf and Mrousti, north of Jezzin. The rest of the 21st Brigade, although delayed by demolitions at



Iskanderoun, captured Tyre on June 8 and advanced to the Litani River at Kimiye. Here the bridge had been blown, and stubborn resistance was offered. On the night of June 8-9 the Royal Navy landed a detachment north of the Litani, in the face of heavy and well organized opposition, and on June 10 the Australians crossed the river and advanced five miles up the coast beyond its mouth.

Up to June 13, therefore, progress on all points was fairly good. Then resistance stiffened. The Vichy French had used our attempts at parleys to withdraw their forward troops to the main lines of defence. They were probably encouraged by our failure to secure an immediate success at Damascus, where Kiswe was proving a formidable obstacle and a flanking movement by enemy tanks had forced the Free French to withdraw; and they were embittered by having the Free French against them.

On June 15-16 the enemy counterattacked. On the east, taking advantage of his superiority in armoured fighting vehicles, he drove two mechanized squadrons of the Transjordan Frontier Force out of Ezra and recaptured the village. Kuneitra was heavily attacked by an armoured column and infantry, and the garrison of the Royal Fusiliers was compelled to surrender after exhausting its ammunition. In the centre, Merj Ayoun was violently bombarded, and on June 15 the enemy gained a foothold in the town which was hotly disputed by the Scots Greys. On the coast, by clever use of mortars and tanks, the Vichy troops held up our advance south of Sidon.

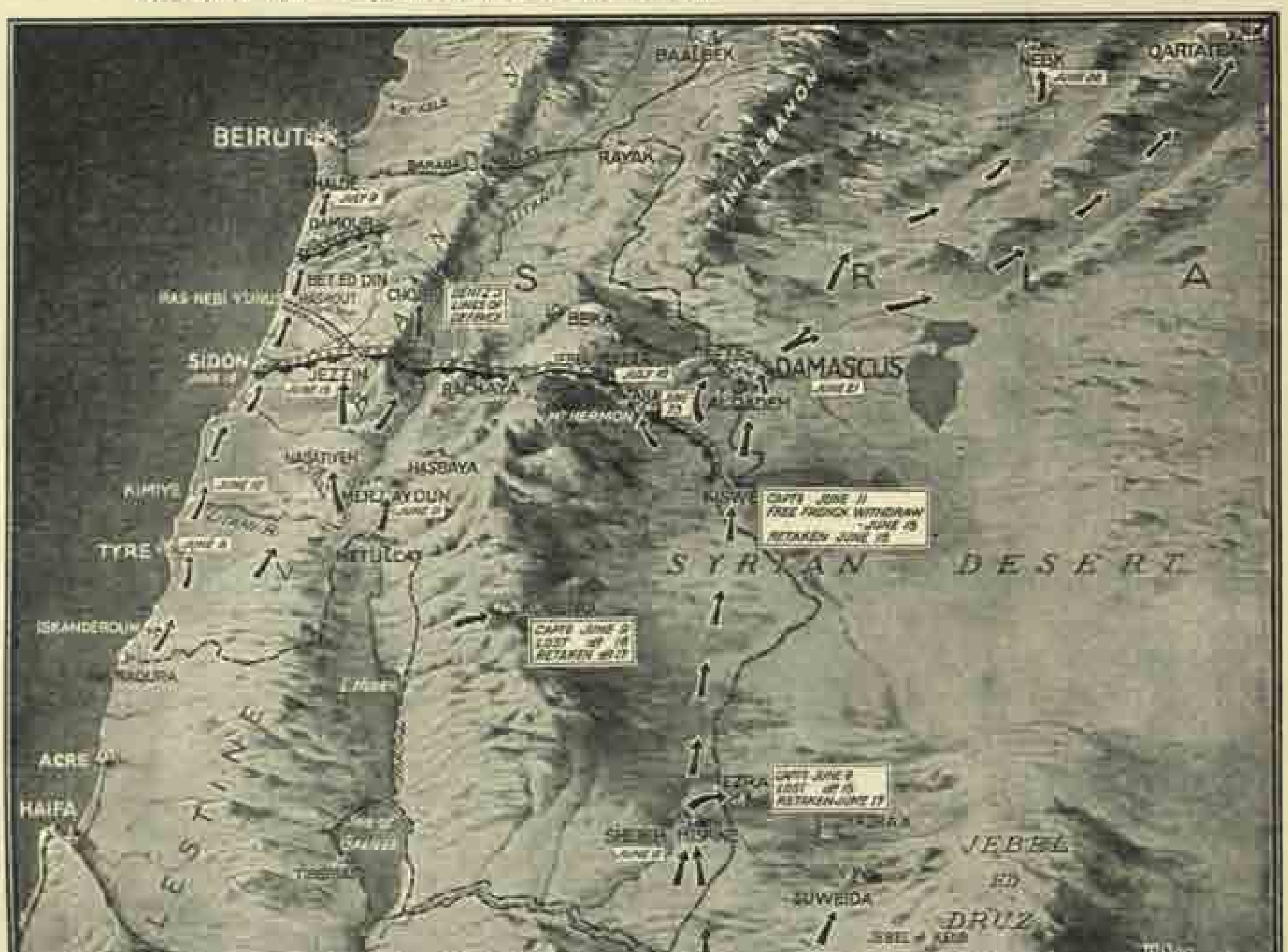
It was only a temporary set-back, for by June 17 Kuneitra had been retaken by the Australians and the Queen's Royal West Surreys, and Ezra by a mixed force of the Free French and Transjordan Frontier Force. An attack on Merj Ayoun on June 17 was only partially successful, but farther north, in the Jezzin area, we inflicted severe casualties on the Vichy forces and captured several armoured cars. Jezzin itself had fallen to the Australians and the Border Regiment on June 15, though it was not held for long; on the same day the Kiswe position was evacuated by the enemy, and Sidon fell to combined action by the Australians of the 21st Brigade and the Royal Navy. On June 18 the 1st Australian Corps H.Q. took over command of the Syrian operations.

On our extreme right the desertion of considerable numbers of Druse cavalry weakened the Vichy position, but the citadel of Suweida held out till the "cease fire." Meanwhile, the attack on Damascus made progress.

OPERATIONS IN SYRIA, JUNE AND JULY, 1941

Only a relief map such as this can convey an adequate impression of the nature of the difficult country over which was fought the campaign to place Syria beyond the reach of Axis intriguers. General Dentz's lines of defence are shown, and the routes followed by our columns. The description of the terrain, in page 1684, should be noted.

Specially drawn for "THE SECOND GREAT WAR" by Félix Gardon

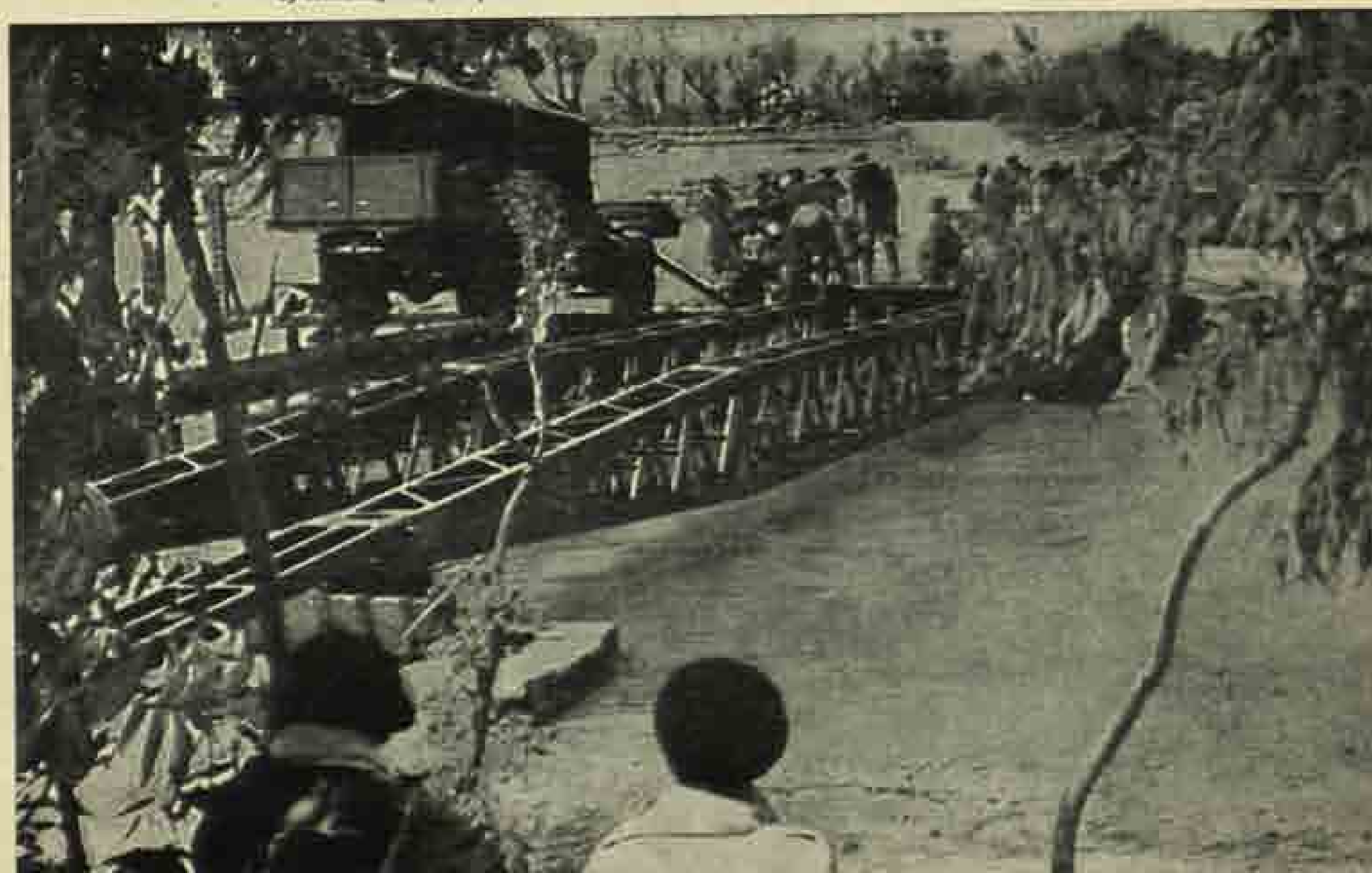




COASTAL COLUMN IN SYRIA CROSSES THE LITANI

The 21st Australian Brigade, with the Cheshire Yeomanry (horsed) advanced along the coastal strip. At Ras Naqura the Yeomanry entered Syrian territory and, with Australians, pushed on to the upper Litani valley: top photograph shows the Cheshires patrolling the river banks. Others of the 21st Brigade, after taking Tyre on June 8, 1941, reached the Litani at Kimiye and crossed two days later. Below, British engineers erecting a bridge to replace one blown up by retreating Vichy troops.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





FREE FRENCH CONTINGENT ENTERS DAMASCUS, JUNE 21, 1941

Top, the car in which Generals Catroux and Le Gentilhomme, escorted by Circassian cavalry, drove through Damascus after the surrender. Below, General Catroux (front, centre), and General Le Gentilhomme (arm in sling) coming down the steps of Government House. On the left is Colonel Collet: he had escaped from Syria earlier to join De Gaulle, and led the Circassian cavalry in the advance. He made the first formal entry into Damascus, which preceded the official entry.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





COMMANDER, 1ST AUSTRALIAN CORPS IN SYRIA

Lt.-Col. Sir John D. Lavarack, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., was appointed to the command of the 1st Corps in June, 1941. At the outbreak of war he had accepted a reduction in rank (he had been a General Officer) in order to serve with the A.I.F. As long ago as 1905 he joined the Australian Artillery, and his D.S.O. was won in 1918.

Photo, Sport & General

The 5th Indian Brigade, with the Royals, advancing along the foothills west of Kiswe, took Mezze after heavy fighting, while the Free French, after an unsuccessful attempt on Jebel Kelb, advanced towards the town by way of Al Qadem and threatened to outflank the Vichy forces. On June 21 they entered Damascus. A Vichy column moving out along the Beirut road was attacked by the R.A.F. and lost 36 of its motor transport.

In the central sector, where the Staffordshire Yeomanry and the Scots Greys were with the 21st Australian Brigade, a "platoon commanders' battle" continued round Merj Ayoun. Here our troops were north and west of the town, while the enemy were dug-in in the town itself and held the hills to the east and along the Hasbaya road. On the coastal sector we had advanced to positions just south of Damour, the Australians holding the general line Jezzin–Ras Nebi Yunus with Yeomanry patrol on the flank.

Battle for Merj Ayoun

In the meantime another factor was being brought into play. From Iraq there was advancing across the desert a column consisting of Household Cavalry, the Wilts Yeomanry, Warwickshire Yeomanry, Essex Regiment, a field regiment of the R.A., and part of the Arab Legion, with R.A.F. armoured cars. On June 22 it reached Palmyra, a strong position defended with numerous concrete pill boxes and resolutely held by a small but stubborn garrison consisting of a company of the Foreign Legion (half Germans and half Russians), and a Desert Company. Part of our force gradually encircled Palmyra, while patrols from it bypassed the town and at Qariatein linked up with the Free French, who had pushed up from Damascus. A second column from Iraq, the 10th Indian Division, advanced on July 1 from Abu Kemal towards Deir ez Zor, and its patrols made contact with those of the Palmyra column at Sukhne, where the Arab Legion, under Glubb Pasha, on July 1 accounted for seventeen enemy armoured fighting vehicles from Deir ez Zor.

On June 26 the Free French captured Nebk, and four days later repulsed a counter-attack and knocked out four tanks. The Leicesters and the Queen's (who had captured Qatana on June 23) and the K.O.R.R. had moved westwards into the hills to cut the Damascus–Beirut road and were now holding the southern slopes of Jebel Mazar, which overlooks the road and railway. In the central sector the Australians re-occupied Merj Ayoun on June 24, and our Yeomanry patrols maintained contact with the French cavalry on the eastern flank.

On the desert side the position at the beginning of July was that a small enemy force was hemmed in by the Druses at Suweida and another by the column from Iraq at Palmyra, but otherwise the eastern desert was clear of enemy forces. The enemy still held the Damascus–Beirut road north of Jebel Mazar, the whole of the Beka down to Hasbaya, and the Lebanon through Hasrout south of Bet ed Din to the coast just south of Damour. Here the 7th Australian Division controlled operations between the sea and the Merj Ayoun area. On June 29 it had been reinforced by the 23rd Infantry Brigade, which included the Border Regiment and the Durham Light Infantry, who were engaged in the inland sector, while the 7th Australian Division itself was on the coast.

General Dentz on July 1 was estimated to have still some 12,000 of his first-line infantry on the southern front, but he had suffered severely in armoured vehicles and lorries. On the Damour he had a defensive position of great natural strength, elaborately fortified but open to flanking fire from the sea; he could himself receive no naval support, seeing that one Vichy submarine had been sunk already and two destroyers and the light cruiser "Le Chevalier Paul" had been damaged.

Dentz's Difficult Position

The first stage of the campaign, that of direct advance on either side of and between the mountain ranges, could have succeeded only at heavy cost against a determined enemy. It had been replaced by a war of manoeuvre which was soon to make General Dentz's position untenable. In the north, part



AUSTRALIAN VALOUR AT JEZZIN AND MERJ AYOUN

Pte. (later Corporal) James Heather Gordon, V.C. (left) crept forward alone and bayonetted four gunners when a machine-gun held up the advance of his company north of Jezzin on July 10, 1941; the company then took the enemy position. Lieut. Arthur Roden Cutler, V.C. (right) displayed conspicuous and sustained gallantry during bitter fighting at Merj Ayoun, June 19–24: under heavy machine-gun fire he established an artillery outpost and mended a telephone line. He and another manned the anti-tank rifle and Bren gun when the gunners became casualties, and drove off enemy infantry and tanks. Later at Damour, on July 6, Cutler was seriously wounded when bringing a line to his outpost and lost a leg. Both Gordon and Cutler were awarded the V.C.

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GENERAL WAVELL DIRECTS OPERATIONS AT MERJ AYOUN

Stiff opposition at Merj Ayoun delayed the Allied advance for a time: captured by Australians on June 11, the town was retaken by the enemy on the 15th. After a four-day battle the Australians reoccupied Merj Ayoun on June 24. Here Sir Archibald Wavell is seen at a forward observation post.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

of the 10th Indian Division cleared up the "duck's bill" salient between Turkey and Iraq, capturing Tel Kotchek, Komchliq Masseche and Nisibin, and compelling the Vichy forces in the Jezireh area to fall back westwards, whilst the main force took Deir ez Zor on July 3 and Raqqa on July 5, to advance thence to Miskine and threaten Aleppo.

Farther south, Palmyra surrendered on July 3. The British and Arab troops pushed west, occupied Furqlus on July 8, and two days later had cut the Homs–Baalbek railway south of Homs.

In the Damascus sector the 6th Division captured Jebel Mazar on July 10. In the Merj Ayoun sector there was little change, but in the hills to the west the Cheshire Yeomanry, advancing through rough country, overcame enemy resistance at Mrousti, while the 2/33 Australian Infantry Battalion recaptured Jezzin. On July 9 the Australian troops in the coastal area, supported by a naval bombardment, outflanked and captured the whole of the enemy's line of defence on the Damour and advanced to Khalde, about five miles south of Beirut. Next day (July 10) General Dentz asked for armistice terms, and at 9 p.m. on July 11 the "cease fire" was sounded in Syria.

Throughout the campaign the Royal Air Force played a decisive part in cooperation with land forces. On the coastal sector the army owed much to the effective support of the Royal Navy.

General Wilson was far from possessing the local superiority of 3 to 1 which is often judged necessary for success in offensive action; he avoided frontal attacks, so far as possible, and trusted to a war of manoeuvre. When General Dentz asked for terms only Damascus had actually fallen, and the quadrangle formed by the two Lebanon ranges northwards of the Damour–Bet ed Din–Merj Ayoun–Dimass line was still intact and held by a formidable Vichy force. But the simultaneous threats to Beirut, Rayak, Homs, Tripoli, Hama and Aleppo made the whole Vichy position hopeless, and there was no course open to General Dentz but surrender. At the cost of a certain delay all the results desired had been obtained with a minimum loss to ourselves, and without that hardship to the civilian population of Syria which would have made the Allied control of the country so much more difficult.



GERMAN AIRCRAFT AT PALMYRA

Evidence of German designs was given by the discovery that Vichy aircraft destroyed by our bombing on the aerodrome of Palmyra bore swastika markings which had been painted out before repainting them with Vichy colours.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

MEDITERRANEAN FLEET UNITS BOMBARDED SYRIAN FORTS

Cooperating with the Allied column advancing along the coastal road into Syria, some of our warships shelled fortified positions strongly held by the Vichy forces. On the night of June 8–9 the Royal Navy landed troops north of the Litani river.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





SYRIA AND LEBANON ARE FREED

The "cease-fire" sounded in Syria on the evening of July 11; three days later an armistice was signed at Acre: below, right, General Sir H. Maitland Wilson signs for the Allies (on his right, General Catroux, Free French commander); below, left, General Verdilhac signs for Vichy. On September 28 Syria was proclaimed an independent republic: centre, the new President, Sheik Taggadine, inspects the guard. On November 26 Lebanon, too, became independent; top photograph shows President Maccache after the proclamation ceremony.







Chapter 167

AIR WAR ON OUR PORTS AND INDUSTRIES, FIRST HALF OF 1941

Heavy Night Raids in January: Nazi Blockade Plan—Ordeal at Portsmouth—Where Luftwaffe's Strength was Massed—Raids on South Wales in February—Clydeside Attacks—Toll of Enemy Raiders Increases—Great Fire Raid on London, April 16—Northern Ireland is Bombed—Four Nights of Horror at Liverpool—London Raid of May 10: House of Commons Chamber Destroyed—The Assault Slackens

In the closing weeks of 1940 the enemy made a number of heavy raids on Britain, and it seemed that the weather had been the only factor which had prevented him from making his assaults a regular nightly occurrence. It was anticipated that when weather conditions became favourable bombing attacks would be made with greater intensity than ever, and that the opening weeks of the New Year portended a period of enhanced strain for the people of Britain, who, through their fortitude, had astonished the world. The devastating night raid on London on December 29, in which thousands of incendiary bombs were dropped and many buildings were set on fire, had drawn sharp attention to the need for highly systematized fire-watching in all the cities in the country. The fire-bomb could be as great a menace as the high-explosive if organized vigilance and a close co-operation between fire-fighters and the public in general were lacking.

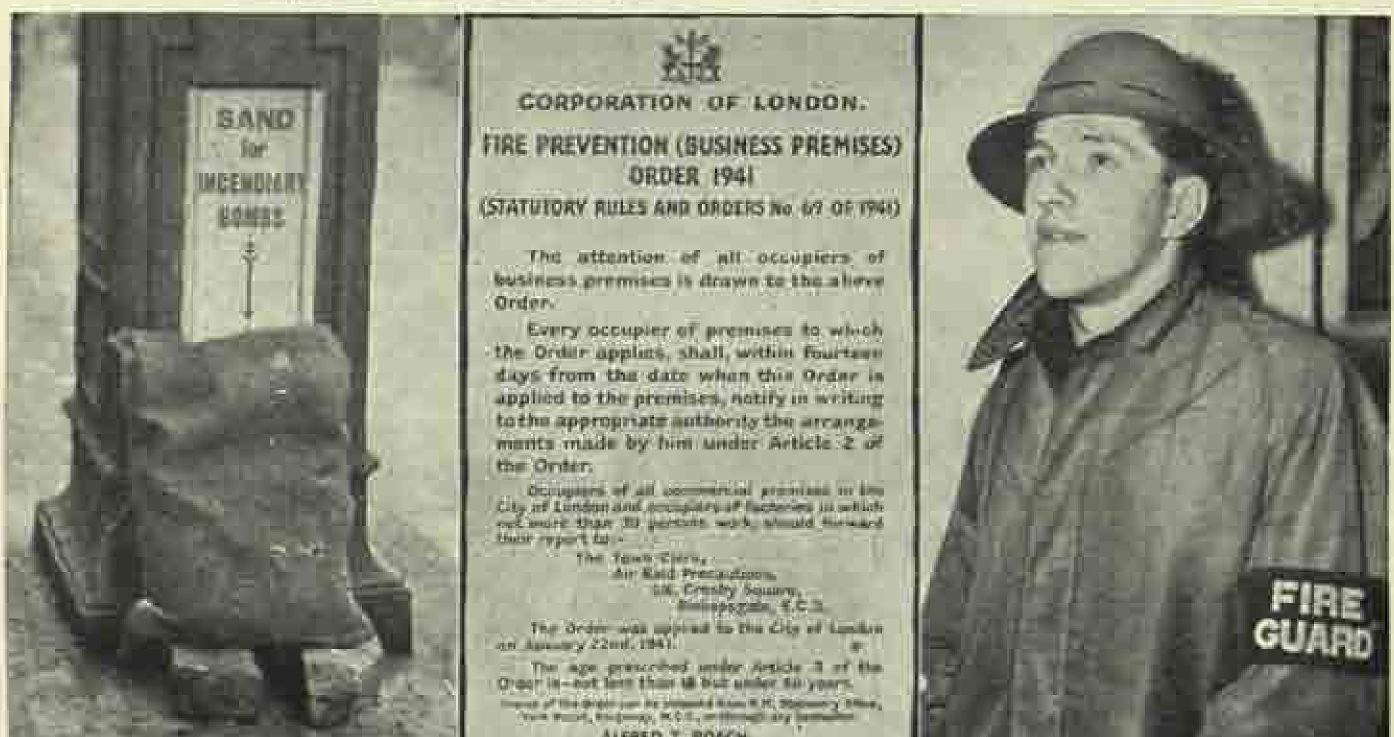
During the last two months of 1940 mass daylight raids had no longer figured in the diary of events; instead, single aircraft — usually single-seat fighters carrying only one bomb—had flown with cloud-cover over the coastline on sporadic and relatively ineffective raids. Usually the enemy's objectives were aerodromes, but it was common to receive reports of sudden, brief, low-level attacks on streets and trains, when the Germans would open fire at random with cannon and machine-gun.

The first day of 1941 passed with little incident in the air. No raider flew above Britain in daylight, and at night only a few took part in operations. Bombs were dropped on London and on places in the north and north-west, but comparatively little damage was done and there were few casualties. On the following night the Luftwaffe struck heavy blows at Cardiff. In this raid and some others which followed it no attempt was made by the enemy to pick out special targets. Incendiary bombs and high explosives were rained at random on the area. It had been suggested that such savage raids, carried out without preliminary "runs" over the targets and thereby revealed as wholly indiscriminate, were made as reprisals for British bombing raids on German cities. This view was fully confirmed later by the German radio, when a report was given out about the Cardiff assault; it was then claimed that the raid had been made as a reprisal for a particularly severe British raid on Bremen. On January 3 and 4 heavy and prolonged attacks were experienced

HOW LONDON COUNTERED THE FIRE BOMB MENACE

By the Fire Prevention Order (Jan. 22, 1941) occupiers of factories and commercial premises in the City had to arrange proper fire guards (see poster below). Right, the armlet and helmet provided for guards. Sand with which to douse incendiaries was placed in all streets, in handy bags that could be readily thrown on to a bomb.

Photos, Sport & General; "The Daily Express"













SCENES IN BOMBED PORTS

Linked up with the ocean blockade was the Luftwaffe's attack on ports and coastal towns. Top, left, Portsmouth suffered heavy raids on Jan. 10 and March 10, 1941. Centre, left, Plymouth (raided Jan. 13, March 21, April 21). Lower left, scene in Clydeside after raids of March 13 and 14. Top, right, Royal Infirmary, Cardiff (heavy raid on Jan. 2); and below it the bells of St. Mary, Swansea, where there were severe attacks on Feb. 19, 20 and 21, 1941.

Photos, "The Times"; Topical Press; Sport & General; Keystone; "The Daily Mirror"



BOMB DAMAGE AT THE HUB OF LONDON

With skill and despatch London made good her raid damage. Top, the crater in front of the Royal Exchange on the morning of Jan. 11, 1941. Centre, temporary bridge to carry traffic over the cavity caused by the caving in of the Underground subway. Below, outside the Mansion House some months later; the road has been made good and the opening walled in.

Photos, Wide World; E.N.A.

by Bristol, and very great damage was done. After these, Portsmouth was marked down by the enemy and attacked on the night of January 10.

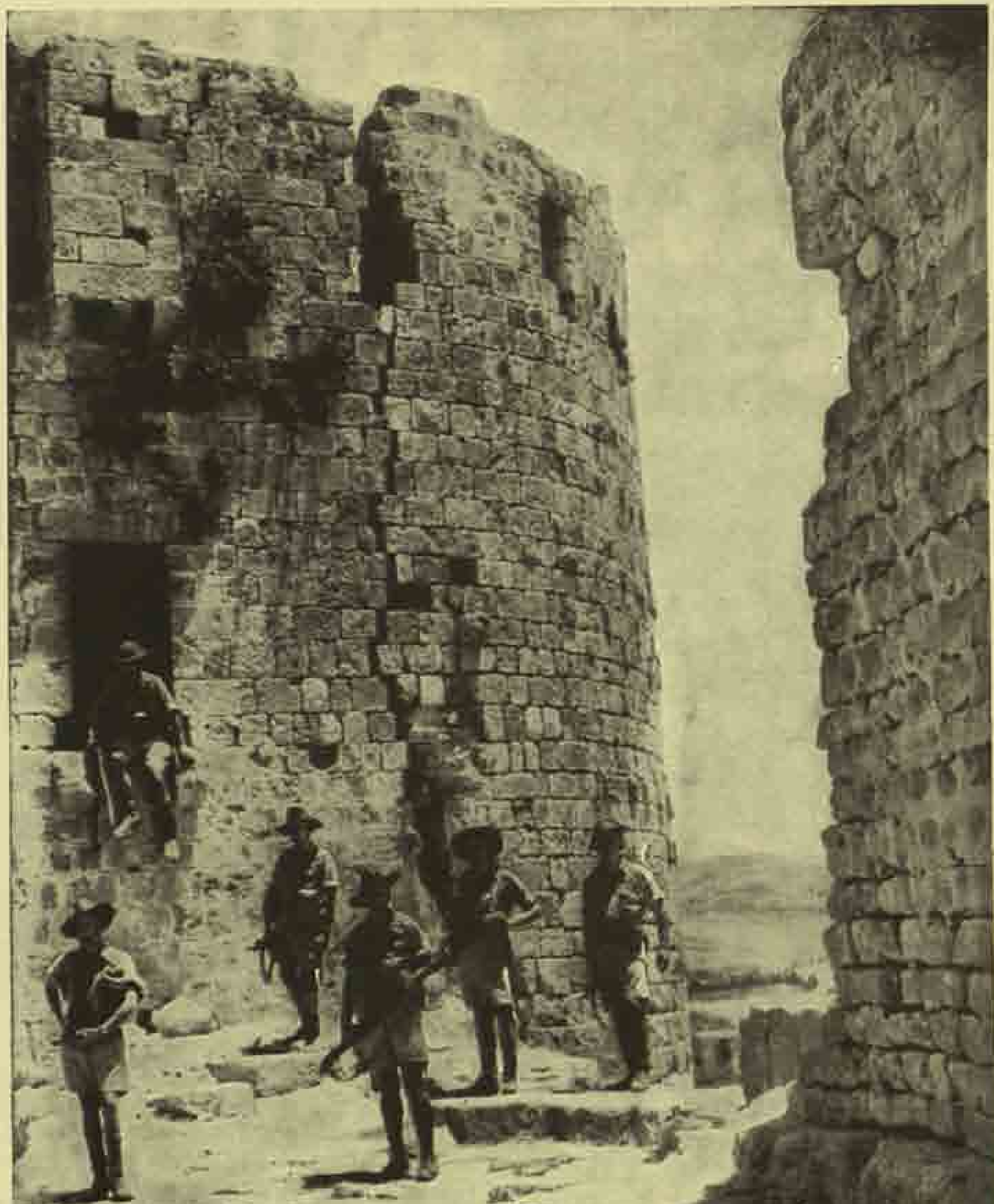
The experience of Portsmouth may be taken as typical: from early evening of January 10 until nearly dawn the following day all districts of the city were pounded by incendiaries and high-explosive bombs. Nearly thirty big fires were blazing at one time, and the sky was whitened by a glare which could be seen for many miles. Six churches were practically destroyed and two hospitals badly damaged, for it seemed that all prominent buildings were singled out by the raiders. The working class districts suffered severely and many people lost their homes. The Regional Commissioner later spoke of the fine spirit shown by the civil population, and of the magnificent work done by civil defence, Army and Navy. The Mayor, in a message to the citizens, said: "We are bruised but not daunted. Keep a stout heart; be steadfast and firm."

On the night following the Portsmouth raid the alert was sounded in London, and again thousands of incendiaries fell from the German bombers. On this occasion, however, most of the outbreaks were soon extinguished and the damage was relatively light. A tighter organization of fire-watching had borne fruit, and the growing efficiency of the fire-fighters, tempered by arduous experience of night raids, was obvious.

By the end of the second week of 1941 there had been six night attacks on London, while Cardiff, Bristol, Portsmouth and Plymouth had been severely mauled. On the night of January 13 the Luftwaffe concentrated on the south-western port, where the people endured a dreadful ordeal for three hours.

Plymouth's Dreadful Ordeal

Such attacks, which continued for several weeks on key points all around Britain's coastline, pointed to the fact that the main weight of the German air force was being used in the Nazi blockade plan. While long-range Focke-Wulf four-engine Kondors, operating from their bases in France, flew far out over the Atlantic to co-operate with the U-boats against our convoys, enemy bomber units equipped with the shorter-range Junkers 88s, Heinkel 111s, and Dornier Do 17s were assigned the task of attacking those ships which had evaded the enemy at sea and were in port. Blockade, it seemed, was to be the principal weapon which Germany was to wield against Britain at the moment, and it



AUSTRALIANS SEARCH FOR SNIPERS IN ANCIENT SIDON

Though the ruins of this old castle of the Crusaders date back to the 13th century, they are recent compared with other relics in Sidon, former chief city of ancient Phoenicia. During the campaign to free Syria Sidon was captured on June 15, 1941, by Australians of the 21st Brigade, assisted by the Royal Navy. Tyre, the age-old Phoenician seaport in the Lebanon, had fallen on June 8

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright



MID ROMAN SPLENDOUR AT PALMYRA

On June 22, 1941, a desert column of British troops with part of the Arab Legion reached Palmyra and were joined by other troops on July 1. Stubbornly held, Palmyra did not surrender until July 3. Here a British patrol is seen near the ruins of the triumphal arch which stood at one end of the main street, opening into a magnificent colonnade of 750 limestone columns, 55 feet high.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



FORMAL ENTRY OF THE ALLIES INTO BEIRUT, JULY 16, 1941

Beirut, capital of Lebanon, was the objective of the Allied column advancing along the coastal road. Aided by a Naval bombardment our troops outflanked the enemy's line on the Damour and advanced to Khalde, 5 miles S. of Beirut (July 9); on the 10th General Dentz asked for armistice terms, and on the 11th at 9 p.m. hostilities ceased. Australians had occupied Beirut on the 10th. *Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright*

was to be exerted by the U-boat, the surface raider, their Atlantic partner the Focke-Wulf Kondor, and the night bomber.

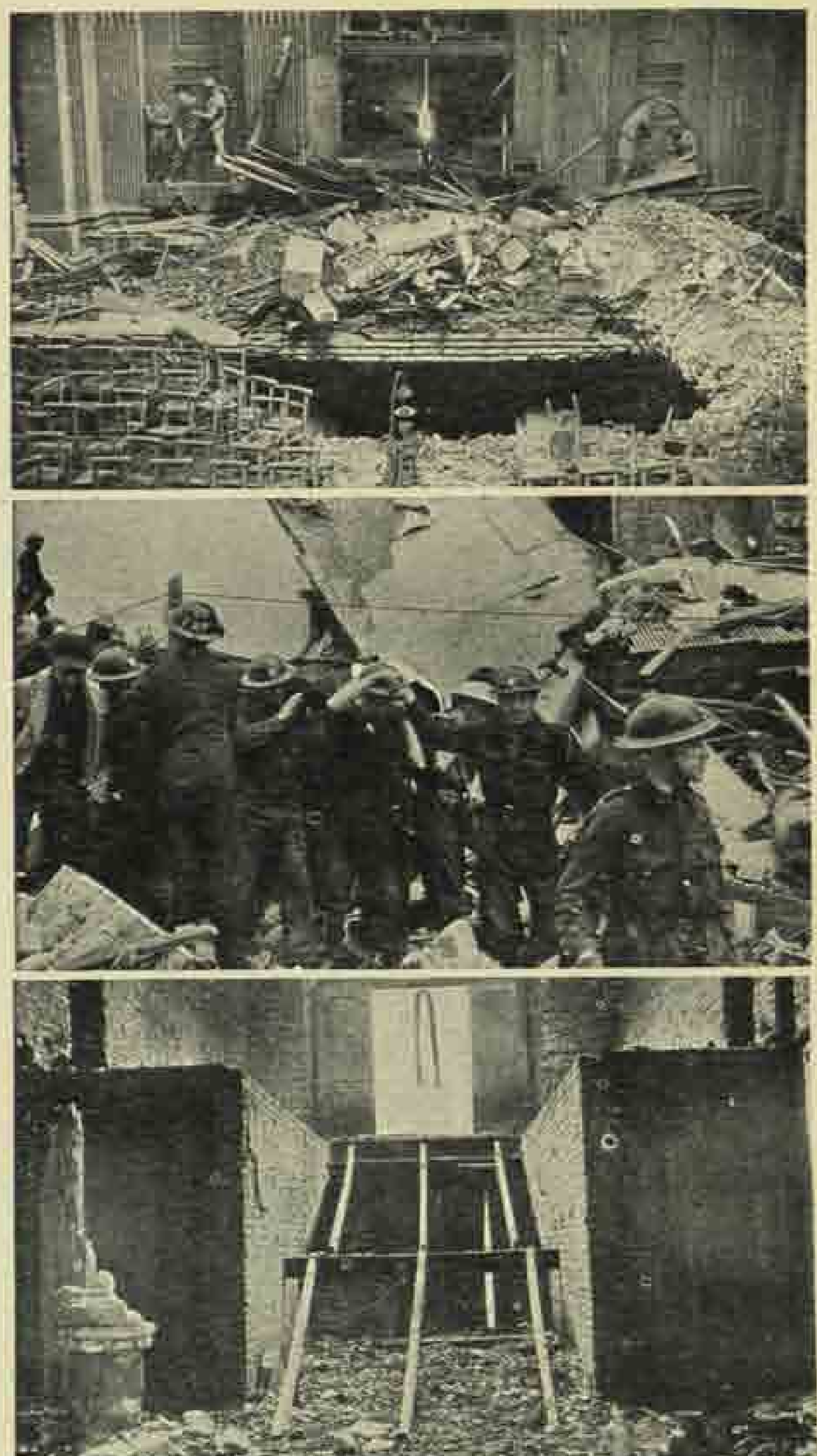
While the enemy centred most of his attention on ports in this way, other bombers, flying singly or in small formations, attacked places in the Midlands, the east, the south-east, the north and the west. It appeared that the raiders were on a roving and even unplanned mission, and that the attacks were made simply to hammer at the morale of the British people; instead, these tactics stiffened morale. There was a considerable demand for R.A.F. reprisal raids, but such attacks found no place in the broad structure of the Air Staff's bombing policy. All objectives marked down for the attention of our Bomber Command continued to be meticulously chosen and graded in priority.

Morale Never Failed

In the first month of 1941 the enemy raids on Britain carried little indication to the public of German designs. It had become plain to all that the Battle of Britain during the preceding autumn had taught the enemy a hard and bitter lesson. He had been forced to realize that superiority in numbers was itself insufficient to bring victory in protracted daylight operations when his squadrons were opposed by men and machines like those of the Royal Air Force.

By the end of January no significant developments in the air war over Britain had occurred, though there was still a strong feeling that preparations were going forward for some new offensive just as soon as weather should permit. Apart from climatic conditions the Luftwaffe was seriously impeded by the state of the terrain in Northern France. Rain had resulted in the aerodromes where bomber groups were stationed becoming waterlogged, so that such aeroplanes as the Ju 88 bomber (which, fully loaded, weighs nearly 17,000 lb.) would not be placed into operational service. Experience had shown, too, that sudden changes in visibility when fog developed could bring a sharp rise in casualties due to crashes while landing. These restrictions resulted in the Luftwaffe remaining "grounded" on several nights in January, and then the whole of Britain went unmolested.

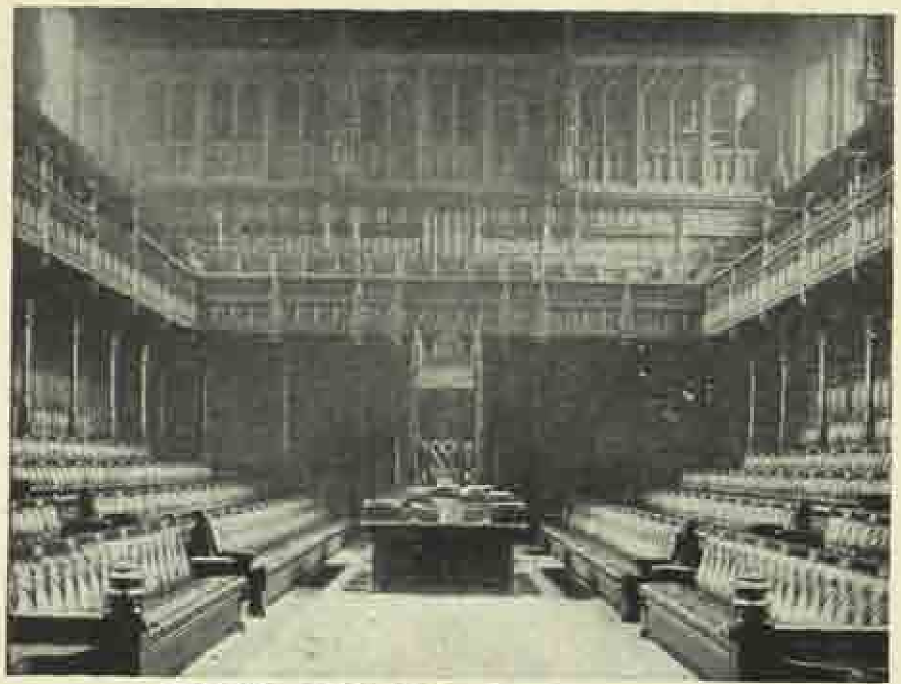
During the month twenty-six German aircraft were destroyed over Britain and British waters; some were accounted for by night fighters and others by ground defences. The sporadic daylight raids by fighter-bombers and the concentrated raids on ports and on London



WHAT THE LUFTWAFFE DID TO LONDON ON APRIL 16, 1941

St. Paul's Cathedral was hit again on April 16, when a bomb crashed through the roof of the North Transept and exploded on the floor (top). Bottom, all that was left of the fine marble staircase at Christie's Sale Rooms (King Street, St. James's). It would be impossible to record all the deeds of heroic rescue during the heavy and prolonged raids, but the centre photograph shows a typical one: soldiers and A.R.P. men dug a tunnel through debris to reach a woman trapped for 17 hours in the wreckage of a block of flats.

Photos, G.P.U.; "News Chronicle"; Sport & General



BOMBING OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

Thirty-three enemy aircraft were destroyed on the night of May 10-11, 1941, in the course of what the German High Command described as a "reprisal raid" on London. The raiders dropped 100,000 incendiary bombs and did grievous damage to buildings precious to all Britons. Top, the House of Commons as it was before the attack; below, after the raid. On the same night Westminster Hall and the Abbey were damaged.

Photos, Topical; P.N.A.



by night bombers which marked the enemy's air activity in January were continued in the following month. The attacks, though carried out by between one hundred and two hundred bombers from time to time, were not on the scale which had been foreshadowed by certain authorities who made their estimates from reports concerning the disposition and strength of the German air fleets. In February it was learned from reliable sources that the Luftwaffe had about 3,000 aircraft based at about 400 aerodromes between the northern part of Norway and the Spanish frontier; about two-thirds of the aircraft ranged along the European coastline were bombers, and the remainder were fighters. Obviously the latter were intended for escort duties and "hit-and-run" attacks by day; and it was reasonable to expect night raids on a big scale, since the enemy had so great a force of bombers stationed close to Britain's shores. But the weather held the Luftwaffe in check, although on three nights in succession Swansea was attacked on a big scale. The tactics followed the normal pattern and the raiders came in waves to drop high explosives and great quantities of incendiaries. These assaults, made on February 19, 20 and 21, were amongst the most severe which South Wales had experienced, but, as in other parts of the country, the workers of the Civil Defence and A.F.S. services strove with fine courage and an imperturbable calm to meet the shattering blows of the enemy. There were many acts of great gallantry.

In March the Nazis adhered to their plan in which hit-and-run raids were made on coastal areas by day to clear a way for night attacks which formed part of the "air blockade." Pressure on our ports continued and the most determined efforts were made to break vital supply links. An improvement in the weather and a period of moonlight raised the barrier which had long hindered the German programme, and after striking at Portsmouth, Merseyside and London the enemy made Clydeside the principal target (night of March 13). Next night the attack was repeated, and these raids proved to be the worst which the district had experienced. Four nights later the principal target was again London, and many bombs fell on both sides of the Thames Estuary. The attack was focused on certain areas, and clearly indicated the enemy's purpose. On March 21 there was a particularly severe raid on Plymouth, when twenty thousand incendiary bombs and many tons of high explosives burned and battered the town.

Two Black Nights on Clydeside

In a speech on Oct. 3, 1940, Sir Philip Joubert de la Ferté (later Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Coastal Command) had spoken of various means being developed to combat the night raider. The measure of the day bomber had been taken and the efficiency of Britain's fighter defence system had been clearly proved, but the greatest problem confronting the Air Staff was the bomber which came after nightfall. In the light of experience it had been possible to establish the relative value of the various forms of anti-aircraft defence—night fighter, surface guns, and balloon barrage system. By the beginning of 1941 our night fighters had accounted for four times as many hostile aircraft as the artillery, but much remained to be done to make the night fighter sufficiently effective to stem the









HISTORIC BUILDINGS DESTROYED ON MAY 10, 1941

Top, left, looking through the gateway into Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street; right, Bow Bells (St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside). Centre, left, gutted shell of St. Clement Danes, Strand; right, Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey. All this and much more did not dismay Londoners, seen below on the way to work next morning.

Photos, Topical Press; Planet News; Sport & General; Central Press; Keystone







LONDON'S ORDEAL BY FIRE AS RECORDED BY THE ARTISTS' BRUSH

In pp. 1499-1502 was given a striking selection of air-raid paintings; here are further notable examples: 1, 'First Out,' by Noel Syers of an A.R.P. Mobile Unit; 2, 'At High Tide,' by W. S. Haines; 3, 'Gray's Inn Library, May, 1941,' by C. Freestone of Holborn Civil Defence Art Group; 4, 'The Queen's Hall—Discord,' by F. T. W. Cook of the National Fire Service





Reproduced by permission. Nos. 1 and 4 exhibited at the Civil Defence Artists Exhibition, October, 1941. No. 3 exhibited at Burlington House, August, 1941 (copyright Raphael Tuck & Sons). No. 2 exhibited at the Ilford Galleries, January, 1942

Nazi offensive. The urgency was plain to all, and Sir Philip Joubert's hopeful outlook was welcomed by the public, but because little materialized in the first two months of the new year to warrant his confidence there was some disappointment and some criticism.

Certain events a little later furnished proof that Sir Philip's belief was justified. In great secrecy various devices had been evolved and put into service to combat the extremely difficult problem of bomber interception at night. These devices—some new and others the outcome of long research and experiment—began to show results in March. When Portsmouth was bombed on March 10 eight enemy bombers were shot down; in the Clydeside and Merseyside raids three nights later 13 raiders were destroyed: eleven fell to our night fighters, one was destroyed by anti-aircraft fire and one by "other means." In February the Luftwaffe lost 36 machines in attacks on Britain; in March the total rose to 71.

In the eighty-third week of the war (Mar. 30–April 5, 1941) the lull imposed



NIGHT FIGHTERS INTERCEPTED MANY RAIDERS

During three night raids in March, 1941, we destroyed 27 enemy aircraft; in April nearly 70 and in May nearly 140 night raiders were brought down. The American-built Havoc (Douglas-Boston, D.B.7) seen at top—twin-engined; speed, 325 m.p.h.; range, 1,200 miles—played its part in this good work, together with the British Bristol Beaufighter seen below. Similar in speed and range, the Beaufighter is used for day interception also.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



by bad weather appeared to have ended. Day after day single raiders crossed the Channel, sought out our fighter aerodromes, dived, bombed and fled, or were destroyed. At night the Nazi bombers, flying at 20,000 feet or more, penetrated to their principal targets. On April 3 and 4 Bristol was attacked. Our night-fighter squadrons (increased in number and strengthened by equipment with the formidable two-motor Bristol Beaufighter) patrolled the skies. On April 4 four German bombers were destroyed, two by fighters and two by A.A. guns. The score rose as the month went on. In the second week of April the Germans diverted their bombing from our ports to industrial centres; on the night of April 8 and 9 Coventry was the main objective. On the first occasion ten bombers were accounted for (six by fighters and four by ground defences), and on the second occasion — when Birmingham and centres in North-East England were also attacked—ten more were shot down by our aircraft and three by the A.A. batteries. Yet when London underwent a widespread and extremely heavy raid on April 16 only six of the enemy fell.

London felt the full fury of the Nazi attack, and the central area suffered widespread havoc. A heavy bomb penetrated the roof of the North transept of St. Paul's Cathedral and exploded inside. Several other churches and eight hospitals were hit.

On April 16 the moonless sky favoured the raiders and hampered the Hurricanes, Defiants, Beaufighters and Havocs. Now we no longer relied on darkness for air protection. Similar conditions were experienced on April 19, when the capital was again raided and only two bombers were accounted for. Nevertheless, by that date 46 German machines had been torn from the night sky since the beginning of April.

While Britain was thus being attacked by the Nazis, aircraft of the R.A.F. Bomber and Coastal Commands, as their strength grew, bombed targets in North-West Germany and occupied territory, and there were occasions when enemy raids appeared to fulfil the Nazi policy of retaliatory bombing. Thus, after a particularly heavy raid on Kiel, Plymouth experienced a very severe attack (night of April 21). By May the German night raids appeared to have reached their peak, and at the same time there were definite indications that marked progress had been made in our methods of defence. Intensive training in night-fighting, the operation of many more aircraft, the increased effectiveness of the system of detection based on the use of ether waves (known officially as "radiolocation") combined to help the R.A.F. in exacting an important toll from the enemy.

From May 4 until May 10 the enemy bombed many parts of England and also



Northern Ireland. He attacked with great intensity Merseyside, Clydeside, Belfast and London. He struck at East Anglia, the Humber, the Bristol area, the North Midlands and parts of the north-west and south-west.

Belfast was attacked (for the second time in three weeks) on the night of May 6. There seemed to have been no discrimination in the enemy's bombing, and, as on the earlier raid of April 15, it was commercial, industrial and residential property that suffered; casualties were fewer than in the earlier raid, when about 500 had been killed and three times that number injured.

At Liverpool, on May 5, the city's emergency committee stated: "Liverpool has passed through a serious trial during the past four days and nights, and we would like to take this early opportunity of expressing to the citizens our great appreciation of the spirit in which they met the crisis." The Germans claimed that on the third of the four nights when Liverpool was attacked (Saturday, May 3), the raid was one of the heaviest ever made in Britain.

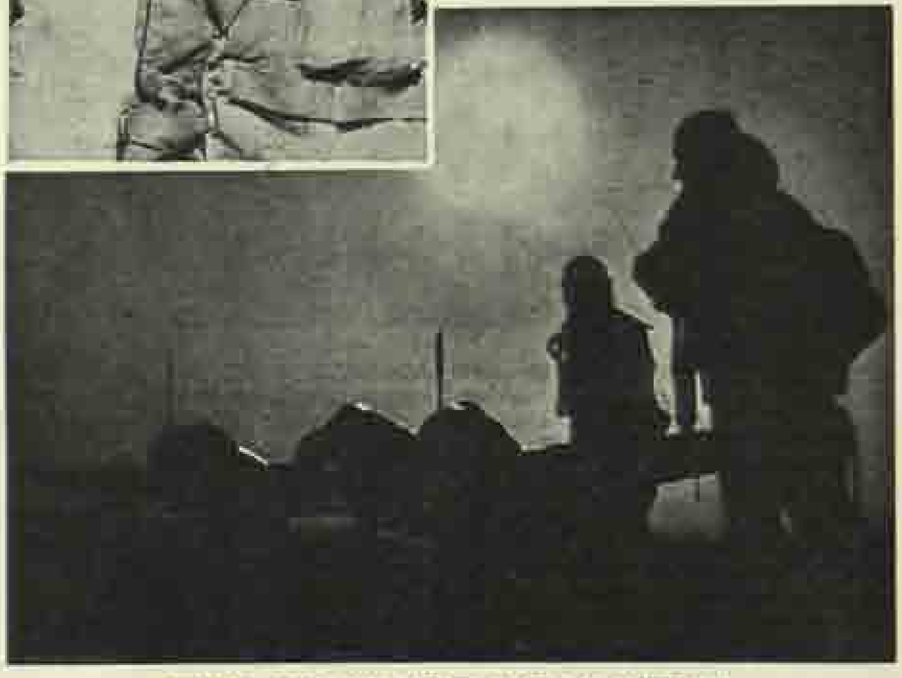
Damage was great during this period, and the death-roll and casualties heavy, but for the Luftwaffe this was a week of startling defeats. On May 4 it lost ten aircraft (six by fighters, three by A.A., one by the fire of the destroyer "Southdown"); on May 5 nine were destroyed by fighters and one by A.A.; on May 6 the R.A.F. accounted for eight more, and our A.A. guns for one; on May 7 24 German bombers were destroyed (20 by fighters, three by A.A., and one by barrage balloon); on May 8 our fighters accounted for 11 bombers and A.A. gunfire for three. Finally, on May 10, 29 raiders fell to the R.A.F. and four to A.A. guns, making the total for the week 116.

In the raid of May 10 the Chamber of the House of Commons was destroyed, and on this same Saturday night Westminster Hall and the Abbey were damaged. When some incendiary bombs lodged in the scaffolding with which the Victoria Tower was encased (for normal repair work in progress), Police-sergeant Forbes, attached to the Houses of Parliament force, climbed the steel scaffolding to a great height carrying a sandbag to put out the fire. At Westminster Abbey incendiary bombs damaged the roof, but worse harm had been prevented by the fire watchers.

On the night of Sunday, May 11, the raiders made for R.A.F. aerodromes, and while a number had been attacked the damage except at two points had not been considerable. The Germans claimed to have "attacked many aerodromes in southern England and the Midlands"; the enemy also stated that factories at Middlesbrough and docks at Pembroke had been bombed.

The German High Command, which from the opening of their mass-bombing campaign had displayed a reckless indifference to losses of material and men, seemed now to sense a warning; in one week more than 500 of their air-crew personnel had been wiped out or had become prisoners. Henceforth few concentrated raids were launched on Britain, and a protracted lull set in.





BEHIND BRITAIN'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENCE

Photographs taken at night-fighter stations during the great raid of May 10, 1941. Top, the pilot telephones details of his encounter with raiders, while the air gunner writes a report. Centre, another pilot waits ready in the dispersal room: dark goggles protect his eyes meanwhile against the bright light. Below, at dusk a Beaufighter is about to take off in the light of the rising moon.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

BRITAIN'S AIR OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY GATHERS WEIGHT

Review of the Six Months January to June, 1941—Halifax and Stirling Bombers Play their Destined Part—Parachute Raid in Southern Italy—Big Raids on Berlin Objectives—Pattern of Our Bombing Offensive—Bombing German Warships at Brest—Offensive Sweeps Over the Channel in Daylight —Daytime Raids on Emden and Cologne

In Britain's months of peril after France had capitulated at the end of June, 1940, the task of the R.A.F. was to take the defensive; while our incomparable Fighter Command fought and shattered the Luftwaffe over Kent, Sussex and the eastern counties, machines of Bomber Command were engaged in day and night attacks on the harbours and ports in Northern France—to check and break the German plans of invasion by sea. At the same time a force which today would seem pitiably small flew by night far into Germany to hammer at the strongholds of the Nazi war industry. In contrast with the Luftwaffe's bomber strength the British units were woefully small, yet this strategic bombing was not fruitless, and when the New Year dawned the stage was set for an immeasurably greater air offensive.

Early in 1941 new squadrons had been formed and new aircraft were in production. Huge four-engined machines such as the Handley Page Halifax and the Short Stirling were leaving their assembly lines and going into service. By the end of September, 1940, 900 raids had been carried out by the R.A.F., and in the last quarter of the year our attacks had numbered 1,400. The tempo of our onslaught in the air, in spite of our ever-growing commitments, had been rising. Fresh hopes and new resolves stimulated Britain's air arm with the coming of the New Year. The weather of January hampered our night bombers just as it did those of the enemy, yet in spite of the hazards (magnified by long-range operation) our heavy bombers went far afield. On a single night (January 12) the oil port of Regensburg in Southern Germany, the Royal Arsenal at Turin, and the oil store at Porto Marghera near Venice were visited and bombed by Armstrong Whitleys. Two nights later aircraft of Coastal Command attacked German bases at Man'al in Norway, and in the same week on two successive nights British bombers carried out powerful raids on the German naval base at Wilhelmshaven.

Ever Increasing Air Onslaught

These initial operations in the year 1941 marked the course that had been planned by the Air Staff in formulating its long-term policy. That policy had the dual aim of crippling the basis of the enemy's war effort and of draining surely if slowly the power of his armed forces by diminishing his vital supplies of arms and equipment. Industrial Germany, synthetic fuel plants, shipyards, docks, canals and railways—these were the targets selected for the British bombing offensive. In the past year fundamental lessons had been learned by Bomber Command. Greater speed, heavy armament and ability to carry heavier bomb loads became indispensable qualities. The limitations of the day bomber and the need for fighter escorts had been revealed. The call for the very big bomber and for yet bigger bombs seemed irrefutable.

On February 10, 1941, British Army units were landed by parachute near Mount Venture in Southern Italy to carry out certain operations which must still remain secret. They were taken to their objective by Whitley aircraft of Bomber Command. It was conjectured that our men wrecked vital railway communications. An Italian communiqué of April 6 stated that one Fortunato Picchi had been taken prisoner with the British parachute troops and had been shot. Picchi was an Italian formerly employed at the Savoy Hotel, London; though anti-Fascist, he had been interned for six months in the Isle of Man. On his release he had not resumed his former work, preferring to take an active part in the war for freedom.

In February, 1941, various important developments in equipment were put

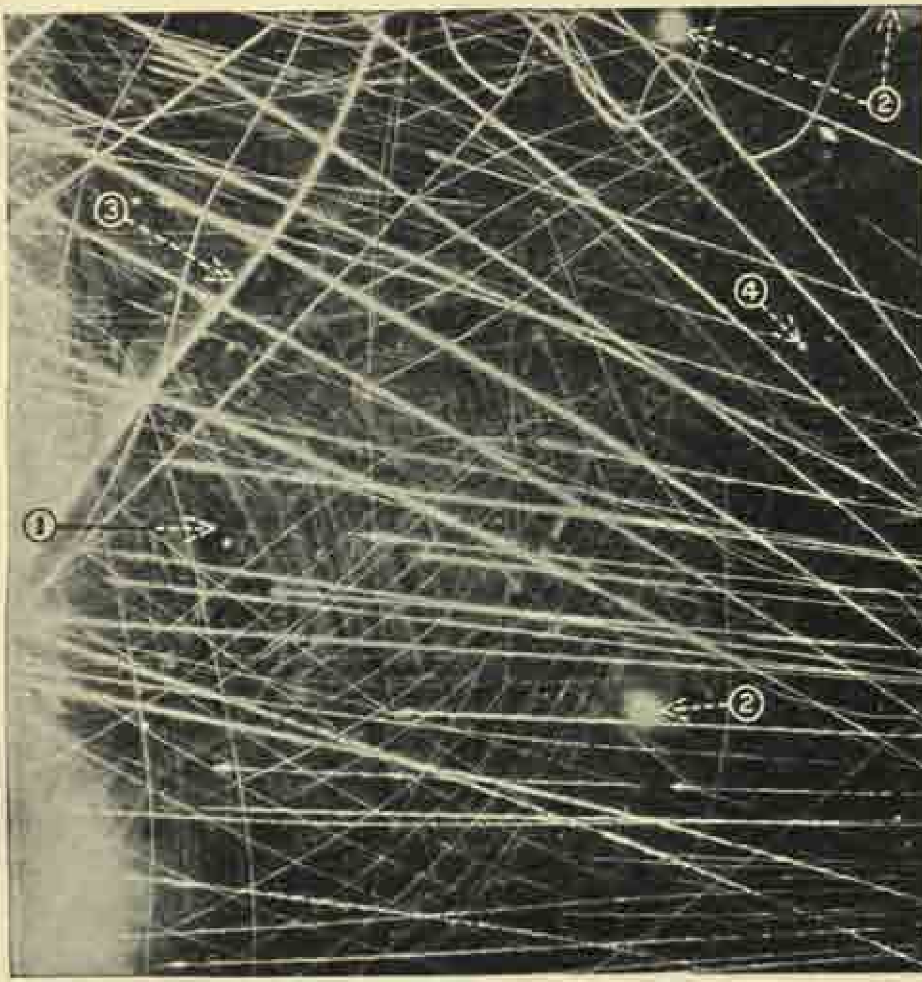


POWERFUL NEW BOMBS FALL ON EMDEN

Below, loading a bomb weighing nearly a ton and having five times the disruptive power of former types of the same calibre. The new type was tested in a raid on the German port of Emden during the night of March 31–April 1, 1941. Upper photo shows result: 1, area of complete destruction; 2, area badly damaged.

Photos from "Bomber Command," by permission of H.M. Stationery Office; Central Press





OUR BOMBERS RUN THE GAUNTLET

The terse communiqués of the Air Ministry give little indication of the perils which beset our night bombers, but these photographs give some idea of the strong Nazi defences. Below, from an enemy source, searchlights and tracer shells brighten the sky; horizontal streaks show passage of flares dropped by British aircraft. Top, taken over Brest during an R.A.F. raid: 1, the Port Militaire; 2, flashes of flak from the ground; 3, searchlight; 4, origin of tracer flak positions. Fine lines show tracer shells; broader lines those of heavier guns

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



to test. The Short Stirling, heaviest of all the bombers produced to date, went into action for the first time. In this action over enemy-occupied territory, and in many others which took place later, the great machine—which ranked as the most powerful military aeroplane yet in service—revealed its great offensive powers and also its defensive qualities. On a number of occasions it warded off attacks made simultaneously by enemy fighters, and through the great fire-power furnished by its multi-gun turrets it destroyed many of its attackers. There were reports, too, of the Stirling (which weighs something in the neighbourhood of 30 tons) actually pursuing enemy fighters which had closed in for attack. Such four-engined bombers reinforced the night offensive, adding greatly to the power and range of our striking force. The activities of Bomber Command began in earnest in the last week of February, when strong forces raided industrial targets in the Ruhr and also aerodromes in France. In those seven days Cologne was bombed twice, and in all these operations the R.A.F. encountered the most intense A.A. fire, though opposition from enemy fighters was negligible.

As our bombing of Germany continued the experience of the R.A.F. indicated that the enemy had made little advance in dealing with the problems of night interception, though he claimed to have evolved startling new means of tracking raiding aircraft in darkness.

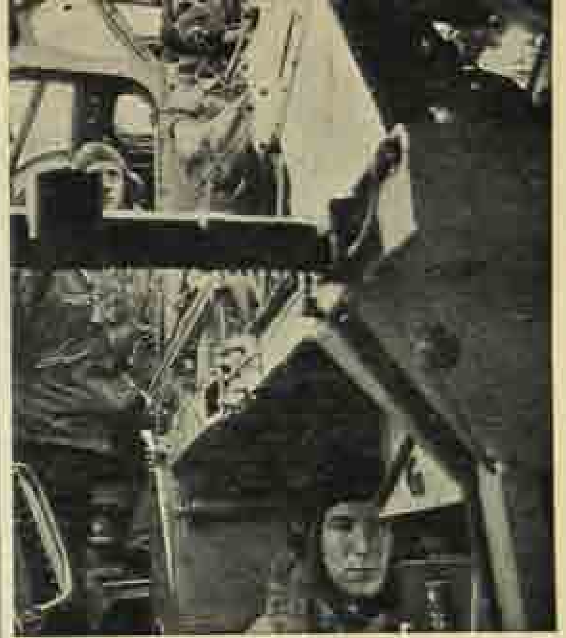
Very Heavy Raid on Berlin

In November, 1940, Berlin had experienced its first really heavy raid, but this was on a minor scale in comparison with the attack carried out by Bomber Command on the night of March 23, 1941. The Air Ministry stated that the force engaged was a large one, and that several thousands of incendiaries had been dropped, as well as new and very heavy high-explosive bombs. The raid was carried out in indifferent weather and clouds hampered the attackers; yet in spite of this and the intense anti-aircraft barrage our bombers persisted in flying over the German capital, sought and found their specified targets, and pressed home their attack. The results could not be fully observed, but there was no doubt that great damage had been done and many fires started. On the same night other R.A.F. forces bombed Hanover (which had previously been attacked more than 30 times), singling out the great oil storage tanks and the Gewerkschaft Deutsche Erdol (oil refinery) there.

Such refineries and synthetic oil plants were a vital factor in the Nazi war economy, for from them was obtained the special aviation fuel required by the Luftwaffe, besides lubricating oils and the Diesel fuel necessary for U-boats. Attacks on Hanover, therefore, were particularly significant, as were those on the Leuna hydrogenation plant, and on oil targets at Cologne, Gelsenkirchen and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the Battle of the Atlantic was building up to serious proportions,



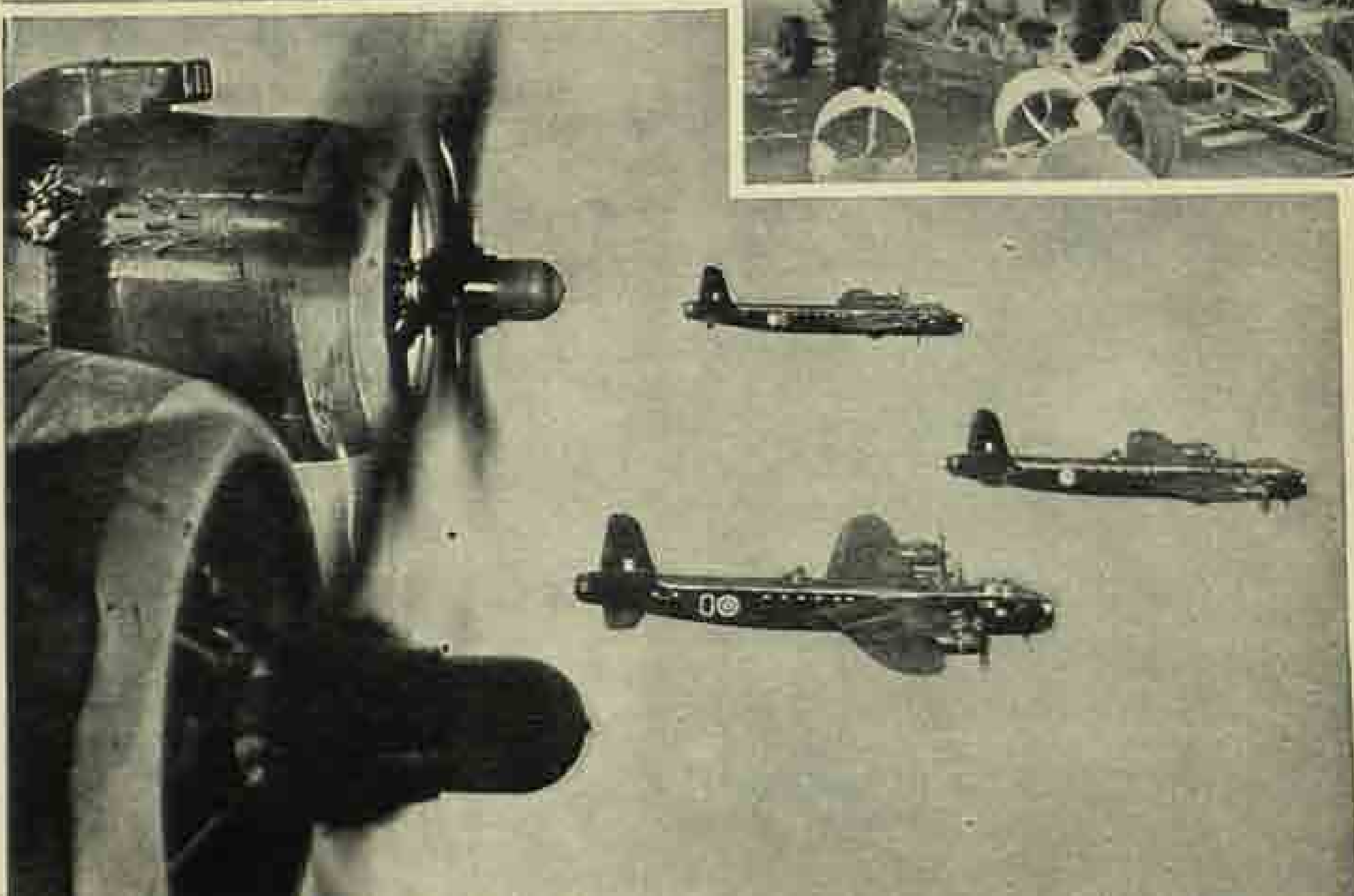


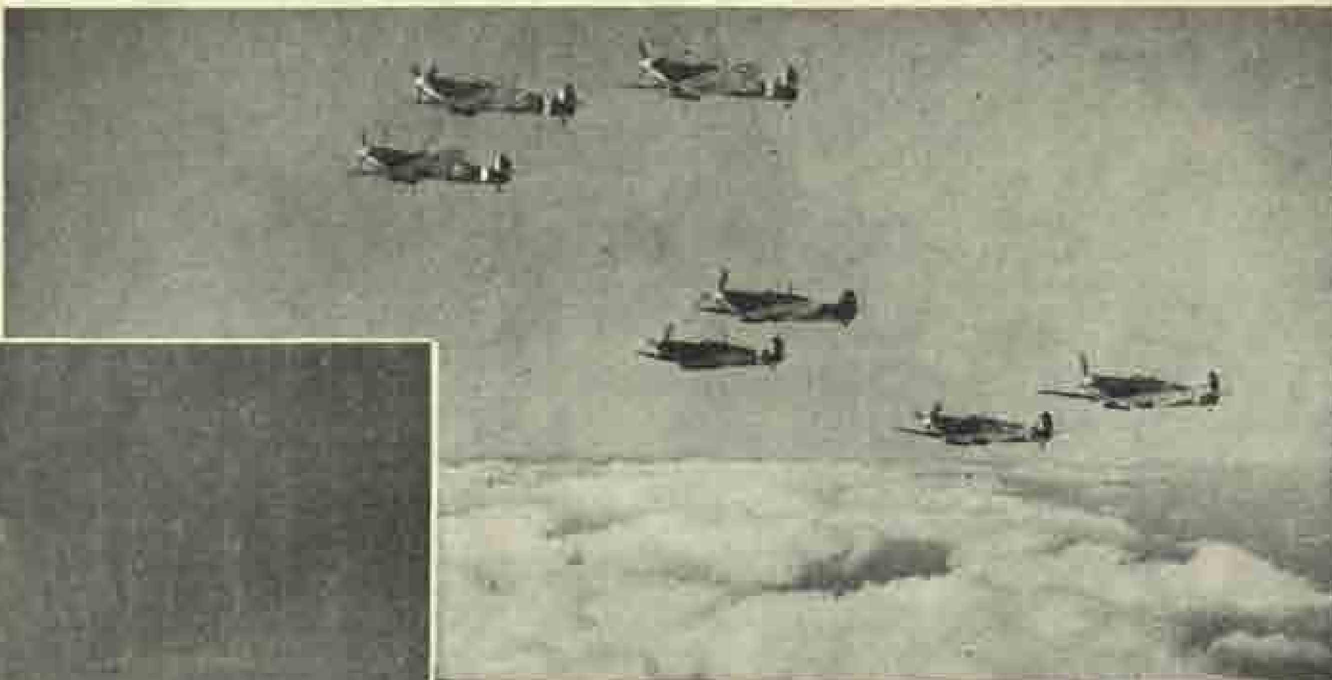
MIGHTY FOUR-ENGINED BOMBERS

Top, left, a Handley Page Halifax banking round in full flight ; in right-hand top photograph an inside view is given ; at top, the pilot ; behind him is the second pilot, while the radio operator sits beneath. Lowest photograph, a flight of Short Stirlings in formation ; centre, loading bombs into a Stirling ready for a long-range raid on Germany.

Photos : P.N.A. ; Planet News ; Associated Press









FIGHTERS AND BOMBERS THRUST BACK THE AIR FRONTIER

The effect of the daylight sweeps by our fighters over the Channel and Northern France was to set back the Luftwaffe's line some fifty miles. Top, cannon-armed Spitfires; below, right, a fighter-pilot reports to the Intelligence Officer on return. Below, left, a daylight attack on aerodrome and oil dumps at Berck-sur-Mer, in the Pas de Calais: bombs on the way down.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



and Bomber Command had to concentrate as far as possible on the war against enemy shipping. Our night bombers, including the Wellington, Stirling and Avro Manchester, as well as the Hampden and the Blenheim, were constantly detailed for attacks on German naval bases. Emden in particular was frequently raided in the first quarter of 1941; and the French port of Brest, where the German battle-cruisers "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" had been docked at the end of their raiding cruises in the Atlantic, was another centre marked down for British air action. On the night of March 31 an outstanding assault was made on Emden, when bombs which were described officially as being "five times more powerful than any previously used by the R.A.F." were dropped in great numbers. In raids on Brest some of our airmen flew down to 1,000 feet and carried out acts of unsurpassed gallantry when over this Nazi key point, which as time went on became one of the most heavily defended areas.

On April 17 Berlin was again the main target, and from that night until the end of the month raids were made on Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen, Kiel, Hamburg, Bremerhaven, Cuxhaven, Mannheim and Lübeck. Objectives in Holland, Denmark and Norway, with half-a-dozen vital targets in occupied France, had all been raided by night during the month. These operations, involving difficult and dangerous flights over long distances, gave some indication of the growing strength of British air power; on a single night we were able to send 500 bombers over Germany alone, while other powerful units could strike simultaneously at German strongholds hundreds of miles distant. In the next two months our offensive continued. In the first week of May, when the Germans suffered most disturbing losses in their raids on Britain, Bomber Command established a record in its operations over Germany. On the night of May 8

the largest force of bombers, bearing the heaviest bomb-load which the R.A.F. had ever carried into action on a single occasion, flew to Berlin, Bremen, and Hamburg. Our forces numbered several hundreds, and the four-motor Short Stirling, the 27-ton four-motor Handley Page Halifax, the two-motor Avro Manchester, the Armstrong-Whitworth Whitley, the Handley Page Hampden, and the Vickers-Armstrong Wellington all took part. On the same night, too, other types struck at enemy coastal shipping, raiding places in N.W. Germany and bombing the U-boat bases at St. Nazaire. Every night in that week the British bombers were in action, as was the enemy over England, but while his losses totalled 116 bombers only 27 R.A.F. machines failed to return.

By this time the Nazis had realized that they must expect a relentless and growing offensive by the British air arm; our bomber crews reported that the ground defences and searchlights around Berlin, Cologne, Hamburg, and other important centres were concentrated in tremendous numbers. Our machines had also to contend with growing opposition from night fighters. The scale of our night bombing offensive had been raised to a new high level by midsummer, and usually the casualties bore little relation to the numbers of aircraft engaged. It became clear that the persistent bombing of well-chosen targets could be worked up to a decisive stage.

A most interesting and encouraging development of this six months was the brilliant and highly effective work of the Fighter Command. In January, 1941, Hurricanes and Spitfires

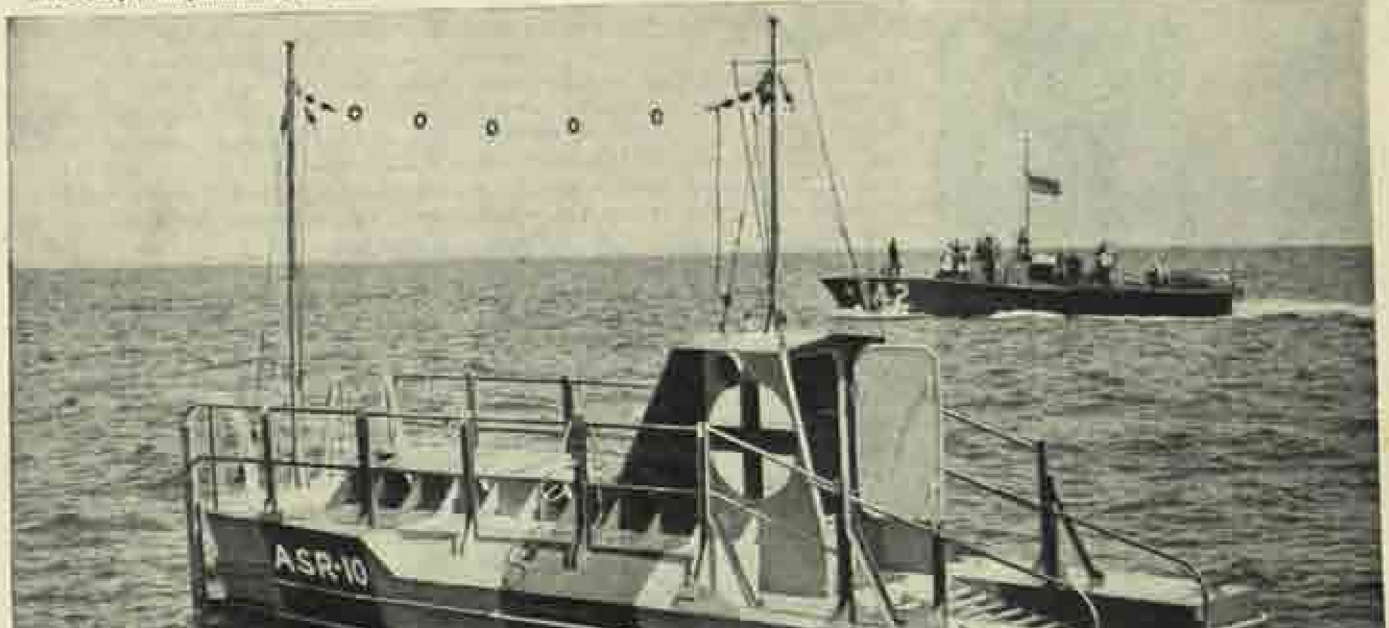






AIR/SEA RESCUE SERVICE OF THE R.A.F.

For the aid of airmen forced down in the sea there are brightly painted rescue floats (below) moored at suitable points; airmen in their dinghies (top, right) may reach them, summon aid by wireless, and meanwhile secure food and clothing. High-speed rescue launches (in background) soon arrive to pick up the airmen, or to search the waters for others reported to have come down. Top, left, a fighter pilot wearing bright yellow linen skull cap so as to be more easily distinguishable by rescuers. *Photos, British Official; Fox; "Daily Mirror"*





turned over from the defensive to the offensive, and were detailed to sweep over Northern France as escorts to groups of day bombers. The first "offensive sweep" of this kind was made on January 10, when 100 Hurricanes and a large force of Bristol

BOMBING OF CAPRONI WORKS AT MAI ADAGA

Workshops and hangars at Mai Adaga in Italian East Africa were bombed in November, 1940, when the ammunition dumps were seriously damaged; this photograph shows a later R.A.F. raid, on Feb. 17, 1941: 1, bombs bursting on aerodrome; 2, hangars; 3, parts of damaged aircraft; 4, direct hits on workshops; 5, store buildings demolished.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



BERLIN GETS A TASTE OF IT

The State Opera House, Berlin, in flames after a British night raid on April 9, 1941. Though the task of our bombers was much heavier than that of the Luftwaffe, our long-range aircraft nevertheless made some heavy attacks on objectives far into enemy territory. Photograph was transmitted by radio from Germany to New York.

Photo, Keystone

Blenheims flew over the area known as the Pas de Calais; enemy aerodromes were bombed and machine-gunned, barracks were destroyed and troops were attacked. The element of surprise was an important factor, for it was the first occasion on which the R.A.F. had attacked in this manner. Luftwaffe opposition was not heavy, three enemy machines being shot down while the British formations sustained no losses.

On the following day similar co-ordinated tactics were used in raids over the coast of Holland and Belgium. Thereafter, whenever weather conditions did not forbid, these sweeps were made with the greatest tenacity and daring. Sometimes sorties would be carried out by Hurricanes alone and they would be flown over enemy-occupied territory at ground level, from which altitude, with cannon and machine-guns blazing, the pilots would scatter motor convoys on the roads, wreck and damage German aircraft standing on aerodromes and attack gun-emplacements and parading troops. What with the raids on Germany under cover of darkness and the daylight sorties over enemy-occupied France, the operations of the R.A.F. against the enemy were sometimes practically continuous over a period of many hours.

Apart altogether from the daylight sweeps over the Channel and Northern France our bombers from time to time raided objectives in Germany in broad daylight. An outstanding operation of this kind was carried out on April 28, when a Short Stirling reached Emden and attacked sundry targets at 1,500 feet. On the previous day Blenheim bombers had penetrated to Cologne to destroy factories and a military camp. Another daylight attack was made by unescorted bombers on May 13, when the objective was the island of Heligoland. On June 2, taking cover in low clouds, aircraft of Bomber Command attacked ships in the Kiel Canal. On the same day others bombed objectives in Schleswig-Holstein.

Emerging from all these varied and widespread operations was the one great fact that the British air offensive was steadily gathering momentum. The R.A.F. was building up its strength, was being equipped with new machines, and was resorting to fresh tactics. Every opportunity was being seized to strike harder and as frequently as possible at the enemy. Never was there any lack of personnel, and the Royal Air Force's waiting list was always a long one. Young men all over the country were interviewed, enrolled, and sent back home to await call—chafing at the comparatively long period before they were summoned for training. But this period of deferment was a token that Britain's reserve of pilots and air crews was an eminently satisfactory one.

Incalculable tasks for Britain's air components lay ahead, yet by June, 1941, our efforts in the air had begun to show encouraging and heartening results. These were not dimmed when a new phase of the war began on the 22nd of that month, when, at 04.00 hrs., Hitler's hordes invaded Russian territory.

Historic Documents. CCVII—CCIX

WORDS OF CHEER AND WARNING TO THE HOME FRONT

The ordeals to which Britain was subjected by enemy bombing included not only the destruction of homes and the devastation of cities, but the apprehension of possible gas attack. In these extracts from speeches by the Premier and the Minister of Home Security, high tribute is paid to the courage and fortitude of the civilian population, and a solemn warning given to prepare for any eventuality.

MR. CHURCHILL, IN A SPEECH AT PORTSMOUTH, JAN. 31, 1941:

I HAVE thought about you and your friends in Southampton a good deal when we knew how heavily you were being attacked, and I am glad to find an afternoon to come and see you to wish you good luck and offer you the thanks and congratulations of the Government for the manner in which you are standing up to these onslaughts of the enemy. We see that the enemy has been decisively defeated by the R.A.F. and he was not able last autumn to invade our country. We see that our friends across the ocean are taking a very warm interest in the struggle for freedom here. The great American democracy has pledged itself to give us its aid.

Lastly, what has happened to Italy? She with her crafty and calculating chief thought she could win a very cheap and easy victory by stabbing France in the back. The tables have been turned in a most remarkable fashion by the brilliant operations of General Wavell and General Wilson and the splendid effort made by the Greeks in repelling invasion of their native land. These two events, one in Africa and the other in Europe, have together shown the rottenness and weakness of the Nazi-Fascist regime so far as Italy is concerned. Instead of marching on in triumph to Athens and Cairo they are now forced to bring in the Germans to rescue and rule them.

All this gives us encouragement to face the long and hard ordeals which lie before us but to which we shall not be found unequal. We shall come through. We cannot tell when, we cannot tell how, but we shall come through. We have none of us any doubt whatever, nor is there much doubt among lovers of freedom in other countries throughout the world that we shall come through with triumph. When we have done so, we shall have the right to say we live in an age which, in all the long history of Britain, was most filled with glorious achievement and most graced by duties done.

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, MINISTER OF HOME SECURITY, IN A BROADCAST, MARCH 28, 1941:

SPEAKING with due solemnity and expressing the considered and firmly established view of H.M. Government, I remind you and the whole world that the use of the gas weapon is abhorrent to us; we know it to be contrary to the laws of war; we believe with profound conviction that it is also contrary to the principles of humanity and the decencies of civilized conduct.

We will in no circumstances be the first to use gas. If our enemy seeks to pretend to the world that the defensive measures undertaken by the British Government to protect the civil population against gas are an indication that we ourselves intend to take the initiative in its use, then I brand the suggestion as a black and intentional lie.

But our enemy, though he has declared that he would not use the gas weapon, never commands any confidence here or in any quarter of the free world, in the truth of his words. To the Nazis a promise, if it does not suit you to keep it, is nothing more than a way of deceiving your enemy. I repeat, the increased threat of direct attack on this country which the present season brings, involves an increased threat of gas attack.

If the enemy believes it to be to his military advantage to use gas, either in connexion with military operations or against the civil population, he will use it—make no doubt of that. Neutral observers, who should be in a good position to form an opinion, have publicly said that Germany is making active preparations to use gas. Whether this is so I cannot say. What I can say is that it is absolutely essential for us to be prepared.

For these reasons his Majesty's Government have instituted, and will pursue with determination, a campaign of measures to ensure that the civil population is well prepared. We are seeking the cooperation of all the bodies who can help us, and we shall ourselves take every opportunity of ensuring that our material preparation is fully adequate and in good order. But the greatest preparation of all lies within your power to achieve.

Remember that against a defenceless or ill-prepared population the gas weapon may be deadly—it may even be decisive. But against a well-prepared population which knows exactly what to do and does it, gas can be rendered little more than a serious nuisance. One of the likeliest reasons for the enemy to use gas would be because he might regard it as his last hope of doing what he has tried without any success to do in many other ways—stampeding our civil population and causing it to panic. You can arm yourselves, body and mind, securely against it. . . .

MR. CHURCHILL IN A BROADCAST, APRIL 27, 1941:

I WAS asked last week whether I was aware of some uneasiness which, it was said, existed in the country on account of the gravity, as it was described, of the war situation. So I thought it would be a good thing to go and see for myself what this uneasiness amounted to. And I went to some of our great cities, seaports which had been most heavily bombed.

I have come back not only reassured but refreshed. To leave the offices in Whitehall, with their ceaseless hum of activity and stress, and to go out to the front, by which I mean the streets and wharves of London or Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, Swansea or Bristol, is like going out of a hothouse on to the bridge of a fighting ship. It is a tonic which I should recommend any who are suffering from fretfulness to take in strong doses when they have need of it.

It is quite true that I have seen many painful scenes of havoc and of fine buildings and acres of cottage homes blasted into rubble heaps of ruins, but it is just in those very places where the malice of the savage enemy has done its worst and where the ordeal of the men, women and children has been most severe that I found their morale most high and splendid. Indeed, I feel comforted by an exaltation of spirit in the people which seemed to lift mankind above the level of material facts into the joyous serenity we think belongs to a better world than this.

Of their kindness to me I cannot speak, because I have never sought it or dreamed of it and can never deserve it. I can only assure you that I and my colleagues, or comrades rather, for that is what they are, who deal with every scrap of life and strength, according to the lot granted to us, shall not fail these people or be wholly unworthy of their faithful and generous regard.

What a triumph the life of these battered cities is over the worst which fire and bombs can do. What a vindication of the civilized and decent way of living we have been trying to work for and work towards in our island.

This ordeal by fire has, in a certain sense, even exhilarated the manhood and womanhood of Britain. The sublime but also terribly sombre experiences and emotions of the battlefield, which for centuries have been reserved for the soldiers and sailors, are now shared for good or ill by the entire population. All our crowds have been proud of being under fire of the enemy—old men, little children, the crippled, the veterans of former wars, aged women, and the ordinary hard-pressed citizen or subject of the King, as he likes to call himself, the sturdy workman who swings a hammer or loads a ship, the skilful craftsman, the members of every kind of A.R.P. service, are proud to feel that they stand in the line together with our fighting men when one of the greatest causes is being fought out—and fought out it will be to the end. This, indeed, is the great heroic period of our history and the light of glory shines on all.

Historic Documents. CCX

BEATING THE INVADER: RULES FOR CIVILIANS IN 1941

In May, 1941, when Britain was threatened with invasion, a leaflet was issued by the Ministry of Information in cooperation with the War Office and the Ministry of Home Security, and distributed to every household. It comprised a message from Mr. Churchill and a number of instructions should the threat materialize.

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

If invasion comes, everyone—young or old, men and women—will be eager to play their part worthily. By far the greater part of the country will not be immediately involved. Even along our coasts, the greater part will remain unaffected. But where the enemy lands, or tries to land, there will be most violent fighting. Not only will there be the battles when the enemy tries to come ashore, but afterwards there will fall upon his lodgements very heavy British counter-attacks, and all the time the lodgements will be under the heaviest attack by British bombers. The fewer civilians or non-combatants in these areas, the better—apart from essential workers who must remain. So if you are advised by the authorities to leave the place where you live, it is your duty to go elsewhere when you are told to leave. When the attack begins, it will be too late to go; and, unless you receive definite instructions to move, your duty then will be to stay where you are. You will have to get into the safest place you can find, and stay there until the battle is over. For all of you then the order and the duty will be: "*Stand Firm.*"

This also applies to people inland if any considerable number of parachutists or air-borne troops are landed in their neighbourhood. Above all, they must not cumber the roads. Like their fellow-countrymen on the coasts, they must "*Stand Firm.*" The Home Guard, supported by strong mobile columns wherever the enemy's numbers require it, will immediately come to grips with the invaders, and there is little doubt will soon destroy them.

Throughout the rest of the country where there is no fighting going on and no close cannon fire or rifle fire can be heard, everyone will govern his conduct by the second great order and duty, namely, "*Carry on.*" It may easily be some weeks before the invader has been totally destroyed, that is to say, killed or captured to the last man who has landed on our shores. Meanwhile, all work must be continued to the utmost, and no time lost.

The following notes have been prepared to tell everyone in rather more detail what to do, and they should be carefully studied. Each man and woman should think out a clear plan of personal action in accordance with the general scheme.
—Winston Churchill.

What do I do if fighting breaks out in my neighbourhood?

Keep indoors or in your shelter until the battle is over. If you can have a trench ready in your garden or field, so much the better. You may want to use it for protection if your house is damaged. But if you are at work, or if you have special orders, carry on as long as possible and only take cover when danger approaches. If you are on your way to work, finish your journey if you can.

If you see an enemy tank, or a few enemy soldiers, do not assume that the enemy are in control of the area. What you have seen may be a party sent on in advance, or stragglers from the main body, who can easily be rounded up.

What do I do in areas which are some way from the fighting?

Stay in your district and carry on. Go to work whether in shop, field, factory or office. Do your shopping, send your children to school until you are told not to. Do not try to go and live somewhere else. Do not use the roads for any unnecessary journey; they must be left free for troop movements even a long way from the district where actual fighting is taking place.

Will certain roads and railways be reserved for the use of the Military, even in areas far from the scene of action?

Yes, certain roads will have to be reserved for important troop movements; but such reservations should be only temporary. . . . .

Whom shall I ask for advice?

The police and A.R.P. wardens.

From whom shall I take orders?

In most cases from the police and A.R.P. wardens. But there may be times when you will have to take orders from the military and the Home Guard in uniform.

Is there any means by which I can tell that an order is a true order and not faked?

You will generally know your policeman and your A.R.P. wardens by sight, and can trust them. With a bit of common sense you can tell if a soldier is really British or only pretending to be so. If in doubt ask a policeman, or ask a soldier whom you know personally.

What does it mean when the church bells are rung?

It is a warning to the local garrison that troops have been seen landing from the air in the neighbourhood of the church in question. Church bells will not be rung all over the country as a general warning that invasion has taken place. The ringing of church bells in one place will not be taken up in neighbouring churches.

Will instructions be given over the wireless?

Yes; so far as possible. But remember that the enemy can overhear any wireless message, so that the wireless cannot be used for instructions which might give him valuable information.

In what other ways will instructions be given?

Through the Press; by loudspeaker vans; and perhaps by leaflets and posters. But remember that genuine Government leaflets will be given to you only by the policeman, your A.R.P. warden or your postman; while genuine posters and instructions will be put up only on Ministry of Information notice boards and official sites, such as police stations, post offices, A.R.P. posts, town halls and schools.

Should I try to lay in extra food?

No. If you have already laid in a stock of food, keep it for a real emergency; but do not add to it. The Government has made arrangements for food supplies.

Will normal news services continue?

Yes. Careful plans have been made to enable newspapers and wireless broadcasts to carry on, and in case of need there are emergency measures which will bring you the news. But if there should be some temporary breakdown in news supply, it is very important that you should not listen to rumours nor pass them on, but should wait till real news comes through again. Do not use the telephones or send telegrams if you can possibly avoid it.

Should I put my car, lorry, or motor-bicycle out of action?

Yes, when you are told to do so by the police, A.R.P. wardens or military; or when it is obvious that there is an immediate risk of its being seized by the enemy—then disable and hide your bicycle and destroy your maps.

Should I defend myself against the enemy?

The enemy is not likely to turn aside to attack separate houses. If small parties are going about threatening persons and property in an area not under enemy control and come your way, you have the right of every man and woman to do what you can to protect yourself, your family and your home.

Give all the help you can to our troops.

Do not tell the enemy anything. Do not give him anything. Do not help him in any way.

REVIEW OF THE HOME FRONT, JANUARY TO JUNE, 1941

Distinguished Visitors from the U.S.A.—Freedom of the Press—Financial Problems: Taxation and War Savings—Registration of Women for War Work—Essential Work Orders—The Food Situation: Extension of Rationing—Rudolf Hess Comes to Britain by Air: Mystery of His Motives—Premier's Review of the War Situation

The year 1941 opened with flying visits from two distinguished Americans. Mr. Harry Hopkins, head of the Works Progress Administration and Secretary of Commerce, came as President Roosevelt's personal representative. He reached London on January 9. Next day Mr. Hopkins said at a gathering of Press representatives, "I have no misgivings about the outcome of this war." His experiences in England seemed to have confirmed that opening expression of opinion, for one of his first public remarks after his return to America on February 16 was, "I don't think Hitler can lick the British"; and when in April the Lease-Lend arrangements were completed, Mr. Hopkins was appointed supervisor of purchases made under these arrangements.

In Britain he met Mr. Eden and Lord Halifax (who was about to go to Washington as British Ambassador). Mr. Hopkins had constant conversations with British Ministers, including Mr. Churchill. He was received by the King. He inspected, in Mr. Churchill's company, Glasgow civil defence organization, the south-east coast defences, including the British long-range guns commanding the Straits of Dover, and the blitzed towns of Portsmouth and Southampton. He heard the Prime Minister wind up a debate in the House of Commons on war production; and he visited air raid shelters at night.



PREMIER WITH ROOSEVELT'S ENVOY

While the visit of Mr. Wendell Willkie was a private one, that of Mr. Harry Hopkins was official—as the American President's personal representative. Above, Mr. Hopkins (right) with Mr. Churchill on a tour of inspection in the North.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Mr. Hopkins' visit, brief as it was, seemed almost sedate compared with the whirlwind tour made by Mr. Wendell Willkie, the Republican leader who had been Mr. Roosevelt's rival in the presidential election the previous November. Mr. Willkie repeatedly insisted that he was travelling as a private citizen to study the situation in England. He reached London on January 26, and spent ten days in the British Isles. He saw the Prime Minister, Mr. Eden, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Duff Cooper, Lord Beaverbrook (who gave a dinner for him at which the whole Cabinet was present), and Mr. Montagu Norman. On one day he visited the Ministry of Supply and the Home Office, Transport House, and the headquarters of the Polish forces, where he met General Sikorski; and in the evening he saw air raid shelters during an alert. On another day he went to the Admiralty, where he had a long talk with Mr. A. V. Alexander, the First Lord; made a tour of the damaged Temple; and visited a public house in Shepherd's Market, Mayfair. He heard a day-time alert sounded, and he attended a debate in the House of Commons, remarking afterwards:

"I am particularly impressed by the calm, deliberate courage of everyone I have seen. The House of Commons has also made a great impression on me. I was able to listen to a little of the debate. That Parliament can go on discussing such a question as the freedom of the Press in this critical time is a spectacle that is as magnificent as it is refreshing."

He went to Dover and the south-east coast, "to see Britain's front line defences"; he went to Coventry and Birmingham, remarking that nothing had been published in America which



MR. WILLKIE AT GUILDHALL

At the end of January, 1941, the Republican leader, Mr. Wendell Willkie, came to Britain to study the situation. He saw many aspects of British life and delivered a heartening message. Here he is viewing the ruins of the London Guildhall.

Photo, Central Press

gave any idea of the damage Birmingham had suffered. He toured Liverpool and Manchester. He flew to Dublin, where he had a "very frank and free discussion" with Mr. de Valera at lunch, and the same afternoon returned to London, where he was received by the King. Next morning early he visited Bristol, before taking the aeroplane for Cintra at 9 a.m. On his departure he addressed a message to the German people in which he said:

"I am of purely German descent. My grandparents left Germany 90 years ago because they were protestants against autocracy. I am proud of my German blood, but I hate aggression and tyranny. Tell the German people that we German Americans reject and hate the aggression and lust for power of the present German government."

To the British people he said,

"Anything I can do in America to help Britain in her fight for freedom I certainly

shall do. Your people have shown magnificent courage. Keep your chins up!"

He arrived safely at La Guardia airfield on February 9.

The debate on the freedom of the Press to which Mr. Willkie listened arose out of the suppression of the "Daily Worker," organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, first published in January, 1930. Armed with an order from the Home Secretary under regulation 2D of the Defence (General) Regulations, the police took possession of the offices of the "Daily Worker" on January 21. The production of any alternative publication was prevented by a second order made under regulation 94D, which forbade the use of the printing press and other apparatus without leave of the High Court. "Systematic publication of matter calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful issue" was the reason given by the Home Secretary, Mr. Morrison, for taking this step. For a long time, said Mr. Morrison, it had been "the settled and continuous policy" of the paper to try to create in its readers "a state of mind in which they will refrain from co-operating in the national war effort, and may become ready to hinder that effort."

Freedom of the Press

Few members of the House of Commons had any sympathy with the policy of the "Daily Worker," but there was a good deal of uneasiness over the suppression without judicial trial of a paper of any political colour; and a week later a debate took place, on a motion put down by Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Independent Labour member for Ebbw Vale:

"That this House expresses its detestation of the propaganda of the 'Daily Worker' in relation to the war, but is of opinion that confidence can be undermined if it can be shown that any newspaper can be suppressed in a manner which leaves the paper no chance of stating its case."

The debate was not without acrimony, but Mr. Morrison's spirited defence convinced the House that he had acted wisely, for Mr. Bevan's motion was negatived by 323 votes to 6.

The freedom of the Press was raised in the House again early in February, when Mr. Mander, Liberal member for Wolverhampton, asked the Prime Minister if he would state on what dates, and in what circumstances, representatives of the "Daily Mirror" and the "Sunday Pictorial" were officially interviewed and warned about the political attitude they were adopting. Mr. Churchill said that the conversations referred to were confidential, and refused



BRITAIN HAD PLENTY OF FOOD, EQUITABLY SHARED

Top, Lord Woolton (hand outstretched), Minister of Food, welcomes the first food ship under the American Lease-Lend Act; with him are Mr. Averill Harriman and Miss Harriman. The consignment included eggs; centre, a queue for the egg ration in a London suburb. Communal restaurants throughout the country supplied attractive and nutritious food at low prices; bottom photograph shows people waiting to enter such a restaurant at Liverpool.

Photos, Associated Press; Planet News; Fox



LONDON'S INDOMITABLE FIRE-FIGHTERS SAVED THE CITY

This photograph of Ludgate Circus on the morning of May 11, 1941, gives an idea of the enormous task of the regular and auxiliary firemen in localizing the damage caused by incendiary bombs accompanied by high explosive missiles. A superb organization, backed by fine courage and splendid team-work, enabled the many fires to be put out or damped down and saved numberless buildings from destruction.

Photo, Keystone



HOLBORN AREA IN THE FIRE-RAIDS OF APRIL 16 AND MAY 10, 1941

Top, taken at 2 a.m. on April 17: the blazing City Temple and, in the background, the tower of St. Andrew's Church; at the left is the fiery glow from Thomas Wallis's store in Holborn Circus. Below, looking down Charterhouse Street from the Circus towards Smithfield Market (night of May 10, 1941): fire still rages in some buildings, but the situation is well in hand.

Photos, Keystone; Sport & General







LONDON MORNING: AFTER A NIGHT RAID IN JANUARY, 1941

Right, a Y.M.C.A. tea car, usually serving light refreshments to H.M. Forces, visits a raided London street. Mercifully these youngsters, like many others, appear to have come through their ordeal without serious mental harm. A milk-bar restaurant in the City vanished overnight, but next morning its staff were serving a long queue of customers from an improvised stall.

Photos, Fox; "The Daily Mirror"



H.M.A.S. 'SYDNEY' STEAMS TO HER BERTH IN SYDNEY HARBOUR

This photograph shows the Australian cruiser on her return from the Mediterranean, where on July 19, 1940, she had vanquished the Italian cruiser 'Bartolomeo Colleoni' (see pp. 1082 and 1092). On Nov. 19, 1941, the 'Sydney' was lost with all on board, after sinking the armed raider 'Steiermark.'

Photo, Sport & General. Badge reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office





RATIONING OF CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

The raw materials of textiles were in demand for many wartime purposes, and clothing itself had to be manufactured in enormous quantities for the various services. Therefore civilian supplies were limited by rationing, and after June 1, 1941, purchasers had to surrender coupons. Above, giving up coupons in a London street market. Inset, special coupon issued to people who had been bombed out of their homes.
Photo, Fox

to budge from the position that the Government was entitled to make such private approaches to newspaper proprietors; ridiculing the suggestion that the Government's only course towards newspapers should be by prosecution.

The cost of the war was mounting to an enormous figure, and at the beginning of February was 8 millions a *day* for the fighting services, plus 2¼ millions for other war services such as the expenditure on the Ministries of Shipping, Food, and Home Security.

Enormous Cost of the War

The Government in its wartime financial policy aimed at limiting demand for non-essentials by limiting the capacity of private expenditure, thus releasing labour and raw materials for war industry. The need for private saving was constantly stressed, and the public response exceeded the Government's hopes. Lord Kindersley, President of the National Savings Movement, announced at Manchester on May 25 that in the first 19 months of the war small savers had raised £700,000,000. Even more striking had been the reception on April 7 of the 1941 budget of Sir Kingsley Wood (Chancellor of the Exchequer), the main feature of which was the raising of income tax from 8s. 6d. to 10s. in the £, and of super-tax to a point at which the rate on the highest incomes was 19s. 6d. in the £. Some groans there were, but no serious grumbles, except from poorly-paid workers who found themselves inside the ranks of income-tax payers for the first time owing to the reduction of the personal allowance from £100 to £80 and of the earned income allowance from one-sixth to one-tenth.

Another important aspect of national wartime finance was dealt with in the War Damage Act (Part II), which came into force on April 17 and compelled all persons carrying on business, including professional men and farmers, to insure all the movable assets of their business undertakings if these were worth more than £1,000. Those with movable assets worth less could come into the scheme voluntarily. The premium, 30s. per cent, covered loss to the end of September, 1941.

Even amid all the major problems of carrying on the war the work for social betterment went on. A piece of legislation aimed at removing a sense of injustice among the workers was the Means Test Reform Act, which received the Royal assent on February 26. It abolished the requirement that the resources of all members of the household of an applicant for unemployment assistance or a supplementary pension must be taken into account in assessing a grant, and substituted certain general principles. Where the applicant was a householder the contribution to the household of a wage-earning son was in future to be reckoned at 7s. a week maximum; less if his wages were small, and nothing if they were less than 20s. a week. Where the applicant was not a householder, but was related by blood to the householder, it was to be assumed that, provided the householder's income was at least £5 a week for himself and one dependant, with 15s. a week extra for each additional dependant, the applicant would receive free board and lodging; and in such cases a grant of 5s. a week would be made to cover personal expenditure.



MAKING THE MOST OF THE FRUIT CROPS

Fruit preserving centres were set up in the villages throughout Britain, and here members of the Women's Institutes and the Women's Voluntary Services (with other bodies) made jam from home-grown fruit brought to them by local residents. A total of over 1,500 tons of jam was made by 180 urban and 5,500 rural centres during the 1941 season. Above, taking fruit to the Cobham centre.
Photo, "The Times"



EMERGENCY WATER SUPPLY

Supplementing the fire-fighting supply for London, water was taken from the Thames and piped along many of the principal streets with hose-points at intervals. Here is one such tapping point.
Photo, Sport & General

With the continued calling to the armed forces of more men, and the rising tempo of war industry, the proper distribution and employment of the men and women still available in the home labour market became of growing importance. On January 6 it was announced that Mr. Churchill had set up a new executive under Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, to deal with production. The number of workers entered on the State register as wholly unemployed had steadily decreased as war industry developed. On January 13 the total number was 695,606—less by 9,673 than on December 9. The total number of unemployed in June was 121,562, of whom 31,763 had been classified by interviewing panels as unsuitable for ordinary industrial employment.

Registration of Women

On March 9, in announcing that the first date fixed for women to register for war work was April 19, Mr. Bevin appealed to them to offer their services at once, and added that married women with children were to be helped by a subsidy towards the cost of minding their children while they were at work. A Women's Consultative Committee, to advise on questions affecting the recruitment and registration of women for war work, and the best methods of securing their services, met for the first time on March 12. It included among its members Dr. Edith Summerskill, M.P., and Miss Irene Ward, M.P. Some 400,000 girls of 20 registered on April 19. The last group called in the first six months of 1941 was women born in 1917, who registered on June 28. Men born in 1900, first of the 41 to 45 group to register for war work, registered on June 21.

January saw a period of severe weather during which fast-flowing rivers froze, and snowdrifts, some of them 15 feet deep, blocked roads and railways. These wintry conditions emphasized existing difficulties in the distribution of coal. Lack of transport, the drafting of miners into the Army, transfer of miners to other industries, and greatly increased industrial demand for coal were all factors in the shortage. Early in the war a shortsighted policy had allowed the mines to be denuded of many hewers and other workers. In May the Minister of Labour made an Essential Work Order for the coal-mining industry; and the miners' attendance bonus plan, designed to deter men from absenting themselves from work for part of the week, was announced. The executive committee of the Mineworkers' Federation accepted this plan in principle after certain modifications. Towards the end of June a "standstill order" was issued for the coalmining industry; no more miners were to be called up for the Army. An appeal was made to men who had left the mines to return to them.



BAN ON THE 'DAILY WORKER'

By a Defence Regulation, publication of the 'Daily Worker' was stopped on January 21, 1941, and police took control of the plant and premises. Here Glasgow police officers are leaving with confiscated copies of the Scottish edition.
Photo, Associated Press



BOMBED BUT STILL IN BEING

This City of London Police Station suffered from bomb blast, but soon adapted itself to circumstances. Outside the former entrance a wit displayed the injunction: 'Be good! We are still open.'
Photo, Topical Press

Acute Shipping Position

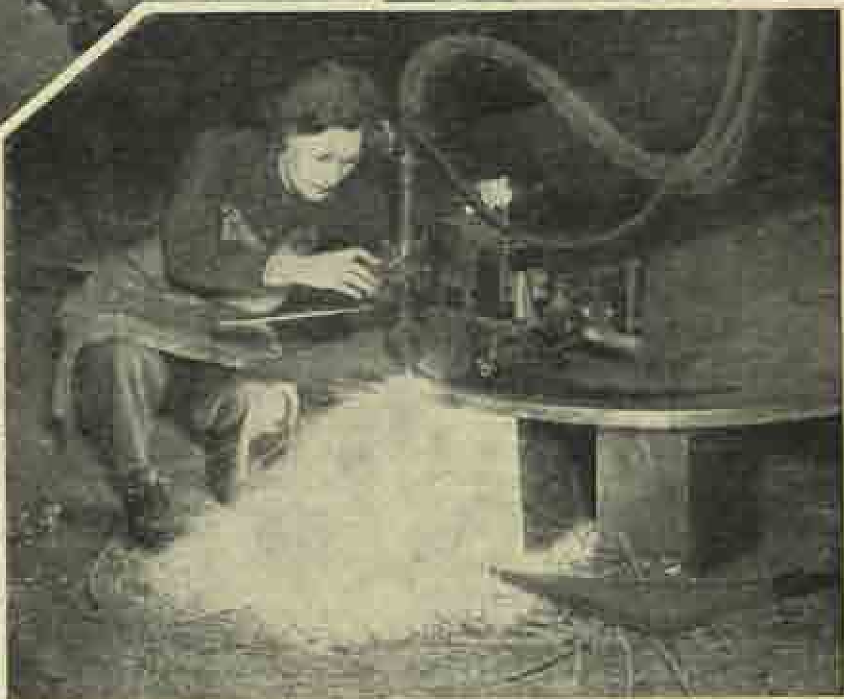
With the extension of the war to wider zones the shipping position became progressively more acute. One of the most serious problems was the length of time taken for the "turn-round" of ships in port. Most dock labourers in the country were still casual workers, though reformers had for years sought to do away with this state of affairs. In February it was announced that the Minister of Transport would almost immediately become the employer of all the registered dock workers in Liverpool, Manchester, Preston and other towns in that area, and that the men would be engaged on a guaranteed weekly basis. In spite of a good deal of opposition from the dockers themselves, the scheme was brought into operation, and was extended in April to the Clydeside.

The building industry was made the subject of an Essential Work Order in June. Here again the object of the Government was to further all work necessary to the war effort and to limit other undertakings.

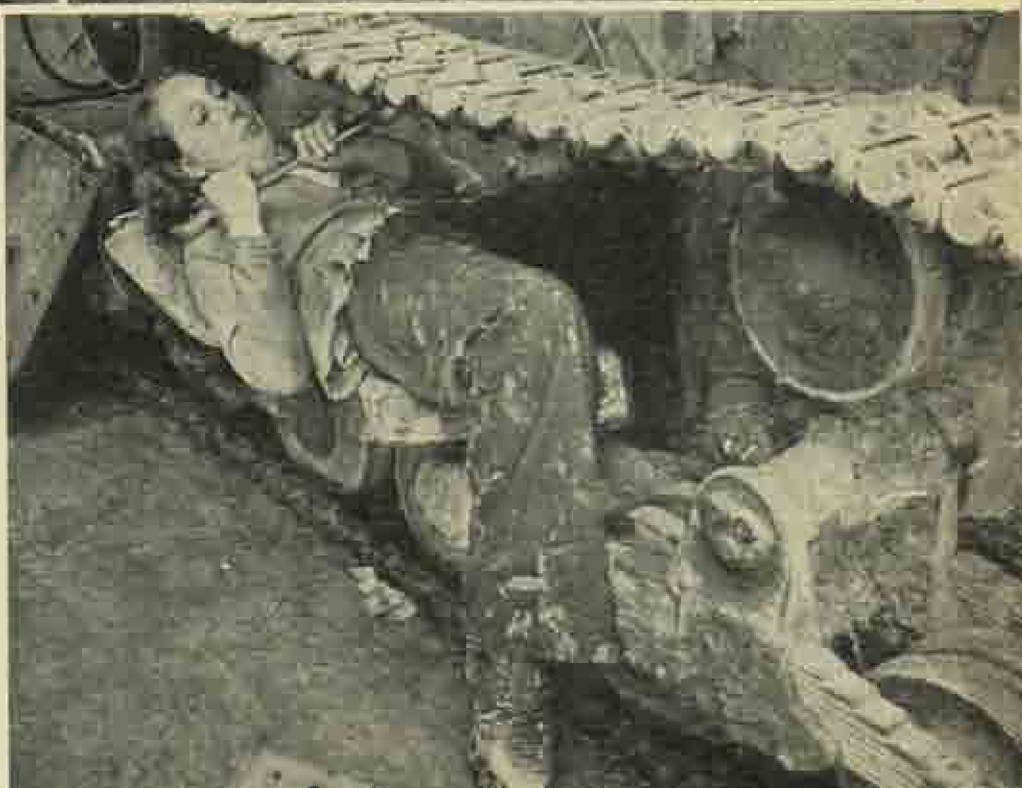
Much care was given to the feeding of the population. Prices were "pegged" for important foodstuffs, and held at reasonable levels by means of subsidies to the manufacturers. On January 1 the official cost of living figure was 96 points above the level of July, 1914, and one point higher than on November 30, 1940. This rise of one point was











MAGNIFICENT WOMEN WORKERS

Today, with the advance of machinery, muscular strength plays a lesser part and woman's natural skill and adaptability can be widely utilized even in heavy industries. Top, left, servicing a bus; right, a trainee at a power grinder. Centre, left, repairing army boots; right, shaping steel ship-plates with an oxygen cutter. Below, right, overhauling a tank track.

Photos, "Daily Mirror"; Keystone

largely attributable to the purchase tax, which had come into force on October 21, 1940. Food alone was 72 points up as compared with July, 1914. While the general cost of living showed a slow but steady rise to 100 points up on May 31 (when it was estimated that purchase tax had put 5 points on the basic figure), food fluctuated slightly: 72 points up in January, it was 71 up on February 1, 69 on March 1, 70 on April 1, 71 on May 1, 70 on May 31.

The meat ration, 1s. 10d. a head per week at the end of 1940, was reduced on January 6 to 1s. 6d. a head, including pork and most offals previously obtainable "off the ration." A week later the ration was reduced to 1s. 2d. a head per week, and from March 31 to 1s., though all offals, except ox-skirt, were made coupon-free on June 9. The butter ration, on the other hand, was raised from 2 oz. a week to 4 oz. from March 10 until June 30, when it was again reduced to 2 oz. During the whole period the total fat ration, including margarine and cooking fat, remained at 8 oz. a head per week.

Meat Ration Reduced

Rationing was extended to cover several additional commodities. Jam, marmalade, syrup, and treacle were rationed from March 17, at 8 oz. a month, with a full ration for March. On June 27 it was announced that a double ration of sugar would be allowed for the four weeks beginning June 30—



NEW SIGNS AT CROSS-ROADS
Signposts which would help local traffic and not divulge vital information to an invader were fixed at important road junctions in the provinces. They indicated directions but not place names.
Photo, Fox



HOME GUARD AT THE PALACE
To mark the first birthday of the Home Guard (May 14, 1941) the King permitted members drawn from London units to mount guard at Buckingham Palace. Here an N.C.O. reads the King's Regulations to a sentry about to take over duty.
Photo, Topical Press

an extra 2 lb. a head altogether that could, if the householder wished, be used to make jam, though no promise to this effect was asked as it had been for the extra sugar allowed in 1940. To prevent waste of privately grown fruit, the Ministry of Food also arranged to supply various women's voluntary organizations (Women's Institutes, the Women's Co-operative Guild, Townswomen's Guilds, and the Women's section of the British Legion) with sugar to make jam for the national store from surplus fruit bought from private gardens.

Cheese was rationed from May 5 at 1 oz. a week, raised on June 30 to 2 oz. A special 8-oz. ration was granted to miners and agricultural workers. Shortage of poultry feeding stuffs led to a shortage of eggs—in April the feeding stuffs available sufficed for only about one-sixth of the laying flocks kept in June, 1939—and a scheme of control and distribution came into force on June 30.

Early in February a standard wholemeal loaf made of flour of 85 per cent extraction (compared with 73 per cent extraction for ordinary white flour) was put on the market. The Bread (Current Prices) Order 1941 decreed that bread (including the new standard loaf) was not to be sold at prices higher than those ruling on December 2, 1940, and included a Government offer of a subsidy of ½d. a quartern loaf sold at 8d. a quartern or less.

Owing to a shortage of milk, which was due in part to transport difficulties, a rough-and-ready milk ration was introduced, reducing by one-seventh the amount of milk to be supplied to all but young children and certain priority consumers.

To help housewives to make the best of available food supplies, the Ministry of Food began to set up food advice centres in big towns. The communal feeding centres, originally planned to relieve difficulties in heavily raided areas, were re-christened British Restaurants and rapidly increased in number. On April 19 there were 246 British Restaurants in 119 towns; by May 21, there were 787. Meals were served at low prices and these establishments proved a great boon.

Together with measures for providing reasonable meals for the many went certain restrictions against extravagance. An order that came into force on March 10 made it an offence to serve or eat in an hotel or restaurant a meal containing more than one of five main foods—meat, poultry and game, fish, eggs, cheese.

Restaurant Meals

Perhaps the most startling development in rationing was its extension to clothing. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, President of the Board of Trade, announced in a broadcast at 9 p.m. on June 1 that clothes rationing would come into force on June 2. The Government was able to introduce it at such



AIRGRAPHS FOR THE FORCES
In May, 1941, a special letter service was instituted for British Forces overseas. Letters written on forms 11 inches by 8 were reduced on tiny films and sent in bulk by air to the home country; enlarged then to 5 inches by 4 inches, they were delivered by post. Here finished airgraph letters are being dried.
Photo, Fox





HITLER'S DEPUTY FLIES TO BRITAIN

Above, the wreckage of the aircraft (a Messerschmitt) in which Rudolf Hess, Deputy Fuehrer, flew to Britain from Augsburg on the night of May 10, 1941. Hess (inset) baled out when near Glasgow and was taken prisoner. His aircraft crashed in flames.
Photos, "Daily Mirror"; Associated Press

short notice by using 26 spare coupons in the food ration books as the first instalment of the 66 coupons allotted for the first 12 months of the scheme. Knowledge that clothes were to be rationed is said to have leaked out a few days in advance, but it reached very few people. Mr. Lyttelton's announcement came as a surprise to the country at large, and the scheme was accepted with as good a grace as the 10s. income tax had been. Knitting wool for forces comforts was made available without coupons through certain recognized channels; and uniforms, including those of the British Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Brigade, were coupon-free. So were certain items of working clothing.

Throughout the six months under review the King and Queen did much to comfort, encourage and inspire. On January 6 King George and Queen Elizabeth spent over three hours in the torn streets of Sheffield, talking to the men and women there about their experiences in the raid of December 12, 1940. This was the King's fifth visit to a raided provincial town, but it was the first time he had been accompanied by the Queen. The King and Queen visited Portsmouth and Manchester, South Wales, Devonport and Plymouth, and the East End of London. On May 14 the King inspected the Houses of Parliament and, accompanied by the Queen, Westminster Abbey—after damage had been done to these buildings during the heavy raid on the night of Saturday, May 10. (On May 16 it was announced that the Commons were sitting "in another place.")

The King and Queen inspected the Polish Air Force in January, and later visited the Polish Army in Scotland; in March they inspected various Canadian units stationed in Britain. In May the King inspected the Home Guard on the anniversary of its formation, and watched British parachute troops in training; while the Queen became patron of the National Air Raid Distress Fund, and visited canteens and air raid shelters in central London.

On May 13 it was made known that Rudolf Hess, designated by Hitler as his successor, had landed in Scotland by parachute, on the night of Saturday, May 10, from an aeroplane which had crashed in flames. Hess broke his ankle in landing, and was taken to a Glasgow hospital, where he at first gave the name of Horn, but afterwards declared his true identity. He said he had a communication to make to the Duke of Hamilton, whom he claimed to have met earlier in Germany; it was established, however, that the Duke had never met Hess. Mr. Ivone Kirkpatrick, of the Foreign Office, who had been at the British Embassy in Berlin and was acquainted with Hess, was sent to see him, and confirmed his identity. Though excited speculations as to the reason of this extraordinary adventure were many and contradictory, the real reason was not divulged.

After broadcasting various accounts of the affair the German Government gave out that Hess had left behind a letter which showed traces of mental disorder. British doctors, however, found him perfectly sane, and he was quite healthy, apart from his damaged ankle. It was said that he had brought an offer of peace; that he had expected to find a pro-Nazi group in this country strong enough to overthrow Churchill; that he had fled in fear of his life. The German invasion of Russia on June 22 lent colour to still another theory: that Hess had come to invite the British Government to join Germany in a crusade against "bolshevism."

On three occasions during this period Mr. Churchill broadcast a review of the war situation: on February 9, when he praised the leaders of our forces in the Middle East for the victories in Africa, and prophesied that the war was about to enter upon a phase of even greater violence; on April 27, when he said that nothing happening then compared in gravity with the dangers of 1940; and on June 22, when he shattered any illusions Hess or Hitler may have entertained about this country's attitude towards Russia by promising her every possible help, and repeating once again that we would never parley with Hitler or his gang.





An Australian fighter pilot looks at the kangaroo-and-map symbol on his Hurricane; circle, the boomerang on another machine



New Zealand fighters admiring the badge painted on 'Peggy'; a free rendering of the motto is 'Through dangers to triumphs.' This squadron was raised and equipped in Auckland, N.Z.





Here are two Burma Squadron emblems: on the left the airman artist adds a finishing touch to the national flag, with peacock. In circle, the dragon on another Burmese fighter 'plane

PERSONAL EMBLEMS OF EMPIRE AIRMEN

Pilots gave free rein to their fancy in choosing emblems, and much skill was shown by the airmen who painted these naive symbols. In the left-hand centre photograph we see the artist at work. Some kept up a running tally of their raids, as in another of our examples.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Central Press; Planet News; Sport & General







Left, bottom, Malayan crest on a Wellington bomber of the F.M.S. Squadron. Left, above, Donald Duck on a Wellington of the 218 (Gold Coast) Squadron; number of raids is indicated by 'bombs.' Bottom, right, an aircraft of the first all-Canadian Bomber squadron. (Marnie Cromar was the first R.C.A.F. pilot to be killed in action.)

Chapter 170

EMPIRE'S AID TO BRITAIN APPROACHES ITS FULL FLOOD

After Fifteen Months of War: First Half of 1941—Canadian Activities in All Three Services—Heavy Financial Sacrifices—Field-Marshal Smuts Was the Backbone of South African Effort—Springboks in Abyssinia and Somaliland—Our East African Colonies—Anzacs in Libya, Greece and Crete—Operations in Syria—All-out War Effort of New Zealand

Among nations organized not for the arts of war but for peace, it was to be expected that the first year of hostilities would be one of preparation rather than of achievement. It was so throughout the British Dominions and Colonies, which necessarily had an even less active expectation of war than the people of the Mother Country. But, once the conflict was joined, the Dominions and Colonies of the Crown vied with one another in developing their man power and production, with a view to the total effort which all their leaders knew must be made if Nazism was to be crushed.

If this record seems to overemphasize what has been done by the Dominions, it is because the small units which make up the Crown Colonies must be judged as an aggregate and not by the record of their individual contributions. After fifteen months of war the monetary aid given by the Crown Colonies to the United Kingdom alone amounted to £18,295,000.

As one of the Empire leaders, Mr. Mackenzie King, said in a speech in New York in June, 1941:

> "As soon as the cloud on the horizon, no larger than Hitler's hand, resolved itself into the storm of conflict, Canadians determined that they would not wait till the enemy was at their gates. We went to meet him at sea, in the air and on land."

These brave words came from Canada's Prime Minister. Already 150,000 Canadians were serving overseas, and half a million men had volunteered for military service, no small proportion of Canada's man power. More than ninety thousand of the men were in the Canadian Air Force. And when Canada's sons led the way, Canada's daughters followed eagerly, showing that the pioneering tradition of Dominion womenfolk, English and French, was as potent as ever. In June 1941 Mr. Ralston, Canadian Minister of Defence, announced a Women's Auxiliary unit for the Army, to be enrolled on the same basis as soldiers, though on a slightly lower scale of pay. The women were to enlist for the period of the war and a year after. At the same time a call was made for 2,000 women recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Canada's 90,000 Airmen

The fall of France profoundly shocked the French Canadians and made them even more anxious to cooperate to the full in the effort to rid the world of Nazism. When high mass was celebrated on February 9 in no fewer than 1,500 churches in Catholic Quebec with special prayers for an Allied victory, the whole-hearted character of Canada's war effort was plain. Looking back on this great effort, Mr. Churchill, speaking at the Mansion House to the Prime Minister of Canada in the autumn of 1941, said:

> "You, Sir, have seen your gallant corps and other troops who are here. We have felt very much for them that they have not yet had a chance to come to close quarters with the enemy. It is not their fault. It is not our fault. But there they stand and there they have stood through the whole of this critical period of the last fifteen months, at the very point where they will be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against the invader of Britain."

Other Canadian contingents were already in Newfoundland, the British West Indies and Hongkong. In 1941 the British Commonwealth Air Training Scheme, a Canadian conception, had put close upon four thousand planes into operation. Of the eight hundred million dollars which the scheme was estimated to cost no less than five hundred million was found by Canada herself, and in the 92 training schools all over Canada more than a million miles a day were being flown by trainees.

Growing Canadian Navy

As for the Canadian Navy, after two years of war it had grown from the beggarly fifteen ships of 1939 to the 300 ships of 1941, and a personnel of 1,800 had increased to 25,000. Yachts and other ships were converted into war vessels, and destroyers and submarine chasers were bought from the United States and from Britain, apart from craft built in Canadian shipyards. In particular, corvettes for convoy work, which could be turned out quickly by mass production methods, were put on

POSTER WHICH SYMBOLIZED THE EMPIRE'S UNITED EFFORT

Outside a Recruiting Centre at Accra, West Africa, five Gold Coast tribesmen look at the striking poster designed by W. Little; one points to the African soldier in the picture. This poster was one of a number which, displayed in British towns and villages, brought home vividly the fact of the Empire's cooperation for victory.

Photo, P.N.A.



the ocean. Newfoundland speedily enrolled 1,300 volunteers for service with the Royal Artillery in Britain and within a year had sent 5,400 men overseas and 2,000 more were ready to sail. The best of them were hardy seamen, ready to man the minesweepers and other small craft of the Democratic Alliance.

In the case of the West Indies and British Guiana, the principal contribution to the war was in connexion with the naval and air bases leased to the United States, but batches of Barbados seamen joined the British merchant service. The people of the Bahamas generously made a home for a number of refugee children from Britain, while



FIRST CANADIAN TANK

Towards the middle of the year 1941 the first Canadian-built tank came off the assembly line and is seen above being admired by some of the workers. A few months later Canadian expenditure on war account had totalled £1,000,000,000—remarkable indeed for a population of 11,000,000.

Photo, Associated Press

AUSTRALIA SPEAKS TO CANADA

On his way back from Britain the Australian Premier, Mr. Menzies, visited Ottawa and made a fighting speech to the Canadian House of Commons (May 7, 1941). He is seen below, facing the Members.

Photo, Pictorial Press



Jamaica did a similar service for women and children evacuated from Gibraltar. British Guiana welcomed a force of United States troops, which came to protect the bauxite deposits when the calls upon Empire man power were heavy.

Canada's vast effort was not possible without heavy financial sacrifices. The Canadian federal budget, presented in February, 1941, provided for a war expenditure (including the Empire War Training Plan) of 1,450 million dollars, the total budget being 1,920 million dollars. Adding provincial and municipal taxation, Canadians were thus handing over to the Government between 40 and 50 per cent of their national income.

Drastic Taxation for War

Following the meeting of President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King at Ogdensburg on August 17, 1940 (see illus. page 1429), the production facilities of Canada and the United States were pooled, under the direction of a permanent joint defence board. On March 19, 1941, this was supplemented by an agreement between the two States for the joint working of the St. Lawrence River, a measure which had been





WAR MEASURES AT CAPE TOWN

Under the wise and energetic leadership of General Smuts the people of the Union bent themselves to the task of raising an army and providing its arms and equipment. A large mechanized column known as the Steel Commando toured the country for recruits; some of its lorries are seen above near Cape Town. Left, the mine boom protecting the harbour at Cape Town.

Photos, Sport & General; Wide World

rejected by the American Senate in 1934. This agreement meant new power-houses and increased facilities for Allied shipping, and thus greatly assisted the war effort.

Mention has been made of the pioneering tradition of the women of Canada and its harnessing to the Dominion war effort. Canada was able to draw upon a potential 5,500,000, Australia upon 4,000,000, New Zealand upon 800,000 and South Africa upon about a million, the Empire total being about 11,800,000 as compared with 25,000,000 women in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In respect of Dominion womanhood the Union of South Africa gave a lead when it established the South African Auxiliary Air Force in November 1939, and the South African Auxiliary Army Service in May 1940. By the early months of 1941 both services were in full operation; and in May 1941 60,000 women were enrolled in the South African auxiliary services. The women of Rhodesia were equally eager to offer their services.

At this time the Union was enjoying a material prosperity unique among the warring nations, thanks to her gold production. Among other primary products South African farmers gave their dairy produce, sugar and wool, all of which was disposed of direct to the British Government. South African war production in the State small arms ammunition works and other factories was under the able control of Dr. H. J. van der Bijl, Director-General of War Supplies and head of Iscor, the famous Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa.

Throughout the period General Smuts (later created Field-Marshal by King George) was an inspiration to his countrymen, the more because his heavy task was impeded by his old comrade in war and colleague in politics, General Hertzog. After the break in September 1939 on the question whether the Union should declare war upon Germany, Hertzog and his associates were relatively silent, leaving the Nationalists of Dr. Malan to attack General Smuts. The parliamentary majority supporting General Smuts in 1941 averaged about seventeen votes, including those representing the South African Labour Party.

At the end of 1940 the South African field force was in service on the borders of Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland. On January 10, 1941, the Transvaal Scottish, Transvaal Irish and Natal Mounted Rifles, with armoured units, left the forest-covered plateau of Marsabit and entered the Chalbi Desert. The Italian defeat at El Yibo followed and the East African campaign began in earnest. The first big battle was fought around the crater of Gorai, which the Italians had improvised as a fortress. On Sunday, February 16, the South African Irish attacked Dobbs Hill, while the Scottish division advanced upon Kirby Ridge, leaving the Field Force battalions to deal with a 3,000-foot height to the south of Mega, the Blackshirt stronghold in the south-eastern corner of Abyssinia.

Springboks in Somaliland

Meanwhile, battalions of Dukes, the Transvaal Scottish and the Natal Carbineers were undertaking an amazing detour into the Somaliland desert, which was to yield such abundant military success, in association with a similar drive by British troops from the Liboi region. The objective was Afmadu, an airport and administrative centre of importance. The Italian defenders fled on February 11, after three days' fighting. Afmadu was originally in British Jubaland and had been ceded to Italy in 1924. Thus it returned to British possession. Three days after the Afmadu victory the Springboks entered Kismayu, the third largest town in Italian Somaliland and a centre whence direct sea communication with Mombasa was possible. British warships took part in the attack, and the roar of naval guns was to be heard mingling with that of the South African field artillery as the South Africans pushed their way from the desert into the narrow and dusty streets of Kismayu.

By February 14 all Italian territory west of the Juba River had been taken, leaving open the way to Mogadishu, the capital of Italian Somaliland. This also fell on February 26, and Italian



W.A.A.F. OF SOUTH AFRICA AT WORK

In South Africa a women's air auxiliary had been formed in 1938—known as the South African Women's Aviation Federation. It served as the foundation there of the W.A.A.F. when war broke out. Large photograph shows South African airwomen sewing fabric on to the main plane of an aircraft. Inset, one of the many women from the Dominion who joined the W.A.A.F. in Britain.

Photos, British Official: Crown copyright

morale was broken. The Springboks entered Diredawa, the important railway centre on the Addis Ababa–Jibuti line, on March 29, and the Abyssinian capital fell on April 5. Thus Mussolini's grandiose Italian Empire lay in ruin. The Duke of Aosta, the Italian commander-in-chief, made his last stand in the mountain stronghold of Amba Alagi, on the Eritrean frontier, 11,000 feet above sea level. The end came on May 18, when Aosta asked for an armistice and thus acknowledged the defeat of his army of about a quarter of a million men. (A general account of the campaign is given in Chapter 164.)

After Italy entered the war all the African Crown Colonies were directly affected. To meet the emergency all military expenditure in East Africa was met from funds provided by the War Office, this including responsibility for military roads. The East African governments contributed their peacetime military expenditure, plus twenty-five per cent. In general, the principle governing Crown Colony expenditure on war account was that each Colony was responsible for the cost of its own defence, unless strategic grounds called for an Imperial garrison, as was the case in East Africa. In Kenya the whole man power was mobilized within a couple of months of Italy declaring war.

Kenya and Gold Coast

Very welcome, too, were gestures of loyalty from the native chiefs. Thus the Paramount Chief of Turkana offered all his young men and they co-operated with British troops in patrolling the north-west frontier of Kenya. In the Gold Coast the Chief of the Builsa tribe raised a battalion. A native unit known as the Rhodesian African Rifles was also raised. The Gold Coast and Nigeria transferred their entire cocoa crop to the British Government, while Uganda helped the democratic cause with cotton, coffee, sisal and tin, as did the ex-German possession of Tanganyika. Britain bought the whole exportable surplus of Kenya and Nyasaland tea.

While the big effort of the South African Springboks in the first half of 1941 was taking place in Abyssinia and Somaliland, the Anzacs were playing a major part in Libya, Greece, and Crete. In Libya the Australians added to their battle honours by winning the right to lead the entry into Tobruk on January 22 (see illus. p. 1588). The advance was remarkable, for it was only seventeen days since the Empire forces had taken Bardia (on January 5) and Tobruk had been fortified by the Italo-German forces with all the defensive equipment known to modern warfare. Derna was thr next objective, and it was taken on January 30, the final triumph being the fall of Benghazi on February 6, after a lightning advance by the Australians along the coast road. Mr. Fadden, Acting Prime Minister of Australia, ordered a display of Allied flags throughout the Commonwealth in celebration, and described the Libyan fighting of January and February as "a great event in Australian history."

Meanwhile, British armoured forces had been engaged upon the bold drive across the desert which completed Graziani's defeat and assured the capture of 130,000 prisoners, 1,300 guns and over 350 tanks. The pity was that it was not possible to exploit such a victory to the uttermost by an invasion of Tripoli. But Greece was being invaded by the Germans and the most pressing call upon Empire man power was from elsewhere. Indeed, it was not possible to hold what had been taken in Cyrenaica when the Australian and New Zealand troops had gone to the defence of hard-pressed Greece. Rommel's Panzer divisions were able to recover a goodly stretch of the desert and coastline won by Wavell's men. The magnificent defence of Tobruk, in which the Australians played so great a part, made possible the nine months' stand of the port under close investment between April and December which was so glorious an episode in the Libyan campaign of 1941. (See Chapter 162.)

Speaking of the Greek campaign on April 23, Mr. Menzies explained that,



KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES

Recruited in Nyasaland, the riflemen of the K.A.R. are born soldiers, descended from Zulus who in bygone times fought stern battles against us. This man is fingering the edge of his panga, a long, broad-bladed weapon of the cutlass type used for clearing bush and, at need, for hand-to-hand encounters.

Photo, British Official: Crown copyright

whatever the difficulties, both the Australian and New Zealand Governments felt it was unthinkable that Greece, which had fought so valiantly against the Italians and which was prepared to withstand the onset of Germany through Bulgaria, should be left unassisted. The fighting in Greece began on April 10, and by the end of the month an Australian contingent under General Blamey was fighting in the Olympus and Parnassus regions in company with Freyberg's New Zealanders and side by side with the Greek, Serbian and British defenders.

The odds, however, were too great, and the evacuation of the Dominion troops was decided upon. It was completed by May 2, when General Blamey reported to his Government that 43,000 troops had been taken off the Greek peninsula. The losses had been considerable. The Imperial troops were taken to Crete, which was clearly destined soon to feel the fury of the Axis assault. Major-General Freyberg, V.C., was appointed to the command of the British and Imperial forces there. On May 19 the attack began, first with an intensive bombing of key points on the island. The course of the strange and grim battle is outlined in Chapter 159, and the struggle lasted until June 1, when, under the shield provided by a rearguard of the Royal Marines, our forces were withdrawn.

Speaking on May 23, Mr. Spender, the Australian Minister for the Army, estimated the Australian casualties in Greece as 3,983, of whom 423 were in hospital in Egypt, Palestine and Crete,

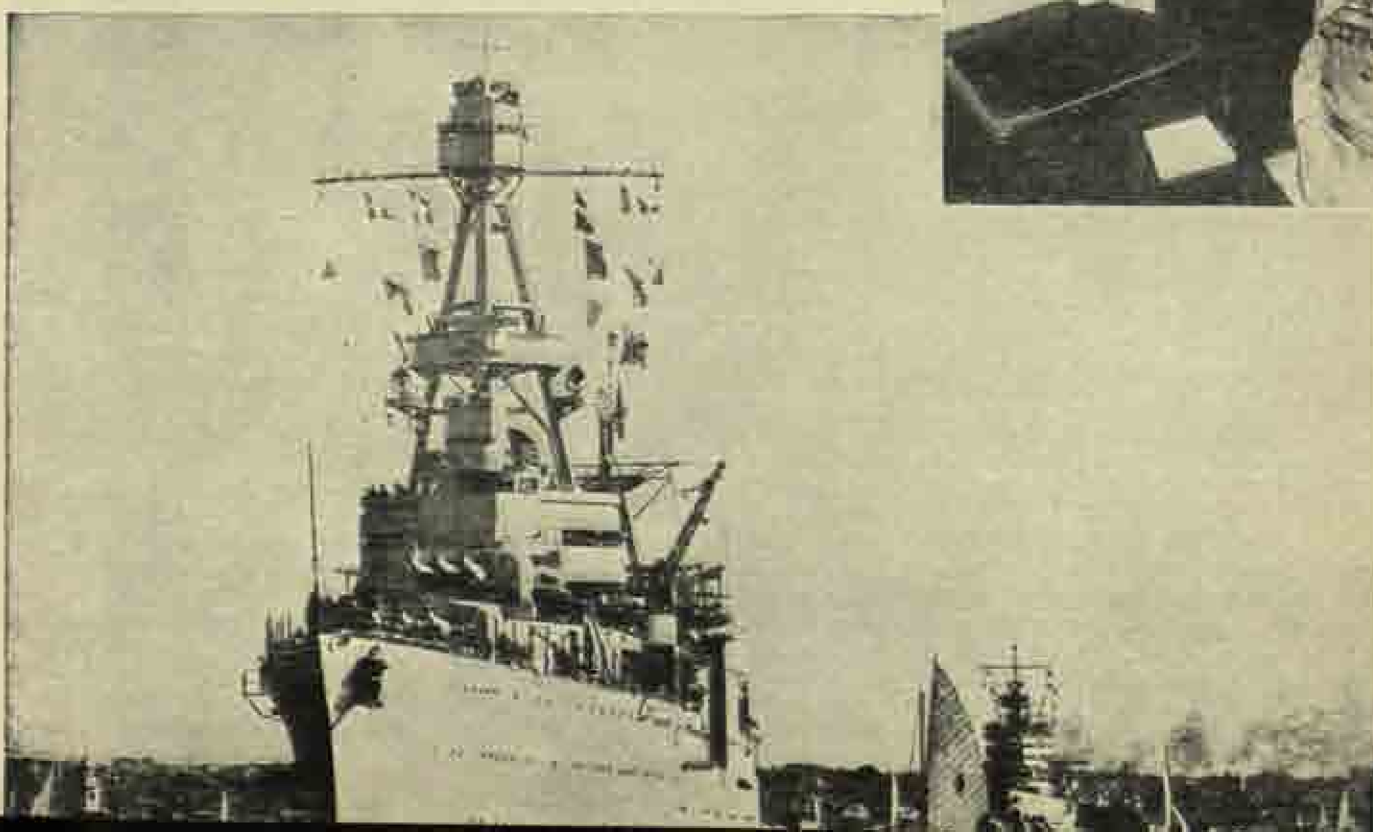




WHEN UNITED STATES WARSHIPS VISITED AUSTRALASIA

In March 1941 a squadron of the U.S. Navy under Rear-Admiral Newton paid a visit to New Zealand and Australia. Below, the cruiser 'Chicago' (flagship) is seen leaving Sydney Harbour, followed by the 'Portland.' Right, Australia's Acting Premier, Mr. Fadden, with the heads of the three Services: (left) Admiral Sir Ragnar Colvin; Lieut.-Gen. V. A. H. Sturdee (standing); and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Burnett. Top, Australian nurses after evacuation from Greece.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Sport & General





from Lisbon, and had conferences with Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull, passing on to Ottawa, where, on May 7, he addressed the Canadian House of Commons. One of his first acts on returning to Australia was to announce Government control of all shipping and transport, and important legislation calculated to increase war production. On June 24 Australia, with other Dominions, endorsed the policy of aid to Soviet Russia, which had been invaded by the Nazi armies and was now an integral part of the armed coalition bent upon the destruction of Hitlerism.

In Australia, too, a Women's Auxiliary for the Royal Australian Air Force was



N.Z. AIRMEN IN TRAINING

Top, engine overhaul shop of the Technical Training Wing of the Royal New Zealand Air Force at Rongotai: engine fitters are being coached. Right, an aspect of civil defence: nurses of the New Zealand Emergency Precautions Scheme on parade at Wellington.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

while the remainder, comprising killed, missing, prisoners, and wounded, were left in Greece. Later (June 4) Mr. Spender had to add that the estimated number of Australian troops in Crete before the German attack was 6,486, of whom 2,887 had been evacuated, including 218 wounded, leaving 3,599 unaccounted for.

The New Zealanders also suffered heavy losses. On June 11 Mr. Nash, New Zealand Premier, informed the House of Representatives that 5,783 were killed, wounded or missing out of the 16,530 sent to Greece. The casualties in Greece were: killed, 126; wounded, 516; prisoners, 41; missing, 1,892. In Crete the losses were: killed, 87; wounded, 671; unaccounted for, 2,450. Sir Cyril Newall, the N.Z. Governor-General, sent a special message of congratulation to Major-General Freyberg, when the fighting had ended. He said:

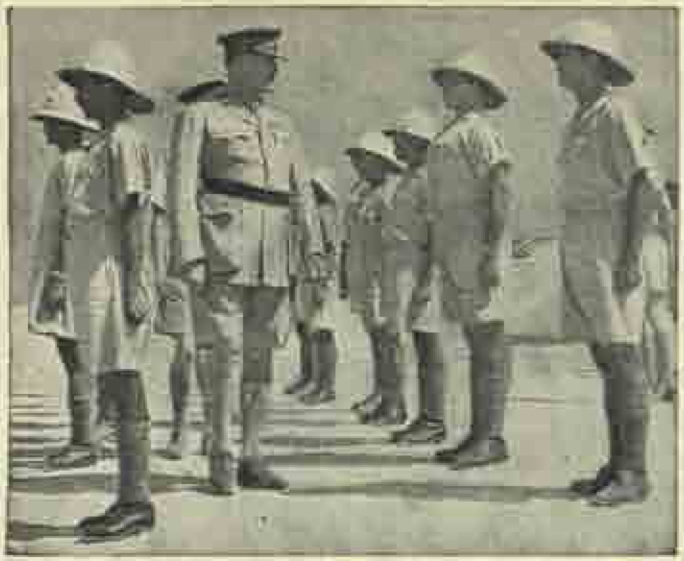
"Your inspiring leadership and the great gallantry and valour of the New Zealand troops, both Pakeha (white troops) and Maori, together with their British and Australian comrades under your command in Crete, have been magnificent, and a constant source of pride and inspiration to us all.

In Syria the speedy end of the campaign was largely due to the élan of an Australian force under General Blamey, which had been transferred from Libya before the beginning of Rommel's counter-offensive. On June 8 Imperial and Free French forces crossed the Syrian border, and by the 21st Damascus was taken by Free French troops. A brilliant episode was the taking of Kuneitra by the 121st and 123rd Australian Brigades on June 24. The campaign ended on July 11, a day after the Australians took Beirut. (*See* Chapter 166.)

During the period under review Mr. Menzies was Australian Prime Minister, leading a coalition of the United Australia and the Country parties, with a Labour opposition led by Mr. Curtin. Though Australian politicians did not judge a national government to be desirable, all sections of opinion in the Commonwealth were united in an all-out effort to win the war. Mr. Menzies was very outspoken when he visited Britain and took his place in the war counsels of the Commonwealth. His speeches and broadcasts in Britain were an inspiration.

On his way back to Australia Mr. Menzies went to New York by Clipper established on lines akin to those of the British W.A.A.F. At first the women's duties were service as wireless and teleprinter operators, but in June 1941 the scope was extended to include fabric workers, tailors, sick quarter attendants and aircraft hands.

During the early part of 1941 the relations between Japan and Australia and New Zealand worsened, but there was a welcome portent in the visit of an American naval squadron to Australian waters in March. When the American ships under Rear-Admiral Newton left Auckland the flagship "Brooklyn" was flying the New Zealand ensign, and a Maori motto was displayed on the bridge betokening, "For ever, for ever, we will fight on." In Sydney the squadron received a civic welcome on March 20, and the State schools had a holiday in order that Young Australia might participate in what was soon to prove a full Anglo-



MEN OF MAURITIUS FOR DEFENCE OF EGYPT

Mauritius contributed over £500,000 for the war chest and provided ten fighter aircraft. Her territorial force was greatly expanded, and powers were taken to apply compulsory military service. Here the 1st Mauritius contingent, R.A.O.C., is being inspected on arrival in Egypt by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



BERMUDAN COASTAL PATROL

The tiny Colony of Bermuda (its area is just over 19 square miles) increased in importance when air and naval bases were leased to the United States in 1940. The patrol boat shown is manned by the Bermuda Volunteer Rifle Corps.

Photo, P.N.A.

Saxon alliance. Mr. Fraser, the New Zealand Premier, reached London by air on June 20. The main point in his speeches was New Zealand's hopes for full collaboration between the British Commonwealth and the United States with a view to the distribution of his country's primary products, at that time greatly hampered by lack of shipping facilities.

Despite these and other difficulties due to the geographical situation of the island, New Zealand gave proof of her determination to leave nothing undone which would help towards victory. On May 31 the House of Representatives passed an Emergency Regulations Bill which empowered the Government to require all persons in the two islands to place themselves, their services and property at the disposal of the State for the war. Here was a hundred per cent effort. In 1941 the King approvd the naval forces of the Dominion receiving the title Royal New Zealand Navy, and the ships were henceforth designated "His Majesty's New Zealand Ships." They had previously been known as the New Zealand Squadron of the Royal Navy. The cruisers "Achilles" and "Leander" did noteworthy work in many seas, as did the armed minesweepers and other small craft, whose number was being added to month by month in New Zealand.

Drastic Measures in New Zealand

The New Zealand Women's Auxiliary Air Force was formed early in 1941, and within half a year the trained personnel was more than 2,000. About the same time 15,000 were enrolled in the Women's War Service Auxiliary, and New Zealand nurses showed outstanding coolness and courage during the evacuation from Greece.

On the plane of finance the taxation of 1,500,000 New Zealanders increased from £37,765,000 in 1938–1939 to £63,683,000 in 1941. Small in respect of population, but great of heart, New Zealand did all that could have been expected in the fight for democracy against Axis aggression.

The contributions of Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma and other Eastern possessions of the Crown can only properly be estimated in terms of the campaigns fought after the coming of Japan into the conflict, but noteworthy efforts were made in the earlier months. For example, Malaya subscribed £3,750,000 for imperial defence in the first year and contingents of Cingalese troops left for service overseas in January 1941, while the coral reef colony, the Seychelles, raised a defence force and sent men overseas to join the R.A.F. Actually, the first Crown Colony to get troops into the firing line was Cyprus, which sent two transport companies for service in France. Later, Cypriots did yeoman service in Greece in the hard role of muleteers.



JAMAICA VOLUNTEER TRAINING CORPS ON PARADE

Here the Kingston Division of the Training Corps is parading for an inspection. In many respects it resembled our Home Guard. War brought grave economic difficulties to the Colony, which normally exported 20,000,000 stems of bananas and 100,000 tons of sugar each year. Owing to shipping troubles this source of revenue and employment almost disappeared.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

A YEAR OF STRESS IN INDIA: THE WAR EFFORT DURING 1941

Civil Disobedience Campaign—Attitude of Congress Party—Moslem League's Demand for Severance—Dominion Status 'As Soon As Practicable'—The National Defence Council—India's War Effort Grows—Industrial Mobilization—Man-power Survey—Growth of the Defence Forces—Mr. Churchill's Message to India

ALL through 1941 India's war effort was hampered, but by no means throttled, by the unwillingness of her political leaders to support the Empire's war effort. Millions of Indians played their part in that effort—in the fighting line on many a distant front, on the seas and in the air, and in the factories which came into production in many parts of the country. Treasure, too, was poured out with a lavish hand. But still the great political parties—Congress, the Moslem League, and the Hindu Mahasabha—refused to throw their full weight into the balance. To them the struggle still wore an Imperialist complexion; it was a British concern, not theirs. Yet such was the irony of the situation that Mr. Nehru and most of the other spokesmen of Indian democracy continued to fulminate as passionately and forthrightly as any against Totalitarian tyranny.

When the year opened a campaign of mass civil disobedience—"satyagraha"—was in full swing. Launched in the previous October, it had been made necessary, said Mr. Bhave, one of Mr. Gandhi's oldest pupils, in inaugurating it, because (1) the Congress demand for a National Government had been rejected; (2) because freedom of speech against the war effort had been denied; and (3) because the Government refused to admit that India was a belligerent not of her own free will. Mr. Gandhi did not offer satyagraha himself because he did not wish to embarrass the Government, but he sanctioned the preparation of lists of Congressmen who were prepared to offer themselves, and these men invited arrest by various acts of disobedience against the defence regulations or by speaking against the war effort.

One of the first to be arrested was Mr. Nehru, who on November 5, 1940, was sentenced to one year and four months' rigorous imprisonment on charges of having made speeches calculated to hinder the prosecution of the war, to discourage voluntary contributions and to prepare the way for satyagraha. Early in the new year he was followed into gaol by Dr. Azad, President of Congress; and with their leaders went a large number of prominent Congress personalities. Week by week, month by month, the agitation grew, and on July 1, stated Mr. Amery, Secretary for India, 12,129 persons, including 29 ex-ministers and 290 members of provincial legislatures, were serving sentences in connexion with the civil disobedience campaign.

Throughout the movement was inspired, and largely directed, by Mr. Gandhi from his retreat at Wardha; but the Mahatma persisted in his assertion that, though Congress detested British imperialism, it had no quarrel with and bore no ill will to the British who were its instruments, whether they happened to be officials or non-officials. Moreover, with the resolve to struggle for "purna swaraj" (complete independence) through non-violent action he coupled the necessity for communal harmony and for the development of "charka" and "khadi" (village handicrafts and spinning) as essential to the resuscitation of the Indian peasantry. To Mr. Gandhi, civil disobedience was not designed to have any appreciably adverse effect upon the war effort; rather "it was a moral protest against the conduct of the war in the name of a free people, a token of the yearning of a political organization to achieve the freedom of 350,000,000 through purely non-violent effort."

The Indian situation was discussed in the House of Commons on April 22, when Mr. Amery moved a resolution extending for another twelve months a proclamation empowering a Governor of a province in which parliamentary government could not be carried on in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935, to assume all or any part of the powers vested by that Act in the provincial body. The proclamation affected seven provinces out of the eleven of British India—the seven whose Congress ministries had resigned in October 1939 in accordance with the behest of the Congress "high command." In the four provinces of Bengal, Assam, Sind and the Punjab, with a population of something like a hundred millions—one-third of the whole population of British India—provincial self-government had continued to work uninterruptedly.

Amery Criticizes Congress

Mr. Amery criticized in strong terms the complete disregard displayed by Congress for the responsibilities of self-government; and he referred to the growing strength of the demand voiced by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Moslem



LEADERS OF CONGRESS PARTY AND MOSLEM LEAGUE

Left, Ali Mohamed Jinnah, President of the Moslem League. Centre, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, President of the All-India Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, right, was the spokesman of the Congress Working Committee and wielded much influence.

Photos, Keystone; Planet News



THE INDIAN DEFENCE COUNCIL, WHICH HELD ITS FIRST SESSION AT SIMLA, OCTOBER 6, 1941

The Defence Council was instituted on July 22, 1941, in order to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war. The Viceroy opened the first meeting. Bottom row: left to right, Nawab of Bhopal; Maharaja of Gwalior; Maharaja of Bikaner (Pro-Chancellor); Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar (Chancellor); Lord Linlithgow (Viceroy); Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh; Sir Mohd Usman; Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga; Begum Shah Nawaz. Middle row: Nawab of Chatari; Maharaja of Cooch Behar; Nawab of Rampur; Maharaja of Patiala; Maharaja of Jodhpur; Sir Cowasjee Jehangir; Raja Bahadur of Khallicote; Malik Khuda Baksh Khan; Kumaraja Sir Muthia Chettiyar; R.M. Deshmukh. Top row: R. A. Gopalaswami (Secretary); G. B. Morton; Jamnadas M. Mehta; Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava; Sir Henry Gidney; Sir Gilbert Laithwaite; Lieut.-Col. B. M. Mahon; Biren Mukerjee; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar; Captain Sardar Naunihal Singh Man; Prof. E. Ahmed Shah; Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah.

Photo, Sport & General

League, for the complete severance from the rest of India of the zones in the north-west and north-east in which Moslems constituted a majority and their establishment as completely independent states, controlling their own defence, foreign affairs, and finance. It had to be recognized that this demand for "Pakistan" made the task which lay before Indian statesmanship much more difficult. Britain could only transfer the responsibility of Indian government to some other authority if she could be assured that it would not immediately break down or break up. A measure of agreement amongst Indians themselves was the first essential, and it was upon Indian statesmen in the main and not upon Britain that the time-table of future constitutional progress depended. No one could regard the present deadlock with satisfaction, least of all patriotic Indians; but Mr. Amery hastened to pay tribute to India's part in the war effort, finding in her achievements in war evidence of her growing capacity to make her own defence.

Three months later, on August 1, the House of Commons discussed the Indian situation again. Mr. Amery reaffirmed as a matter of general acceptance the resolve that India should attain Dominion status—or, rather, free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth—as soon as practicable. But he was unable to report much progress in the constitutional sphere, since the great political parties persisted in their refusal to join in the Empire's war effort or in the framing of a new constitution by common consent. But he asserted that there was evidence of growing annoyance in India with purely partisan manoeuvres; and hence Lord



COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, INDIA, AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Left, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, who was succeeded in the India Command on July 1, 1941, by General Sir Archibald Wavell (right). General Auchinleck went to the Middle East as G.O.C.-in-C.; this photograph was taken on the occasion of a consultation in the autumn of 1941.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright







SIDELIGHTS ON INDIA'S WAR INDUSTRIES

Below, left, a scene in a dockyard where trawlers and other small naval craft are built. Above, right, a stage in the assembling of an armoured car. At top, left, is the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, an enormous concern with a huge output.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Indian Film Unit

Linlithgow, the Viceroy, leaving the parties to pursue their controversies, had addressed himself directly to a number of leading Indian personalities—men who as individuals were by their ability or representative character best fitted to join in the work of administration. With hardly an exception, all those whom the Viceroy had approached had responded unhesitatingly. So it had been made possible to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council to consist of eight Indians and only four Europeans, and a new National Defence Council of about thirty members had been set up, which would be almost entirely Indian in its composition. These changes (originally announced by Mr. Amery on July 22) "marked a change in the spirit if not the letter of the Indian constitution."

While the political world was distracted by the satyagraha movement, the communal feuds, and the rivalries of parties and partisans, the Indian war effort continued, and continued to grow. On the whole, it was quite a pleasant picture that Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member of the Executive Council, painted in his budget statement presented to the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on February 28. The strengthening of all arms of the defence services, said Sir Jeremy, was going forward with speed and energy. Over 500,000 men were under arms, and recruits were pouring in. Provision was being made for raising new armoured and field artillery regiments, infantry battalions, engineer units, motor-transport sections, and all the highly trained specialized ancillary forces needed in modern warfare. Improvements in supply were making it possible to transform the cavalry into armoured and light-armoured regiments. Defences were being modernized, and adequate training establishments set up.

The growth of the Royal Indian Navy had continued unchecked, went on the Finance Member. Shipbuilding had been expanded, and the recruitment and training of officers and men for the new ships had been intensified. New naval schools were being built, and the old constructional establishments enlarged.

With modern aircraft and equipment in sight from American sources, it was possible to undertake the modernization of the Indian Air Force, while aeroplane manufacture had now reached such a stage that aeroplanes manufactured in India would make their appearance later in the year. Then, in the matter of supplies, Sir Jeremy Raisman said that the number of workers in ordnance and clothing factories had increased to 45,000, and steps were being taken to supplement their output by the use of railway and civilian workshops for munitions-making. Production of army boots, saddlery and leather equipment was thirty times the pre-war average, and many war materials formerly imported were now being produced in India. Moreover, the supply department of the Indian Government was providing the British and Allied Governments with large quantities of war stores and material.

Industrial Mobilization

Further immense strides were reported by Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Supply Member of the Government of India, in a survey of the country's industrial mobilization which he broadcast on July 15. Among the new facts disclosed were that the ordnance factories were now assisted by 230 trade workshops and 23 railway workshops, which had undertaken the production of 700 items of munitions involving over twenty million separate articles. The annual production of guns was five times greater than in peacetime; the output of shells was 24 times that of the pre-war output; and the supply of rifles and automatic weapons had also increased enormously. Not only were the Indian Army's needs being met, but oversea orders had been fulfilled for 600,000 filled shells and 150,000,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition.

Armoured fighting vehicles were being turned out in large quantities. Armour plate was being made by the Indian steel industry. Fifty-four firms had been licensed by the Machine Tool Controller, and many tools were now being made in India. About 200,000 tons of structural steel had been produced by the general engineering industry, thousands of miles of cable and telephone wire were being laid, railway lines and rolling stock were being produced in large quantities, shipyards were building small craft such as mine-

sweepers and lifeboats, and the first aeroplane to be assembled in India had just been turned out. The cotton and woollen industries were working at high pressure; 30,000 tailors employed in nine factories were producing 5,000,000 garments monthly. The output of 3,000,000 pairs of Army boots was keeping the leather industry fully employed. Finally, Indian forests were providing that year 500,000 tons of timber for military purposes.

Early in March General Sir Claude Auchinleck, the C.-in-C., proposed in the Viceroy's Council of State that a man-power survey should be instituted throughout India—one which should exclude no class or area. There was, he declared, "no deep-laid or malicious plot to emasculate the people of the south or south-west," and if the composition of the Indian army had been drawn for a long time past largely from the north, this was due to the fact that the south had been exempt for so long from the threat of invasion that the military temper of its people had deteriorated somewhat.

Man-Power Survey

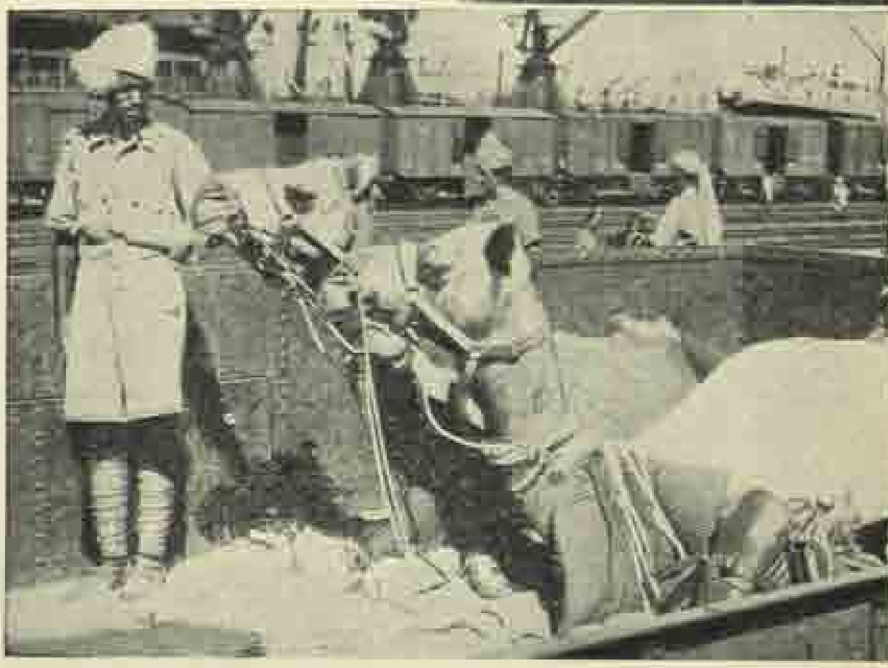
The next day the C.-in-C. announced the revival of the Madras Regiment, disbanded in 1926; and on June 12 five new regiments were created out of what had been territorial units hitherto, viz. the Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Mazbhai Sikh and Mahar regiments. The formation of the last two met the demand of the Scheduled Castes that they should be permitted to enlist in the Army, since the regiments would recruit from certain classes of Sikhs and Mahrattas not normally drawn upon for military service.

A survey of India's defence forces during the first two years of the war was published in Simla on Sept. 3; it made encouraging reading. The Indian Army had grown from 237,000 on Sept. 3, 1939—the day of the outbreak of war—to 700,000; in the previous twelve months alone the increase had been 460,000. At the same time, in accordance with a recommendation of the Chatfield Committee it had been converted from animal to mechanical transport—the number of vehicles having risen from 6,000 to 40,000. By the spring of 1942 about 5,000 trained lorry drivers would be turned out monthly, as compared with 600 a year in 1939; and the ordnance-artificers' school was now producing 6,000 trained men a year, and would soon produce 12,000. The rate of recruitment for all arms was approaching 50,000 a month.

The Indian States were generous with men, materials and money. During the year to April 1941 their contributions included four cavalry regiments, 23 infantry battalions, four companies and one section of sappers and miners, one camel corps unit, three animal transport and eleven general purposes transport companies, ten labour companies, three ambulance units, signaller units, etc. Many impressive contributions were made, too, to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, and some of the Princes presented ships and planes for the Indian Navy and Air Force.

The National Defence Council met for the first time at Simla on Oct. 6. The first session was opened by the Viceroy, who declared that every day revealed more clearly the place which India had won for herself in the world. Then General Sir Archibald Wavell, whose appointment as successor to General Auchinleck as Commander-in-Chief had been announced on July 1, read a message from Mr. Churchill.





INDIA RENDERED MAGNIFICENT AID IN MIDDLE EAST

In all the Libyan offensives Indian brigades did splendid work and covered themselves with glory. The top photograph shows an Indian transport column passing through Derna late in 1941. In the other photograph Indian troops with camels and baggage are waiting to embark.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Sport & General

In the first year of the war, said the Premier, it had been impossible to find the weapons and equipment necessary for the Indian Army. In the second year something was done. But in the third year large supplies of the deadliest apparatus of modern war would come in steady flow to its expanding formations. Already the sons of India had shown themselves worthy of the highest respect and honour; wherever they had fought—in Cyrenaica, the Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Syria and Persia—the Indian divisions had played an important and distinguished part. During 1942 the armies of India with their British comrades would be fighting on a long front from the Caspian Sea to the Nile. By so doing they will be barring the eastward progress of the war, and thus keeping the horrors of Nazi invasion a thousand miles away from the plains of Hindustan. . . .

But here the Prime Minister had not reckoned with Japan. Before 1941 was out, Indian armies were moving not westwards but eastwards to meet the hordes of the oriental foe; and 1942 had hardly dawned when India found herself in the very front line of the war.

Historic Documents. CCXI–CCXIII

AMERICA UPHOLDS THE STANDARD OF DEMOCRACY

In his first speech after re-election President Roosevelt enunciated in no uncertain terms the ideals and duties of a democratic nation. When he broadcast on March 15, 1941, the Lease-Lend Bill had just been made law. Mr. Churchill reaffirmed on April 27 the necessity for the two great Democracies to combine against aggression.

President Roosevelt in his Inauguration Speech as President for the Third Time, January 20, 1941:

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is three score years and ten, a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that Democracy as a form of government and a frame of life is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate, that for some unexplained reason tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future, and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true. . . . Democracy is not dying. We know it, because we have seen it revive and grow. We know it cannot die, because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise—an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. We know it because Democracy, alone of all forms of government, enlists the full support of men's enlightened will. We know it because Democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization, capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because if we look below the surface we sense it still spreading on every continent, for it is the most humane, the most advanced and, in the end, the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. . . .

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first inaugural in 1789, words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the Republican model of government are justly considered—deeply, finally—staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."

If you and I, if we in this later day lose that sacred fire, if we let it be smothered with doubts and fears, then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of a nation does and will give the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defence. In the face of great peril never before encountered our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

President Roosevelt in a Broadcast Speech, March 15, 1941:

This nation is calling for a sacrifice of some privileges, not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. And most of us will do it willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare, for our defence against the most ruthless brutality in all history, for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced. A half-hearted effort on our part—that would lead to failure. This is no part-time job. Our differences must be forgotten until the task is finished. I ask you for an all-out effort because nothing short of an all-out effort will win. I ask you to consider the needs of all nations at this hour, to put aside all personal differences until victory is won.

The light of Democracy must be kept burning. In the perpetuation of this light each of us must pool his own strength. The single effort of one individual may seem small, but there are 130,000,000 individuals over here, and there are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of Democracy from the black-out of barbarism. . . .

Our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it to be, the Arsenal of Democracy. Our country is going to play its full part, and when the dictatorships disintegrate—and pray God that will be sooner than any of us now dare to hope—then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction for the good of humanity.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about the master race, will prove to be all stuff and nonsense. There never has been, is not now, and never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow-men. The world has no use for any nation which, because of its size or because of its military might, asserts the right to goose-step to world power over the bodies of other nations and other races.

We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood. We believe that the men and women of such nations, of no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world.

Mr. Churchill in a Broadcast Review of the War, April 27, 1941:

The President and Congress of the United States, having newly fortified themselves by talking with their electors, have solemnly pledged their aid to Britain in this war because they deem our cause just and because they know their own interests and safety would be endangered if we were destroyed. They are taxing themselves heavily, they have passed great legislation, they have turned a large part of their gigantic industry to making the munitions which we need, they have even given us or lent us valuable weapons of their own. . . .

No prudent and far-seeing man can doubt that the eventual and total defeat of Hitler and Mussolini is certain in view of the respective declared resolves of the British and American democracies. There are less than 70,000,000 malignant Huns, some of whom are curable and some killable, and most of whom are now engaged in holding down Austrians, Czechs, Poles and many other ancient races. The people of the British Empire and the United States number nearly 200,000,000 in their homelands and in the British Dominions alone.

They possess the unchallengeable command of the ocean, and will soon obtain decisive superiority in the air. They have more wealth, more technical resources, and they make more steel than the whole of the rest of the world put together. They are determined that the cause of freedom shall not be trampled down nor the tide of world progress be turned back by the criminal dictators.

While, therefore, we naturally view with sorrow and anxiety much that is happening in Europe and in Africa, and may happen in Asia, we must not lose our sense of proportion, and thus become discouraged and alarmed. When we face with a steady eye the difficulties which lie before us we may derive new confidence by remembering those we have already overcome. Nothing that is happening now is comparable in gravity with the dangers through which we passed last year. Nothing which can happen in the East is comparable with what is happening in the West.

Last time I spoke to you I quoted the lines of Longfellow which President Roosevelt had written out for me in his own hand. I have some other lines which are well known, and which seem appropriate to our fortunes tonight, and I believe they will be so judged wherever the English language is spoken and the flag of freedom flies.

> For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in, the main.
> And not by eastern windows only,
> When daylight comes, comes in the light,
> In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
> But westward, look, the land is bright.

Chapter 172

WAR DRAWS NEARER THE UNITED STATES: FIRST HALF OF 1941

Roosevelt Enters Upon Third Term—His Declarations of Policy—The Lease-Lend Bill Becomes Law—Giving Britain 'The Tools'—U.S. Navy to Patrol the Seven Seas—The 'Robin Moor' Affair—If Hitler Were Victorious: Roosevelt's Sombre Picture—Battle of the Atlantic—Enormous Production Under Way

Elected in the previous November President of the United States of America for a third term—the first to be accorded this signal honour in the history of the great republic—Mr. Roosevelt on January 6, 1941, reported according to the time-honoured custom on the state of the Union to a crowded Congress. His speech had been more eagerly awaited than any since President Wilson's declaration of war on Germany in 1917; the President himself in his opening words said that he spoke at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union—"unprecedented, because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today."

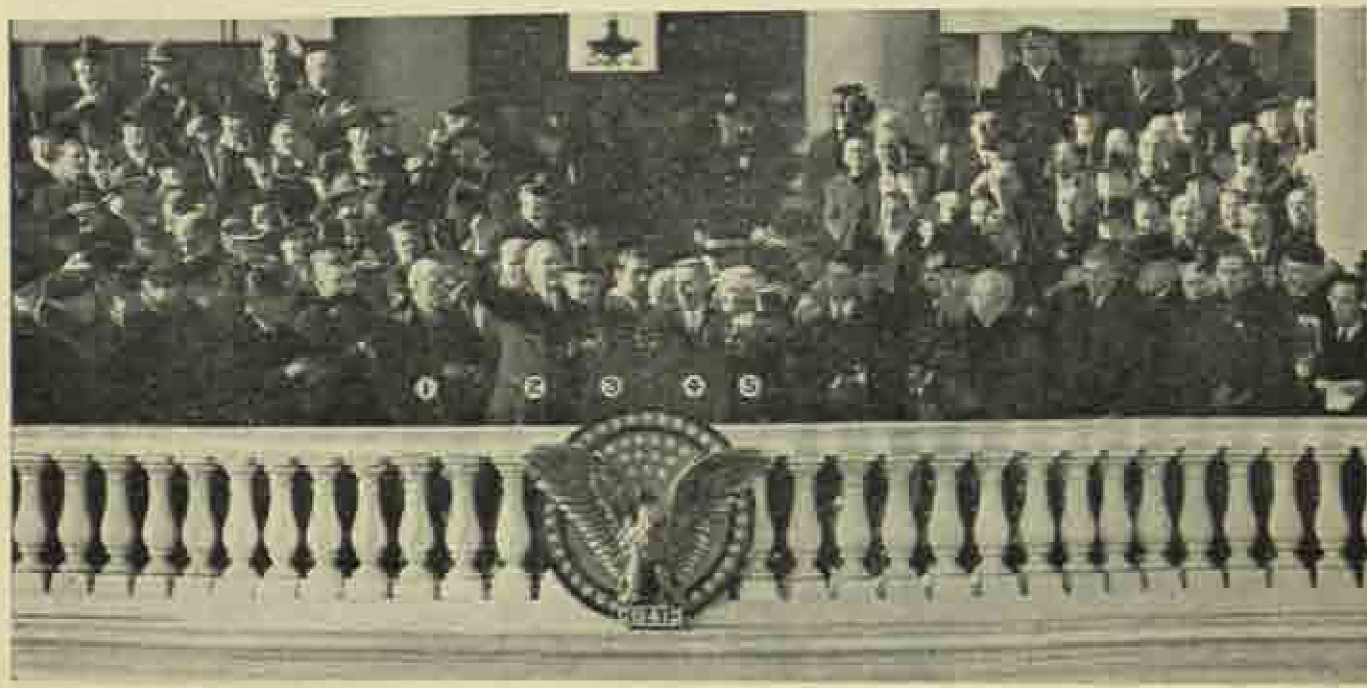
In a review of American history since the early days the President pointed out that the United States had always "maintained opposition to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past;" but for ninety-nine years, from 1815 to 1914, not a single war in Europe constituted a real threat against the Union or any other American nation. Even when the World War broke out in 1914 it seemed at first to contain only a small threat of danger to the American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of the democratic nations might mean to American democracy. Then, after a reference to the imperfections of the Treaty of Versailles—"far less unjust than the kind of pacification which began even before Munich, and which is being carried out under the 'New Order' of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today"—the President declared that the democratic way of life was at that moment being directly assailed in every part of the world. During sixteen months this assault had blotted out the whole pattern of life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small, and the assailants were still on the march. "Therefore, as your President, I find it necessary to report that the future safety of our country and our democracy is overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders."

Roosevelt's Stern Warning

Followed a warning against a dictator's peace, and against "that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American Eagle in order to feather their own nests." There was much loose talk of immunity from direct invasion from across the seas, and obviously no such danger existed as long as the British Navy retained its power. Even if there were no British Navy it was improbable that any enemy would be stupid enough to land troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean until he had acquired strategic bases from which to operate. Judging from Norway's experience, the first phase of invasion of the American hemisphere

'TO PROTECT AND PERPETUATE THE INTEGRITY OF DEMOCRACY'

President Roosevelt's Inaugural Address on January 20, 1941, was notable for an eloquent inspiring defence of the democratic ideal: 'Democracy alone,' he said, 'enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.' Here the President (2) is seen after the address. 1, Chief Justice C. E. Hughes who administered the oath; 3, Thomas Qualters, Aide to the President; 4, The Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace; 5, John N. Garner, former Vice-President. (See Historic Documents, page 1736.) *Photo, Wide World*



would be the occupation of strategic points by secret agents and their dupes—" and great numbers of them are already here and in Latin America."

Next, the President proceeded to state the national policy. He condensed it under three heads: an all-inclusive national defence; full support of all those resolute peoples everywhere who were resisting aggression, thereby keeping the war away from the American hemisphere; and the recognition that the principles of morality and considerations of her own security would never permit the U.S.A. to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors. During the coming Session, the President went on, he would ask Congress for greatly increased appropriations and authorizations—for funds sufficient to manufacture munitions and war supplies to be turned over to those nations which were now in actual war with the aggressors.

"Our most useful role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man-power; they do need billions of dollars' worth of weapons of defence. The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them that they must surrender because of their present inability to pay for weapons which we know they must have. . . . Let us say to the Democracies: 'We Americans are vitally concerned in your defence of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, resources and organizing powers to give you strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, aeroplanes, tanks and guns. This is our purpose and our pledge.'"

The President concluded his speech with a fine avowal of the liberal philosophy.



BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES IN UNITED STATES

In January, 1941, Sir Gerald Campbell (right), then High Commissioner in Canada, was appointed British Minister to Washington. At the same time Sir Clive Baillieu (left) went to America to become Director-General of the British Purchasing Commission.

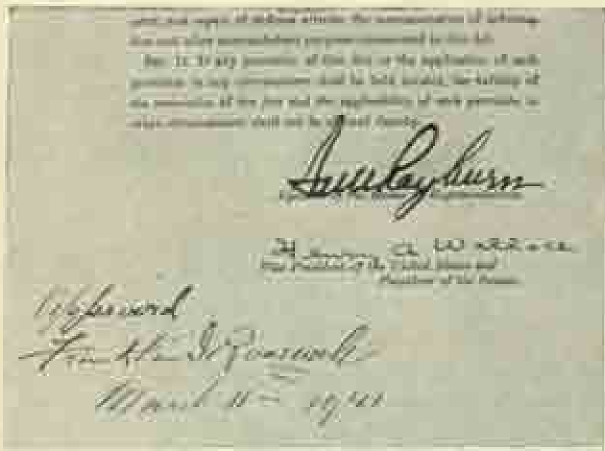
Photos, Elliott & Fry; Planet News

"We look forward," he said, "to a world founded upon the four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a

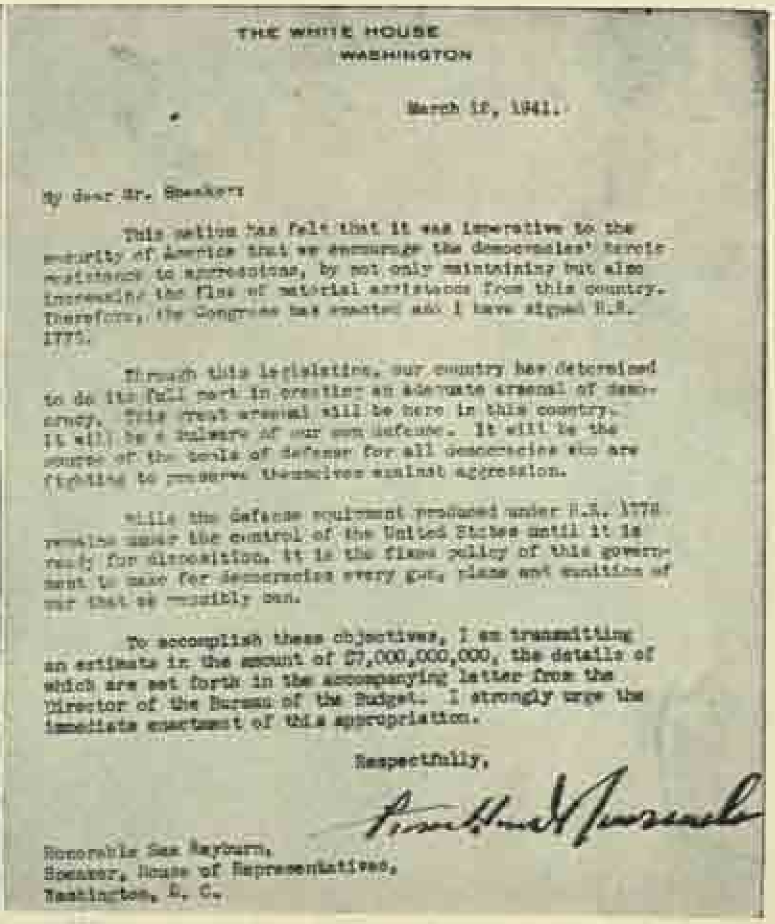
'EVERY GUN, PLANE AND MUNITION FOR DEMOCRACIES'

Top, left, The President's signature which made law the Lease-Lend Bill; at the right is Mr. Roosevelt's letter to the Speaker in which he requested an immediate appropriation of 7,000,000,000 dollars. Below, left, at an earlier stage Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, gives evidence on the Bill to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Photo, Keystone







THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1941.

My dear Mr. Speaker:

This nation has felt that it was imperative to the security of America that we encourage the democracies' heroic resistance to aggressions, by not only maintaining but also increasing the flow of material assistance from this country. Therefore, the Congress has enacted and I have signed H.R. 1776.

Through this legislation, our country has determined to do its full part in creating an adequate arsenal of democracy. This great arsenal will be here in this country. It will be a bulwark of our own defense. It will be the source of the tools of defense for all democracies who are fighting to preserve themselves against aggression.

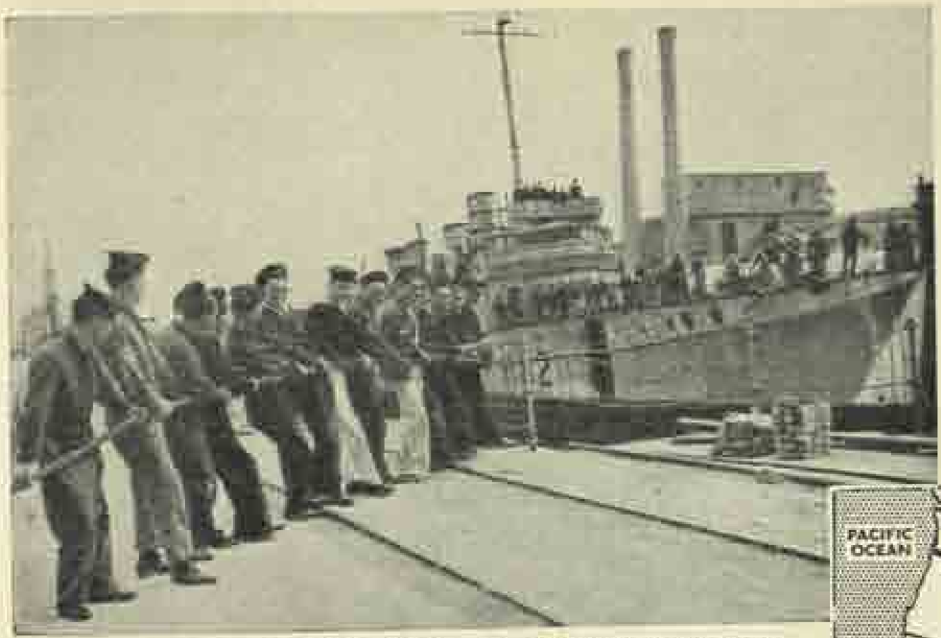
While the defense equipment produced under H.R. 1776 remains under the control of the United States until it is ready for disposition, it is the fixed policy of this government to make for democracies every gun, plane and munition of war that we possibly can.

To accomplish these objectives, I am transmitting an estimate in the amount of $7,000,000,000, the details of which are set forth in the accompanying letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. I strongly urge the immediate enactment of this appropriation.

Respectfully,

Franklin D Roosevelt

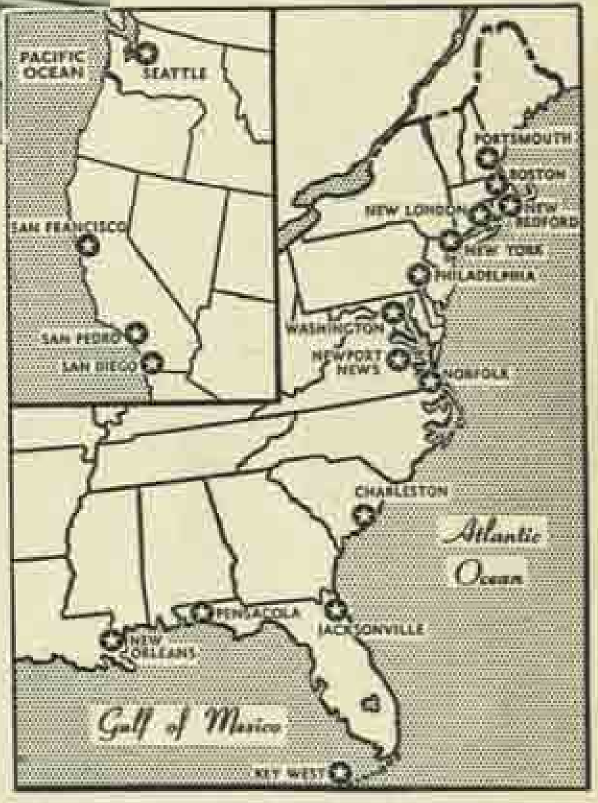
Honorable Sam Rayburn,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.



U.S. NAVY YARDS OPENED TO BRITISH WARSHIPS

As a result of the Lease-Lend Act British Naval vessels were able at need to be repaired and refitted in United States Navy Yards (marked with stars in map)—an incalculable advantage in the desperate Battle of the Atlantic. Photograph shows the destroyer H.M.S. 'Burnham' in the Yard at Boston, Mass.

Photo, Keystone



point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—everywhere in the world. This was no vision of a distant millennium; it was a definite base for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation."

A fortnight later, on January 20, Mr. Roosevelt made another firm and fine declaration of his and the nation's policy, when at the hands of the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, he renewed his oath to "preserve, protect and defend the constitution." Again he reasserted his belief in democracy, declaring that in the face of a great peril never before encountered it was America's strong purpose to protect democracy and to perpetuate its integrity.

"For this," he said, "we muster the spirit and faith of America. We shall not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans we go forward in the service of our country by the will of God."

Over a million people gathered in Washington about the Capitol were the President's immediate audience; many millions more throughout the world caught something of the fire of a great utterance, of the spirit of a great occasion, as the speech was broadcast in the principal tongues of the European family.

Following his message to Congress, the President on January 10 submitted to Congress a bill, the "Lease-and-Lend" Bill, "to further promote the defence of the United States."

Opening with a comprehensive definition of the term "defence articles," the measure authorized the President "to manufacture in arsenals, factories and shipyards . . . or otherwise procure, any defence article for the Government of any country whose defence the President deems vital to the defence of the United States"; and "to sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of to any such Government any defence article" upon terms and conditions which the President should deem satisfactory and (in certain cases) after consultation with the Service chiefs.

Another clause permitted the repair or reconditioning of any defence article—which meant, said the Congressional leaders by way of explanation, that, e.g., the British battle cruiser "Renown" could be repaired in Brooklyn Navy Yard if the President considered it in the interests of the U.S. national defence for it to be so.

The Lease-and-Lend Bill was warmly welcomed on both sides of the Atlantic; in the U.S.A., it is true, the diehard isolationists continued their campaign of opposition, but it was noticeable that that opposition was not organized on party lines. Mr. Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate who had put up so good a fight against Mr. Roosevelt in the electoral campaign of two months before, was as enthusiastic as the President in urging that everything should be done to aid the democracies, since otherwise the war could not be kept out of America. Indeed, so keen was Mr. Willkie that he cut short a visit to Britain in which he had won golden opinions by his affability and obvious deep concern, and recrossed the Atlantic specially to give evidence in favour of the Bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Strong opposition was made in the Senate by the isolationist Senators—Clark, Nye, Johnson, La Follette, Burton, Wheeler, Vandenberg and Taft—but the bill was passed on March 9 by 60 votes to 31. In the House of Representatives it was also the subject of long and occasionally animated debate, but on March 11 it was finally approved by 317 to 71, and later in the same day the President's signature made it law. On the very next day the President sent to Congress a request for an immediate appropriation of $7,000,000,000 (£1,750,000,000) to finance orders under the Lease-Lend Act. After but a short debate the Appropriation Bill was passed with great majorities, many of those who opposed the original Lease-Lend Bill now voting with the majority; and on March 27 it became law.

On June 11 the President reported to Congress on the progress made under the Lease-Lend Act. Between March 11 and May 31 defence articles amounting in value to over $75,000,000 had been sent under the Act to the democracies; the largest item was "for watercraft, etc.," while the other items included aircraft, vehicles, clothing and medical



U.S.A. TAKES GREENLAND UNDER HER WING

On April 10, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt announced that by agreement with the Danish Minister in Washington the United States would take Greenland under U.S. protection. A base was established in this vitally important island: above are U.S. Navy patrol boats with an American tanker in a Greenland harbour.

Photo, Keystone

supplies, signal and chemical equipment, agricultural products, machinery, raw materials and metals. During the first five months of 1941 Britain had been sent twelve times as many aeroplanes and ten times as many aero-engines as in the first five months of 1940, and during the first four months the U.S.A. had sent seventeen times as much in dollar value of explosives, and ninety times as much in dollar valuation of firearms and ammunition as in the corresponding period of 1940.

It was revealed that in June 1940—after Dunkirk—the British Government had been supplied from U.S. surplus stock with rifles, machine-guns, field artillery, ammunition and aircraft to a value of ten millions sterling. Preparations were on foot for some seven thousand British pilots to be trained at air schools in the United States. Vast quantities of food were being or would be sent across the Atlantic; also iron, steel, machine-tools and other essentials for the maintenance and increase of the production of war materials in Britain.

Replacing Dunkirk Losses



LORD HALIFAX GREETS ROOSEVELT

Lord Halifax crossed the Atlantic in the battleship 'King George V' to take up his post as British Ambassador to Washington (January, 1941). The above photograph was taken in April, after the President's address at the shrine of President Wilson.

America was making immediately available to Britain two million gross tons of cargo ships and oil tankers.

"Allied ships are being repaired by us. Allied ships are being equipped by us to protect them from mines, and are being armed by us for protection against raiders. The naval vessels of Britain are being repaired by us so that they can return quickly to their naval tasks."

In January and again in July Mr. Harry Hopkins, the President's personal representative, was sent to London to inquire into and to stimulate American aid to Britain. In a broadcast on the second occasion, on July 27, Mr. Hopkins said that the President's instructions to him were: "Find out if the material we are sending to Britain is arriving. Find out if it is what Britain wants. Let me know if there is anything more that Britain needs." He revealed that already America had sent several hundred tanks to the countries of the British Empire, and a number of ocean-going ships, many of them oil tankers, had been transferred to Britain. He regretted that he could not state exactly how many aeroplanes, tanks, guns and ammunition would arrive in Britain during the next twelve months, but he promised that supplies of every kind would reach her in ever-increasing volume in this period.

"Your Prime Minister asked us for the tools. I promise you that they are coming;





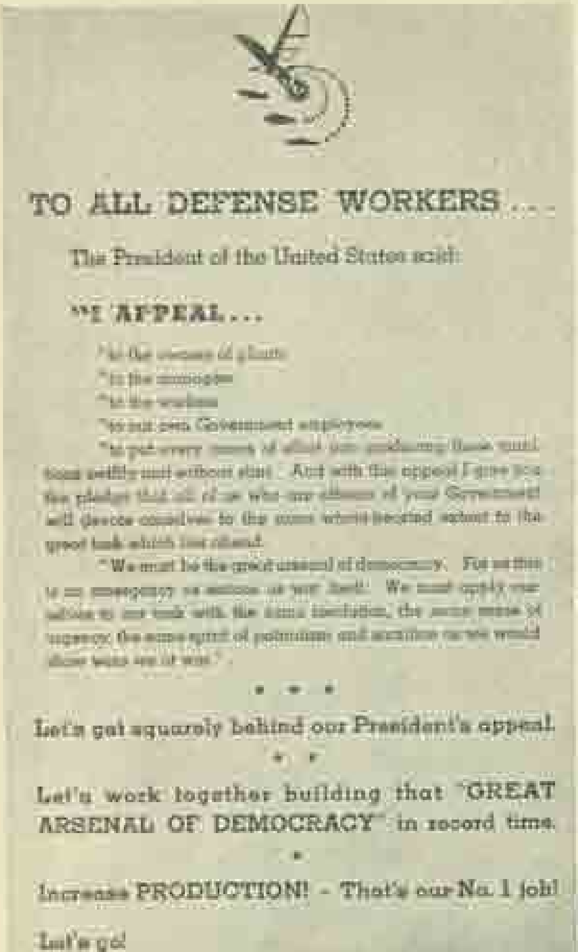


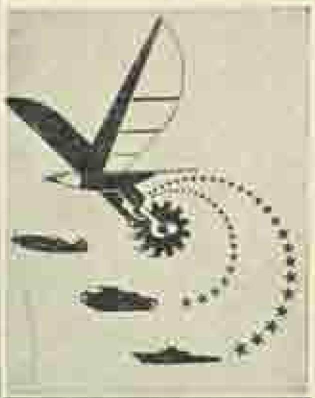
HOW AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WERE FERRIED TO BRITAIN

U.S. aircraft built for Britain were taken over in Canadian airports from the U.S. Army Air Corps by our R.A.F. Ferry Command, and flown thence to home airfields. Top, Lockheed Hudson bombers lined up at Newfoundland Airport ready for ferrying across the Atlantic. Centre, left, servicing a Lockheed Hudson; right, a Sergeant-Observer, R.A.F., flanked by two Captain-Pilots of the Ferry Command, plots a course in the chartroom. Bottom, Lockheed Hudson bombers on the final assembly line at Burbank, California, ready for delivery to Ferry Command.

Photos, British Official : Crown Copyright ; (top) Newfoundland Airport Pictures ; Wide World









APPEAL TO WORKERS IN THE 'GREAT ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY'

Lieut.-General William Knudsen (right), appointed Director-General of the Production Management Council set up in December 1940. Above, a poster exhibited in American plants working on defence orders. An enlargement of the emblem adopted by the Office of Production Management is shown at right.

Photo, Topical Press

that an endless assembly belt stretches from our western coast to this island and to the Middle East; that nothing will be allowed to interfere with the full efficiency of this supply line."

Nothing. And yet Mr. Hopkins admitted that since he had arrived in London he had learnt that, though most of the raw material shipped to Britain had arrived, some of the precious cargoes had gone to the bottom of the sea.

This situation had been anticipated, and already provided for. In a striking broadcast made on April 24 Mr. Stimson, U.S. Secretary of War, had urged that the American Navy should go to the assistance of the British fleet, since if the power of the British Navy were broken, the American Navy's power, too, would be reduced to but an impotent fraction of its present strength. Is it conceivable, he asked, that the American people would allow this to happen after the clear statements and appeals which had been made by President Roosevelt, after the overwhelming response to those appeals made by Congress, after the U.S.A. had definitely taken her place behind the warring democracies, and provided billions' worth of munitions to carry on the defence of their common freedom? "Shall we now flinch and permit these munitions to be sunk in the Atlantic Ocean?" And in a speech on the same day Col. Knox, U.S. Navy Secretary, had said:

"America had gone too far to back down; she could only go on. Hitler cannot allow our war supplies and food to reach England; he will be defeated if they do. We cannot allow our goods to be sunk in the Atlantic; we shall be beaten if they are. We must make our promise good to give aid to Britain. We must see the job through."

On the morrow of these pronouncements by two of his most important ministers President Roosevelt was asked at his press conference to make his comment. "I think," he replied, "they spoke for themselves very clearly, and for the great majority of the American people." "And for you, sir?" asked one of the pressmen. "Yes"; and the President went on to say that the American naval patrol had been extended from time to time and would be extended "as far into the waters of the Seven Seas as may be necessary for the defence of the American hemisphere"; that he would not be at all surprised if Greenland were not in part occupied by the Axis at present, and that the United States was emphatically "doing something about it." (On April 10 the President had announced an agreement with the Danish Minister in Washington for the establishment in Greenland of air bases and, in effect, bringing Greenland under the protection of the U.S.A.)

U.S. Navy Patrols the Atlantic

At the end of April Admiral Stark, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, announced that American warships were already patrolling—not convoying—as far out as a thousand miles in the Atlantic, and on the same day the President made it clear that there would be no limit to the area which U.S. warships would be prepared to cover in defending the Americas. Even before this declaration (on April 11) the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden had been opened to American shipping by President Roosevelt and U.S. vessels were given permission to carry supplies to Egypt as far as Ismailia on the Suez Canal. Thus America recognized that with the extinction of Italian power in East Africa the adjacent waters had ceased to be a combat zone.

Here we may mention some further instances of American sympathy for the democracies in the shape of action against the Axis Powers. At the end of March, following acts of sabotage by the crews of some Italian vessels, a number of Axis ships in American ports were seized by the U.S. Coast Guard and taken under "protective custody." German and Italian protests against these seizures were promptly made, and as promptly rejected; the ships had been seized, it turned out, by the President's own order, and Mr. Cordell Hull, when called upon to justify the procedure, declared that sabotage in the ships seized had endangered the safety of American ports.

On May 16 a number of French vessels in American harbours, including the "Normandie" at New York, were boarded by U.S. Coast Guards. In vain M. Henry-Haye, Ambassador of

Vichy France, protested against what he described as "an unfriendly act." His protest was deemed to be beside the point in the light of the mounting evidence of collaboration between Vichy and Berlin. It was even rumoured that America was making ready to seize Martinique and other French possessions in America if the situation further deteriorated. Then on June 16 Mr. Sumner Welles, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, presented a note to the German Embassy in Washington demanding the closing of all German consular offices in the U.S.A. and its possessions, of the German Library of Information in New York, railway and tourist agencies, etc., and the removal from U.S. territory of all German nationals connected therewith—this on the ground that it had come to the knowledge of the U.S. Government that these agencies of the German Reich had been engaged in activities outside the scope of their legitimate duties, activities of an improper and unwarranted character which rendered their continued existence in the U.S.A. inimical to the welfare of the country.

Subversive Nazi Agencies

By way of retaliation Hitler ordered the closing of the corresponding U.S. offices in Nazi Europe. As the Italian Government followed suit, all Italian Consulates in the U.S.A. were ordered to be closed by July 15.

American opinion against the Axis, already running strong, was still further exacerbated by the sinking by a German U-boat on May 21, in the South Atlantic 950 miles from the Brazilian coast, of the 5,000-ton U.S. steamship "Robin Moor." Fortunately there was no loss of life, since eleven of the crew were picked up by a Brazilian steamer and taken to Pernambuco, and the remaining thirty-five were rescued by a British ship and landed at Cape Town. The news of the "Robin Moor's" sinking was officially announced in Washington on June 12, and on June 20 the President brought the matter to the formal attention of Congress.

"The passengers and crew of the 'Robin Moor,'" he said, "were left afloat in small lifeboats from approximately two to three weeks, when they were accidentally discovered and rescued by friendly vessels. This chance rescue does not lessen the brutality of casting the boats adrift in mid-ocean. The total disregard shown for the most elementary principles of international law and of humanity brands the sinking of the 'Robin Moor' as the act of an international outlaw."

Was the case of the "Robin Moor" a step in the campaign against the U.S.A. analogous to campaigns against other nations? The President thought it might well be so.

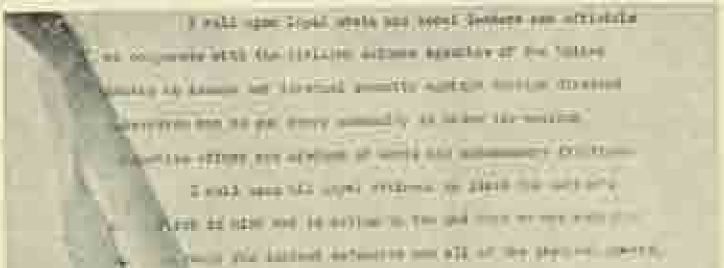
"We must take the sinking of the 'Robin Moor' as a warning to the U.S. not to resist the Nazi movement of world conquest. It is a warning that the U.S. may use the high seas of the world only with Nazi consent. Were we to yield on this, we would inevitably submit to world domination at the hands of the present leaders of the German Reich. We are not yielding and we do not propose to yield."

One more great utterance of the American President, made while the "Robin Moor's" fate was still unknown, calls for mention. The occasion was the meeting in Washington of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union; the date, the evening of May 27; the theme, the place of the American republics and Canada in a world threatened by totalitarian domination. In his opening remarks Mr. Roosevelt spoke of the deepening and lengthening shadows, of the night which had spread over so many of the countries of Europe. He recalled how a year before Britain stood alone, and how the American Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs. He made it plain that America's whole programme of aid for the democracies had been based

"on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material that we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day they are held off gives us time to build more guns, tanks, aeroplanes, and ships. We have made no pretence about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it—and so does Nazi Germany. . . . We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing month by month our material supply of tools of war for ourselves, Britain and China—and eventually for all the democracies. The supply of these tools will not fail; it will increase."

Then the President went on to paint in sombre colours a picture of the kind of world in which the American republics would find themselves if Hitler were victorious. When the Old World had been enslaved, the New World would soon be menaced. "I am not speculating about all this; I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada. . . ."

Already the war was coming very close home. But for the epic resistance of the British Commonwealth and the magnificent defence of China, Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment. The Axis Powers could never achieve that objective unless they first obtained control of the seas. That achieved—and to achieve it they must capture Great Britain—they would



A STATE OF UNLIMITED NATIONAL EMERGENCY

On the evening of May 27, 1941, President Roosevelt addressed the governing board of the Pan-American Union, then meeting at Washington. He told them of the dangers that threatened and said he had that day issued a Proclamation (concluding paragraphs are shown above) declaring a state of emergency which required 'the strengthening of our defence . . . to the extreme limit.' (See Historic Documents, p. 1745.) *Photo, Keystone*

be able to dictate to the Western Hemisphere.

Then the President reviewed the great Battle of the Atlantic, extending from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. He spoke of the piratical activities of the Nazi raiders and submarines; he obviously regarded as possible the attempted establishment of Nazi bases in Greenland and Iceland, which would bring the great industrial centres of the north, east, and middle-west of the U.S.A. within reach of Nazi bombers. This being the situation, America's policy was dominated by two factors.

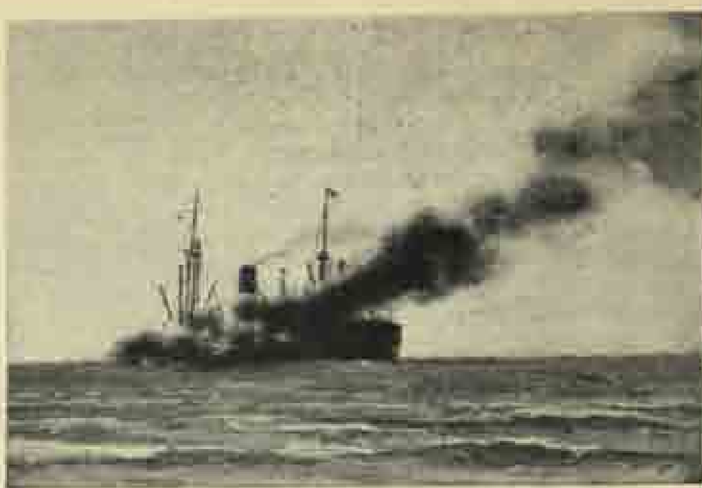
"First, we shall actively resist, wherever necessary and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. . . . Second, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms . . ."

Then, after a fresh repudiation of a Hitler-dominated world, a reiteration of the resolve that the Americans would accept only a world of the "four freedoms," the President made this dramatic declaration.

"As President of a united, determined people, I say solemnly: We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas, we reassert the solidarity of the 21 American republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere. We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world, and we will fulfil that pledge. . . .

We are placing our armed forces in a strategic military position. We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack. . . .

Therefore, I have tonight issued a Proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defence to the extreme limit of our national power and authority." (See Historic Documents, page 1745).



SINKING OF U.S. FREIGHTER 'ROBIN MOOR'

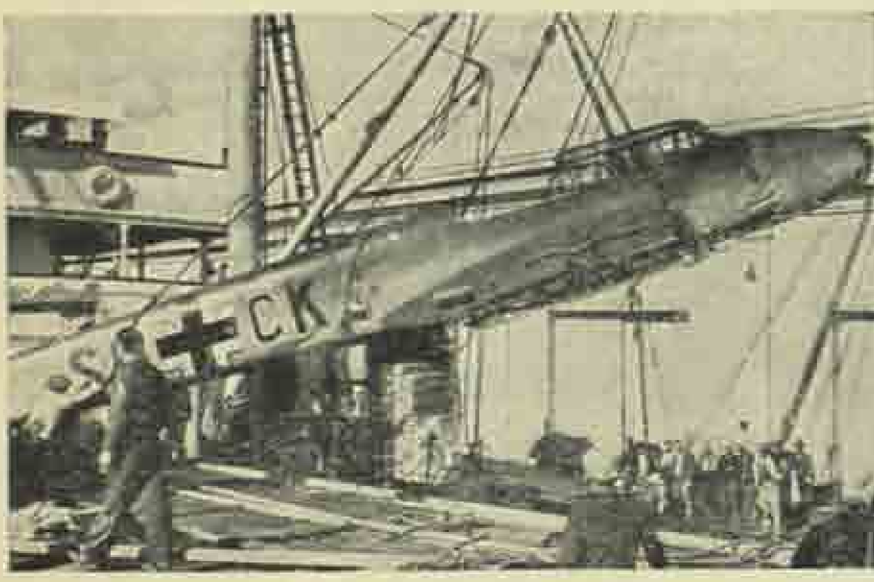
The 'Robin Moor' on fire after attack on May 21, 1941, by a U-boat. Besides a torpedo, some thirty shells were fired by the enemy submarine. Eleven of the crew were picked up by a Brazilian steamer and thirty-five by a British ship. This incident did much to harden American feeling against the Axis.

Photo, Keystone

Meanwhile, America's production programme was striding ahead. In the Budget for the year ending June 30, 1940, the estimated expenditure on Defence amounted to 2 per cent of the net national income. For the year 1940–41 the estimate represented $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while for 1941–42 it was expected to reach 24 per cent of income. On December 20, 1940, the President had set up a "super defence" council—the Office for Production Management—composed of William S. Knudsen, a prominent industrialist, as Director-General; Mr. Sidney Hillman, of the C.I.O. as Associate Director-General and representative of Labour; the Navy Secretary, Col. Knox, and the Secretary for War, Mr. Stimson, representing the armed forces. The work of the O.P.M., it was explained, would fall into three principal subdivisions: (1) actual production of war materials under the direct supervision of Mr. Knudsen; (2) an office of defence purposes, under Mr. Donald Nelson; and (3) a Defence Priorities Board. The order formally setting up the O.P.M. was issued on January 8, and on the same day a statement was published on its behalf to the effect that it would need the active, aggressive cooperation of every man, woman and child in the United States "if we are to make this arsenal in America adequate to the successful defence of freedom and democracy."

In their appeals for increased production Mr. Knudsen and his associates were supported by the leaders of American organized Labour, of whom the most prominent were William Green, President of the A.F.L., and Philip Murray, his opposite number of the C.I.O. All the same, during the winter there were several strikes, which had their origin, in part at least, in the rivalry of the two great Labour organizations, and on more than one occasion the active intervention of the President was required before a settlement could be obtained. But, generally speaking, the outlook in every department of the American home front was encouraging. The reports of the O.P.M. revealed soaring output of planes and defence material of every kind. On March 11 the U.S. Army passed the million mark for the first time since World War I, and the strength of the Navy in men and ships increased apace. At the same time aid for Britain and her allied democracies grew from week to week, even from day to day. America, in a word, was taking off her coat to implement the President's promise that in her the democracies, fighting for their own and the world's freedom, should find their arsenal.

Labour Disputes



BULLET-RIDDLED MESSERSCHMITT FOR U.S. FACTORY

An enemy fighter plane shot down over Britain in fair condition was sent to America for inspection by the engineers of the Vultee aircraft plant in the spring of 1941. Here a derrick is seen about to lower the Messerschmitt on to the quay.

Photo, Associated Press

Historic Documents. CCXIV

ROOSEVELT'S STIRRING CALL TO THE AMERICAS

On May 27, 1941, in a historic "Fireside Chat" broadcast from the White House, the President proclaimed a state of "unlimited national emergency," and called upon all the nations of the Western Hemisphere to cooperate in repelling the deadly menace of the Axis Powers against their homes and their freedom.

WHAT we face are cold hard facts. The first fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination. Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step towards the ultimate goals in all other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now the Western Hemisphere will be within range of Nazi weapons of destruction. . . .

Your Government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace. Under those terms Germany would literally parcel out the world, hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and policy of a conqueror.

To the peoples of the Americas triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, after Munich and after the seizure of Czechoslovakia: "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I seek." And he, of course, would add: "All we want is peace, friendship and profitable trade relations with you of the New World."

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen? Those of the New World who were seeking profits would be urging that all the dictatorships desired was "peace." They would oppose toil and taxes for American armament.

Meanwhile the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into the system they are even now organising—to build a naval and air force intended to gain a hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well. They would fasten an economic stranglehold on our several nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the Governments of our Republics, and the Nazis would back their Fifth Columns with invasion if necessary.

I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. . . .

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today, and to achieve it they must capture Great Britain. They would then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere.

But if the Axis fail to gain control of the seas they are certainly defeated, their dreams of world domination will then go by the board, and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster. Both they and their people know this, and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have in conducting desperate attempts to break through to command the ocean. . . .

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and resources only for the purpose of defence—only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic. When we use the word attack we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare. Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into an attack on this Hemisphere and us, but we know enough by now to realise that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard. . . .

Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom, between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal. We choose human freedom, which is the Christian ideal. We will not accept a Hitler-dominated world, and we will not accept a world like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow. We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression and the freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from terrorism. . . .

As President of a united, determined people I say solemnly: We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas, we reassert the solidarity of the 21 American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world, and we will fulfil that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, when and where our American interests are attacked or our security threatened. We are placing our armed forces in a strategic military position. We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

Therefore, with a profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and my country's cause I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defence to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

Proclamation of Unlimited National Emergency

WHEREAS a succession of events makes it plain that the objectives of the Axis belligerents in such (the present European) war are not confined to those avowed at its commencement, but include the overthrow throughout the world of the existing democratic order and the world-wide domination of peoples and economies through the destruction of all resistance on land, sea and in the air;

And whereas indifference on the part of the United States to the increasing menace would be perilous, and common prudence requires that for the security of this nation and of this Hemisphere we should pass from peacetime authorizations of military strength to such a basis as will enable us to cope instantly and decisively with any attempt at the hostile encirclement of this Hemisphere, or the establishment of any base for aggression against it, as well as to repel threat of predatory incursion by foreign agents into our territory and society;

Now, therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do proclaim that an unlimited national emergency confronts this country which requires that its military, naval, air and civilian defences be put on a basis of readiness to repel any or all acts or threats of aggression directed towards any part of the Western Hemisphere.

I call upon all loyal citizens engaged in production for defence to give precedence to the needs of the nation to the end that a system of government that makes private enterprise possible may survive.

I call upon all loyal workmen, as well as employers, to merge their lesser differences in the larger effort to ensure the survival of the only kind of government which recognizes the rights of labour or capital.

I call upon loyal State and local leaders and officials to co-operate with the civilian defence agencies of the United States to assure our internal security against foreign-directed subversion, and to put every community in order for a maximum of productive effort, a minimum of waste and unnecessary frictions.

I call upon all loyal citizens to place the nation's needs first in mind and in action to the end that we may mobilize and have ready for instant defensive use all of the physical powers, all of the moral strength and all the material resources of this nation.

Diary of the War

MAY and JUNE, 1941

May 1, 1941. Further enemy attacks on outer defences of Tobruk; British counter-attack with success. Night raiders over Merseyside.

May 2. Announced that 43,000 men have been withdrawn from Greece. Cantonment at Habbaniya attacked by Iraqi troops. Rutbah, near Haifa pipe-line, taken by Iraqis. British occupy Basra. Heavy night raid on Merseyside.

May 3. Fighting in progress at Habbaniya. Destroyers "Diamond" and "Wryneck" reported sunk during Greek evacuation. Severe raid on Cologne. Third successive attack on Merseyside: 16 raiders down.

May 4. R.A.F. wreck 23 planes at aerodrome near Baghdad. Heavy attack on German cruisers at Brest. Merseyside again raided. Severe raid on Belfast.

May 5. Haile Selassie enters Addis Ababa. Raids on Clydeside, Merseyside and Belfast.

May 6. British drive Iraqi rebels from Habbaniya. Hamburg bombed.

May 7. Rashid Ali, Iraqi rebel leader, flees from Baghdad. Widespread attacks on Britain; 24 night raiders destroyed. We bomb cruisers at Brest.

May 8. Heaviest raid yet on Hamburg and Bremen. Fourteen night raiders destroyed over Britain.

May 9. Iraqi revolt collapsing. German commerce raider reported sunk by H.M.S. "Cornwall" in Indian Ocean.

May 10. Severe R.A.F. attack on Hamburg. Westminster Abbey, Houses of Parliament and British Museum hit during heavy raid; 33 enemy aircraft destroyed. Hess flies to Scotland.

May 11. Six day and 12 night raiders destroyed over Britain. R.A.F. bomb Hamburg and Bremen.

May 12. Heavy night attacks on Mannheim, Cologne and Coblenz. Enemy mechanized columns advancing near Sollum driven back.

May 13. Daylight raids on Heligoland and St. Nazaire.

May 15. British retake Sollum and occupy Halfaya Pass. Big night raid on Hanover.

May 16. R.A.F. attack German aircraft on aerodrome at Mosul. Vain night attacks on S.E. airfields. We bomb Cologne.

May 17. Australians recapture strong points outside Tobruk. Germans take Capuzzo. Big night raid on French coast and on Cologne.

May 18. Duke of Aosta surrenders to British at Amba Alagi, Abyssinia. Heavy bombers attack Kiel and Emden.

May 19. Egyptian liner "Zamzam," carrying full unit of British-American Ambulance Corps, reported sunk in S. Atlantic by German raider.

May 20. German parachutists and air-borne troops land in Crete, meeting with strong resistance. British occupy Falluja, 35 miles from Baghdad.

May 21. Landings of air-borne troops in Crete; attempts at sea-borne landings frustrated by Royal Navy. U-boat sinks U.S. merchantman "Robin Moor".

May 22. Further German landings and bomber attacks in Crete. Enemy captures Maleme aerodrome.

May 24. British Navy intercepts German naval forces off Greenland; H.M.S. "Hood" sunk. German battleship "Bismarck" escapes damaged and is pursued. Mass bombing by Germans of towns in Crete.

May 25. Pursuit of "Bismarck" continuing. King George of Hellenes and Greek Govt. now in Egypt.

May 26. "Bismarck" hit by "Ark Royal" torpedo aircraft; pursuit continues. Fresh German air-borne troops land in Crete; British forced to withdraw to new positions. Lawful Regent now back in Iraq. Attack on Dover balloon barrage.

May 27. "Bismarck" sunk after pursuit of 1,750 miles. Severe fighting in Crete, particularly in Canea area. Loss off Crete announced of cruisers "Gloucester" and "Fiji," and destroyers "Juno," "Greyhound," "Kelly" and "Kashmir." Roosevelt proclaims unlimited national emergency.

May 28. British make further withdrawals in Crete; Germans occupy Canea. Announced that British have withdrawn from Halfaya Pass, Libya. R.A.F. bomb supply ship at Sfax, Tunisia.

May 29. Cruiser "York" reported lost off Crete. Germans capture Heraklion. Further British withdrawals.

May 30. Evacuation of British forces from Crete begins. In Iraq British troops occupy Ur. Bombs fall on Dublin.

May 31. Evacuation from Crete continues. Iraqis sign armistice with Britain. Night raid on Merseyside.

June 1. British troops enter Baghdad. Clothes rationing starts. Heavy night raid on Manchester.

June 2. State of siege proclaimed in Eastern Syria. Hitler and Mussolini meet in Brenner Pass.

June 3. British troops occupy Mosul. Riots in Baghdad.

June 4. Stated that German infiltrations in Syria continue by land, sea and air. Heavy night raid on Alexandria.

June 6. Admiralty announce sinking of 3 enemy supply ships after destruction of "Bismarck" in Atlantic.

June 7. Submarine "Undaunted" reported lost. Destructive night raid on Alexandria. R.A.F. bombers successfully attack convoy of supply ships off Holland.

June 8. British and Free French troops cross Syrian frontier at dawn.

June 9. Allied troops in Syria progress beyond Tyre and cross R. Litani. Loss off Crete announced of cruiser "Calcutta" and destroyers "Hereward" and "Imperial."

June 10. R.A.F. make strong night attacks on docks at Brest and St. Nazaire.

June 11. Heavy night raids on Cologne and the Ruhr.

June 12. Assab, Eritrea, reported captured by troops from H.M. ships. Another heavy night raid on the Ruhr.

June 13. Cross-Channel steamer "St. Patrick" sunk by dive-bombers near Fishguard. Night raids over the Ruhr continue. Allied troops in Syria continue to progress in all sectors.

June 14. Cologne area heavily raided at night.

June 15. Allied forces in Syria capture Sidon. In central sector they reach Jezzin. British offensive against enemy positions south and south-east of Sollum. Strong R.A.F. forces raid the Ruhr and Cologne and Hanover districts.

June 16. Heavy fighting in central sector of Syria. Roosevelt orders closing of all German consulates.

June 17. Large-scale R.A.F. offensive over Channel and occupied territory. Sixteen enemy fighters destroyed; we lose 10. Cologne and Düsseldorf raided.

June 18. Submarine successes announced in Aegean and Mediterranean; 8 Italian vessels sunk. Further positions captured south of Damascus. Turkey signs Treaty of Friendship with Germany.

June 20. Tenth successive night raid on Germany, Kiel being main target.

June 21. Free French troops occupy Damascus. R.A.F. raid enemy aerodromes in France, destroying 30 planes. Heavy night attack on Cologne and Düsseldorf.

June 22. Germany invades Russia from East Prussia, Poland and Rumania. Night raids on Bremen and Wilhelmshaven.

June 23. Germans advance on Polish front. British reach Palmyra (Syria). Severe night raid on Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Kiel.

June 24. Germans occupy Brest-Litovsk, Kaunas and Vilna. Further submarine successes reported in Mediterranean, including 20,000-ton Italian liner torpedoed.

June 25. German and Rumanian forces making slow progress in Bessarabia. Germans held in Lithuania. Thirteen Nazi fighters destroyed over France.

June 26. Fierce tank battles near Minsk, White Russia. Germans capture Dvinsk, in Latvia.

June 27. Russians retire in Lithuania. Heavy fighting in Luck area, Poland. Powerful night attacks on Bremen and other targets.

June 28. In northern sector Russians fighting stubborn rearguard action. Heavy fighting in sectors of Minsk, Luck and Lwow. In south Russians still holding frontier from Przemysl to Black Sea, having driven enemy back over R. Pruth.

June 29. New German push towards Murmansk by troops from Norway. Fierce fighting on all fronts. Italian 10,000-ton cruiser sunk by submarine in Mediterranean. Heavy night raids on Hamburg, Bremen and other targets in N.W. Germany.

June 30. Fierce fighting in Murmansk sector and in Karelian Isthmus. Germans capture Liepaja (Latvia), Minsk and Lwow. Palmyra completely encircled. Night raid on S. Wales towns. We raid Duisburg, Cologne and Düsseldorf.

SEA AFFAIR, APRIL–JUNE, 1941, & THE DESTRUCTION OF THE 'BISMARCK'

Naval Position in April, 1941—Greek Collapse and the Allied Withdrawal—Submarine 'Regent' at Kotor—The Operations Around Crete—Cunningham's Fleet Bombards Libyan Ports—U.S. Navy Patrols Western Atlantic—Chase of the 'Bismarck' and 'Prinz Eugen'—Loss of H.M.S. 'Hood'—From All Quarters Our Warships Converge on the Quarry—End of the 'Bismarck'—Syrian Affair—British Naval Aid to Russia

At the end of March, 1941, events of the previous three months had considerably altered the strategical outlook. Most of the ships damaged at Dunkirk had been repaired and the operations of the British Navy were less restricted. In the Mediterranean the Italian Fleet had been badly hit and was inclined to stay in port licking its wounds. Powerful British cruiser and destroyer forces were operating in the Aegean to help Greece; the main Mediterranean battle fleet was generally at Alexandria, hoping that the heavy Italian squadrons would come out. The Libyan coast, and the enemy supply line to that front, occupied numerous miscellaneous ships and submarines. In the open seas enemy destroyers and submarines were doing their utmost to cut the British supply lines; and the work of countering them, with steadily increasing success, kept the cruisers and smaller ships busy. In the Far East the attitude of the Japanese was becoming more and more aggressive, while it was impossible for the British to spare the ships to cover their fleet. The German navy was steadily strengthening its position in Norway, especially in the north, and there was a great deal of speculation as to its purpose, although it was later realized to be largely the projected attack on Russia.

The period opened with the British forces, seaborne and maintained from the sea, rapidly advancing in East Africa; with Italy held in the Balkans and her supply services across the mouth of the Adriatic constantly harassed, although Germany was already threatening to attack by the land route. The British advance in North Africa had spent itself. American opinion was hardening in face of constant Axis insults and offences against civilization.

Although it achieved little the considerable Italian fleet (principally destroyers and submarines) in East African ports had been a constant threat to the Red Sea supply route to the Middle Eastern armies, while the ports themselves had been used as bases for enemy commerce raiders in the Indian Ocean and Far East, and many Allied merchant seamen were kept prisoner there in terrible conditions. As the British grip tightened, the one idea of the Italian commanders, apparently acting on definite orders from Rome, was to get their ships home. Some submarines contrived to make the voyage round Africa safely. The Italian cruiser "Eritrea" did not risk it and arrived in Japanese waters after many adventures, but owing to fuel difficulty the destroyers were unable to follow the submarines. British planes sank several and others scuttled themselves to avoid capture. Massawa, the last useful port, capitulated on April 8, and on May 19 the main body of troops under the Duke of Aosta surrendered.

The Greeks, with the assistance of the British on the sea, were gallantly holding the Italian invaders, but on April 6 the Germans, with a perfectly equipped mechanized army, invaded Greece and Yugoslavia through Bulgaria. Fifth columnists did most of the necessary work in Yugoslavia; the military operations were aimed principally at Greece, and in three days the invaders had reached Salonika, the most convenient port of supply, although difficult to defend. British and Australasian troops were rushed into the country under Naval convoy as soon as the invasion started and fought stubbornly, but the defeat of the Greeks made their position hopeless, and it was with the entire approval of the Hellenic Government that they were evacuated with great difficulty, beginning on the night of April 24.

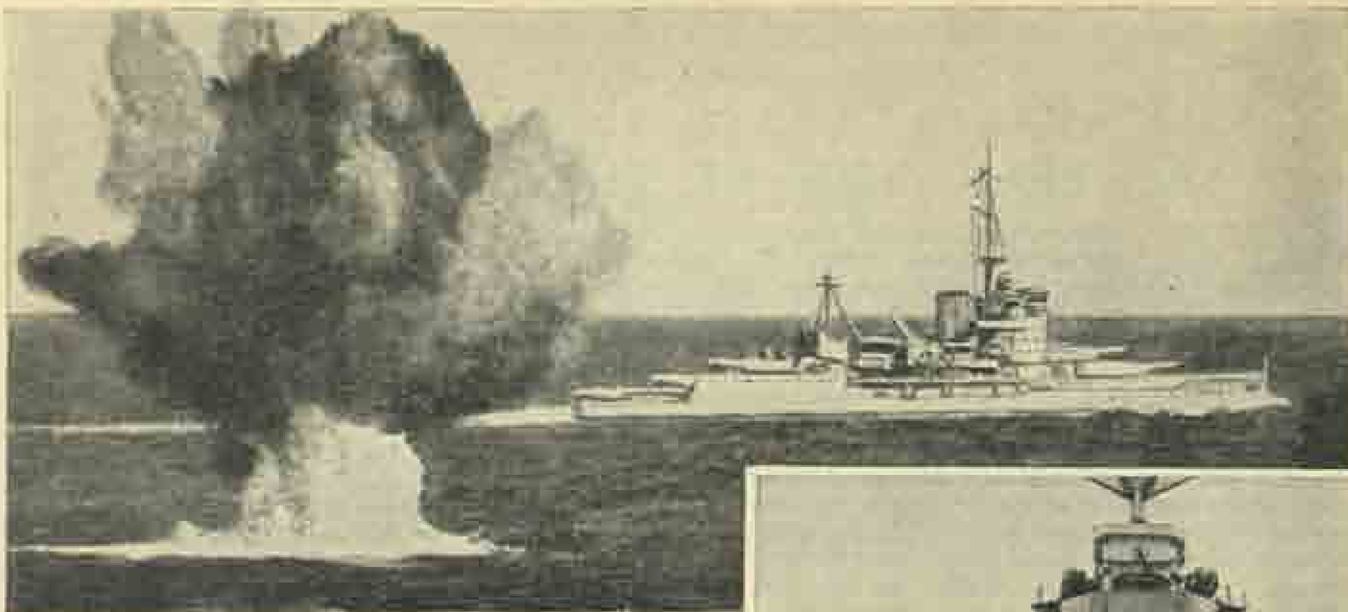
Evacuation from Greece

Everything that would float, merchantman or warship, was pressed into service to evacuate the troops—Yugoslav, Greek and British—and as many of the panic-stricken refugees as possible. German planes and motor torpedo boats, transported overland, attacked them mercilessly; some British transports and a very large number of Greek small craft which normally traded among the islands were destroyed. A particularly disgraceful feature of the enemy attack was the deliberate sinking of hospital ships: the "Grigorios" and "Kassandra Louloudis" went without a trace with everybody on board them; the "Attiki"



GREEK WARSHIPS ESCAPED TO JOIN ALLIES

After the evacuation of Allied forces from Greece at the end of April, 1941, the Greek cruiser 'Averoff,' seen here, with seven destroyers and all five submarines of the Greek Navy, got away safely to join the Allies. The cruiser is armed with four 9.2-in. guns and sixteen 3-in. guns.
Photo, P. A. Vicary





ROYAL NAVY IN GRIM BATTLE OF CRETE

H.M.S. 'Warspite' suffered some damage by air attack at Crete; top, a near miss; upper right, the battleship under repair later at Seattle Dockyard, Washington. Among three cruisers lost was 'York,' seen below beached in Suda Bay; enemy embarkation troops are passing the warship. Persistent dive-bomb attacks made repair impossible.

Photos, Associated Press; Keystone; and from "Signal"





HEROISM IN 'COVENTRY'

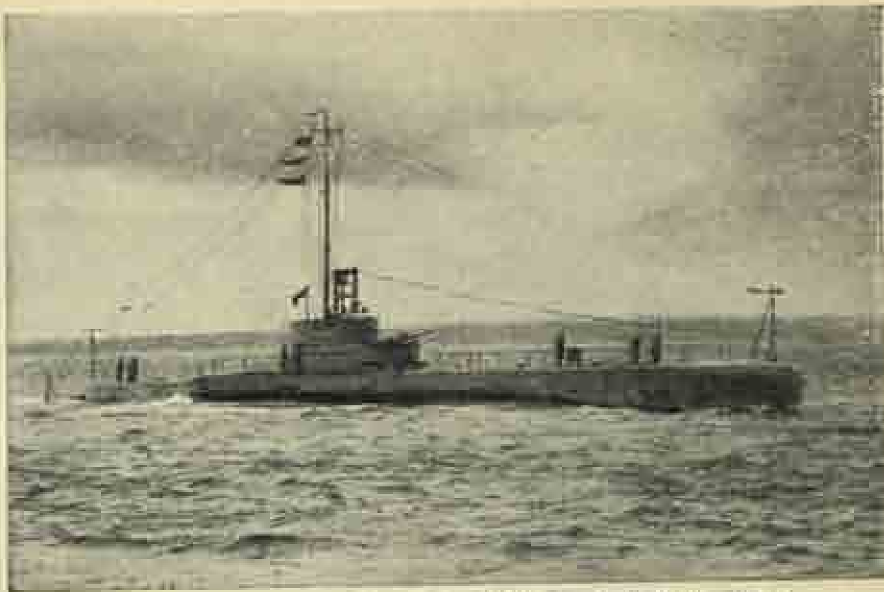
Petty Officer A. E. Sephton was posthumously awarded the V.C. for great courage and endurance during a dive-bombing attack on H.M.S. 'Coventry' off Crete on May 18, 1941. In one of the gun-director towers Sephton carried on though critically wounded by machine-gun bullets. He died later in the day.

Photo, "Daily Mirror"

—the worst case, with the invalids and nurses machine-gunned in the boats—"Hesperos," "Polikros" and "Andros" were sunk, and the "Ellenis" badly damaged.

By the gallantry and united efforts of British and Greeks nearly 50,000 of the 60,000 British and Dominion troops who had been landed were evacuated, while the Greek cruiser "Averoff," seven destroyers and all five submarines of the Greek Fleet escaped to continue the fight; three destroyers and practically all the small Greek craft were sacrificed for the protection of the transports and refugees. (*See* Chapter 158.)

Perhaps the most colourful incident during this period was the audacious attempt of H.M. submarine "Regent," under Lieut.-Commander H. C. Browne, to rescue Mr. Ronald Campbell, the British Minister to Yugoslavia, from Kotor, where he had motored after the German invasion. When she arrived it was found that the Italian army was in possession, but they were chary of infringing diplomatic rights by interfering with a Minister, and a lieutenant was sent ashore to find Mr. Campbell, while an Italian officer was taken on board the "Regent" as hostage. For nine hours our submarine remained in an enemy-occupied port with her White Ensign flying; then Italian bombers appeared and spoiled everything, so that she had to make her escape with several wounded, leaving Mr. Campbell on shore. For his coolness Lieut.-Commander Browne received the D.S.O. A photograph of Mr. Campbell is printed in page 1612.



H.M.S. 'REGENT' WAITED IN ENEMY-OCCUPIED PORT

Recalling an incident from a novel of the last war, the audacity of our submarine 'Regent' won the D.S.O. for its commander, Lieut.-Commander Browne. In an attempt to embark the British Minister the submarine waited some hours in the Yugoslav port of Kotor, with an Italian hostage on board: then Italian bombers appeared and 'Regent' had to make her escape.

Photo, Wide World

British and Greeks retired to Crete, where they made a gallant stand, but they were disorganized, had practically no aircraft available, and had lost a great part of their equipment; the Germans followed up their successes on the Greek mainland with obvious preparation for an assault upon Crete, which began on May 19. A large number of enemy troops were air-borne; the use of sailing caiques and small craft as transports resulted in some 5,000 being drowned, and the Germans sustained heavy casualties ashore. Their advance was irresistible, however, and after a hopeless struggle British, Imperial and Allied troops had to be evacuated. Covered by a magnificent rearguard action by a hastily collected brigade of Royal Marines, who sacrificed 70 per cent of their strength, the united efforts of our Navy and Merchant Navy achieved a brilliant rescue and transported the survivors to Egypt (announced June 1, 1941), where it was stated on May 23 that the Greek King and Government had already landed. (See Chapter 159.)

Enemy Losses in Crete

Both Axis Powers made great claims regarding the destruction of British ships by their naval forces. On May 24 the Italian claim was that seven British cruisers and several destroyers had been sunk by them, and that three battleships, eight cruisers and seven destroyers had been seriously damaged. On the same day Germany claimed three cruisers sunk and five motor torpedo boats, and two destroyers seriously damaged, but two days later the claim was increased to eleven British cruisers sunk. The actual loss



ENEMY TRANSPORT LOST HEAVILY OFF CRETE

Our warships were hotly engaged throughout the battle of Crete and took a heavy toll of enemy transport and supply ships. Here a survivor from a German transport is being helped aboard an Italian warship, his body black with oil from his torpedoed vessel.

Photo, Associated Press





BOMBARDMENT OF TRIPOLI, APRIL 21, 1941

During April and May, 1941, Admiral Cunningham's Fleet heavily shelled ports on the Libyan coast: at top are units steaming in line ahead to bombard Tripoli, where in forty minutes 530 tons of shell were fired. Some of the destruction is shown by the left-hand photograph.

Photos, "News Chronicle"; Keystone

was three cruisers ("Fiji," "Gloucester" and "York"), one anti-aircraft cruiser and six destroyers (among them being "Juno," "Greyhound," "Kelly" and "Kashmir"), which, considering the work that they were doing and the very restricted waters for dodging intensive air attack, was regarded as light. And of these ships one cruiser and two destroyers had been lost in the evacuation of the Allied forces.

Farther westward, the position in North Africa was also unsatisfactory. The front had been denuded of most of its men to help Greece, and since he had been reinforced with remarkable speed in spite of naval attacks, the enemy's counter-attack recaptured port after port. The Fleet took its full part. Most of the supplies were carried by water, and protection had to be afforded. Enemy convoys were repeatedly attacked with great success in spite of the numerous enemy destroyers and small craft. Ships were constantly bombarding the coastal roads and Axis positions, all types taking part. At dawn on April 21 Cunningham's Fleet threw 530 tons of shells into Tripoli in 40 minutes. On May 8 Benghazi had its turn, when two supply ships steamed straight into our Fleet and were both blown up.

Two days later Benghazi was again attacked. The British monitor "Terror" and the river gunboat "Ladybird," veterans of 1918, continued to distinguish themselves in this area. Early in April the "Terror" was made to leak so badly by near misses that the British destroyed her; on May 12 the "Ladybird" was sunk at Tobruk (*see* page 1650) in an attack by 47 dive-bombers, but her anti-aircraft guns, which remained above water, were active throughout the siege.

So the British retired to the Egyptian border, leaving only Tobruk to sustain a siege which thrilled the whole world. It was entirely invested on the land side, and everything had to go into it by sea. Numerous small craft were employed and many were lost; the lane was never cut, although the ships in it had any number of exciting experiences, especially from air attack. As many submarines and destroyers as could be spared from the Eastern area, and planes from both the Fleet Air Arm and the R.A.F., were constantly hammering at the Italian transport line, and in spite of its protection many ships were sunk.

Axis successes and the enemy's growing insolence towards all neutral rights increased American fears and steadily strengthened pro-Allies feeling. German and Italian plans to sabotage ships in American ports, doing great damage, were traced down to the Italian naval attaché, whose recall was demanded at the beginning of April. The arrest of German merchant seamen in connexion with the same operations revealed an elaborate spy organization and some curious men serving in German forecastles. In May the American publication of Goebbels' admission that Germany had considered

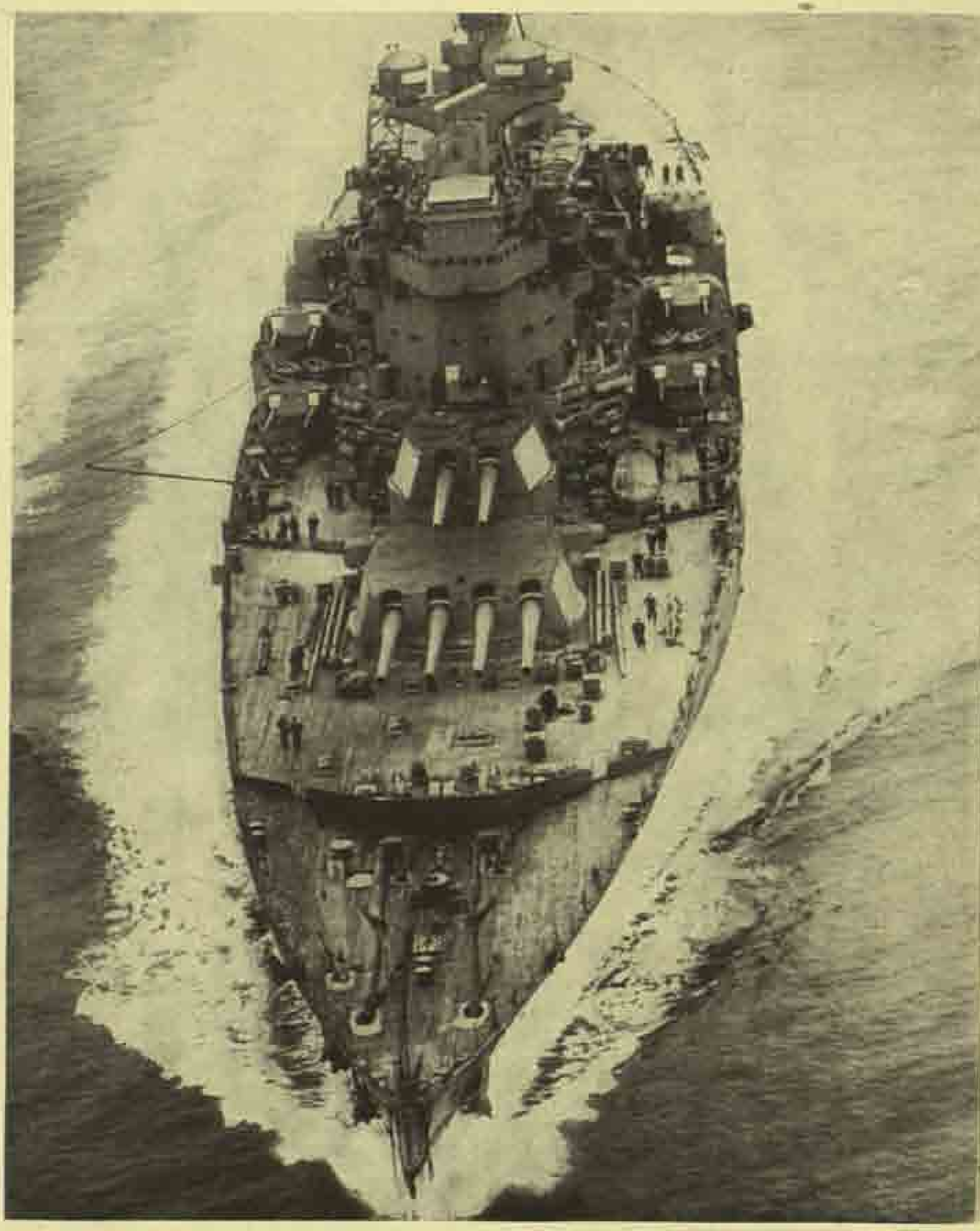


AMERICAN STRIKES DISORGANIZED PRODUCTION

Arising in some measure from disputes between rival labour organizations, there were strikes in American armament factories, and the President himself had to intervene on more than one occasion to settle them. Bottom: Gas bombs were used during disorders at a plant in Milwaukee. The State Governor appealed to Mr. Roosevelt to mediate in this dispute. Top: An impressive photograph of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation's works at Chicago, where the glow from blast furnaces and steel converters reddened sky and river.

Photos, Wide World; Keystone





H.M.S. 'KING GEORGE V,' FLAGSHIP OF THE HOME FLEET

Britain's new battleship took part in the hunting down of the German warships 'Bismarck' and 'Prince Eugen' during May 23 to 27, 1941. 'King George V' carried the flag of Admiral Tovey, Commander of the Home Fleet. This magnificent photograph shows our battleship some months earlier, as she steamed up Chesapeake Bay on January 24 after crossing the Atlantic to take the new British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, to his post.

Photo, Associated Press

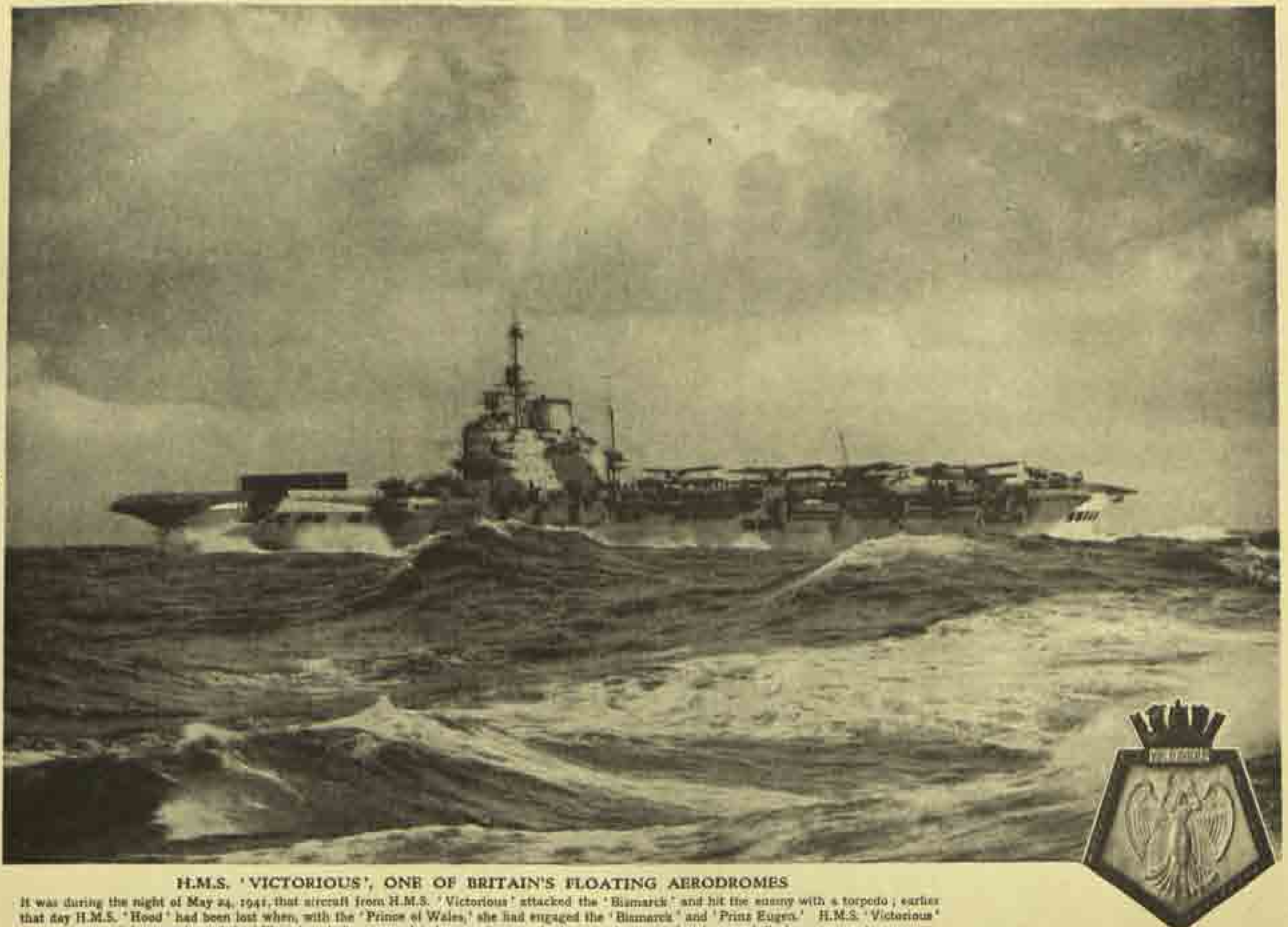


ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF THE 'RAWALPINDI'

A full-page photograph in page 399 shows survivors of the 'Rawalpindi' being addressed at the Admiralty by Admiral Sir Charles Little; here we present a photograph (which came to hand some 15 months later) of less fortunate survivors who were rescued by an enemy vessel and taken to Germany. Undaunted by their physical and mental ordeal, with firm step they enter the prison camp, their courageous bearing an inspiration to all.

Photo, Keystone

1 X



H.M.S. 'VICTORIOUS', ONE OF BRITAIN'S FLOATING AERODROMES

It was during the night of May 24, 1941, that aircraft from H.M.S. 'Victorious' attacked the 'Bismarck' and hit the enemy with a torpedo; earlier that day H.M.S. 'Hood' had been lost when, with the 'Prince of Wales,' she had engaged the 'Bismarck' and 'Prinz Eugen.' H.M.S. 'Victorious' is one of four carriers of the 'Illustrious' class; completed soon after war broke out, she is 735 feet long and displaces 23,000 tons

Photo of 'Victorious', British Official, Crown Copyright. Badge by permission of H.M. Stationery Office

an invasion of the United States caused great excitement, and all the time Japan was getting more and more threatening and the veil of secrecy drawn over her naval operations was impressive. Aid to Britain was increased. On April 11 President Roosevelt ordered that the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden should no longer be forbidden to American ships, revolutionizing the supply services to the Middle East, although Germany declared her intention of operating in those waters and warned the Americans to keep out. Material was transferred; within a few days in April it was announced that ten fast cutters from the U.S. Coast Guard and twenty motor torpedo boats had joined the British Navy.

In the Atlantic the position was very strange. The U.S. Navy was patrolling the whole of the Western Atlantic, but its position was difficult to define as the necessity for its action was unprecedented. Primarily its purpose was to warn peaceful shipping of all nations of threatened attack outside the combat zone—not to interfere with the attack otherwise, and certainly not to convoy merchantmen. The moral effect was very great, and on May 1 Germany declared that any American man-of-war which entered the blockade zone would be fired on.

The war was brought very much closer to the Americans by the big-ship fighting in mid-Atlantic at the end of May. For some time previously there had been evidence that the German big ships were considering a sortie, and air raids on the "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" at Brest were redoubled. The 35,000-ton battleship "Bismarck," flying the flag of Admiral Lütjens, and a new 10,000-ton cruiser which turned out to be the "Prinz Eugen," were observed at Bergen. Their departure was spotted by reconnaissance planes, the "Alert" was sent out by wireless, and previously arranged plans were immediately put into effect. The probable course of the ships was round the north of Iceland and down the Denmark Strait. A careful watch on this channel was necessary, but very difficult in the fog and poor visibility. The work was entrusted to the cruisers "Norfolk" (flagship of Rear-Admiral W. Wake Walker) and "Suffolk," fast ships but very vulnerable.

Hunting Down the 'Bismarck'

On May 23, with poor visibility and heavy weather, they sighted the enemy off the north-west coast of Iceland at about six miles' range; wireless warning was immediately sent out and the cruisers started shadowing, in spite of the big chance of their both being blown out of the water. The British ships immediately concentrated. They came from all directions and the first contact was made by the battle-cruiser "Hood," flagship of Vice-Admiral L. E. Holland, C.B., which had the new battleship "Prince of Wales" working with her. They found the enemy in the early morning of the 24th, and started to engage them with gunfire; after a short action the "Hood" was hit close to X (the third) turret. A colossal explosion followed which literally tore the ship to shreds, and in a few minutes she had gone with 1,418 lives, only a handful being saved. The "Prince of Wales" received slight damage, and the "Bismarck" was observed to have a fire on board; soon afterwards the enemy contrived to slip away in the murk out of reach of the "Prince of Wales's" guns, but she was soon picked up by the aircraft of the Coastal Command.

The "Prince of Wales" again made contact in the evening, but only for a short time; the enemy got away to the westward, then south, and finally turned towards the east. Other ships were arriving. At 12.20 a.m. on the 25th the "Victorious" launched a torpedo-aircraft attack and scored one hit. The "Norfolk" and "Suffolk" joined the "Prince of Wales," but at three in the morning of the 25th contact was again lost in the low visibility about 350 miles S.S.E. of Greenland. The British Fleet then took up searching formation, in which other units joined as they came up.

The main body of the Home Fleet, under Admiral Tovey, with his flag



INTERCEPTION, PURSUIT AND DESTRUCTION OF 'BISMARCK'

This map, based on the official Admiralty plan, shows the movements of the principal units that assembled to hunt down the German battleship during May 23-27, 1941. Times are on the 24-hour system, in which 00.01 is 12.1 a.m., 12.00 is noon, and 24.00 is midnight. Dates follow times after a diagonal stroke: thus enemy force first sighted, 20.32/23 (8.32 p.m. on May 23); enemy sunk, 11.01/27 (11.1 a.m. on May 27).





'LAST FORAY OF THE BATTLESHIP BISMARCK'*

Much about the time that the British Navy was hunting the 'Bismarck' to her doom the German Propaganda Ministry issued these photographs of the enemy battleship's last raiding expedition. Above, left, the 'Bismarck' sets out for the Atlantic; right, Admiral Lütjens stretches his legs on deck. Below, left, furious shelling of an Allied merchantman; right, a British merchant ship heels over after battering by the 'Bismarck.' *Photos, Keystone*

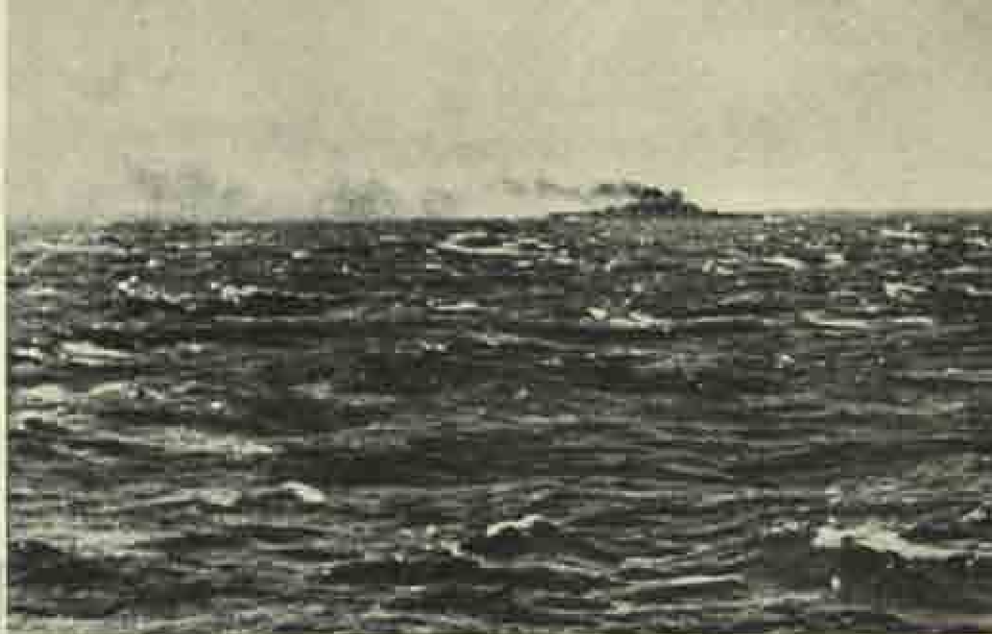
* Expert examination suggests that the warship is not the 'Bismarck' but the 'Scharnhorst' or 'Gneisenau.'

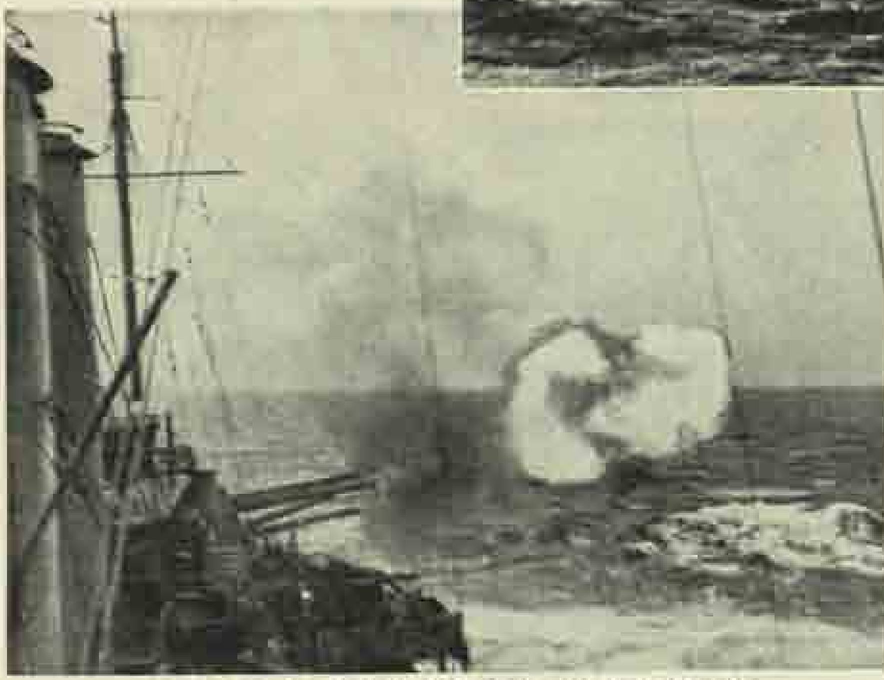




in the "King George V," came from the north-east. Admiral Somerville's Western Mediterranean command, with "Renown" as flagship and accompanied by the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal," arrived from Gibraltar, while the "Rodney" and "Ramillies," on Atlantic convoy duty, joined the sweep.

During the night of May 25/26 the "Prinz Eugen" sought her own safety at Brest. At 10.30 a.m. on the 26th a Catalina flying-boat sighted the "Bismarck" steaming east at 20 knots, about 550 miles west of Land's End. She shadowed her in spite of heavy





INITIAL STAGE IN ROUNDING UP THE ENEMY

Top, the German battleship 'Bismarck,' as photographed from the British cruiser 'Norfolk' during an early stage of the chase in the Denmark Strait; lower photograph shows the 'Norfolk' firing at the enemy. With the 'Suffolk' the 'Norfolk' shadowed the 'Bismarck' from May 23 to 25; twice the quarry slipped away, but was soon located again.

Photos, Associated Press; Keystone

attack which finally drove off the flying-boat after being hit many times. At 11.15 a.m. the German was sighted by the "Ark Royal's" planes, and the cruiser "Sheffield" was told off to make contact and shadow her (finding the enemy at 5.30 p.m.). During the afternoon the "Ark Royal" launched a torpedo-plane attack without success, and at 7.30 p.m. another attack with twenty machines. These scored hits—one amidships and one aft—which really doomed the "Bismarck," for she was out of control for some time and could only steam very slowly.

Captain Vian of "Altmark" fame joined with three Tribal class destroyers and the Polish "Piorun"; in the early morning of the 27th they attacked. At daylight a striking force of planes from the "Ark Royal" failed owing to poor visibility, but the cruisers made contact at long range and hung on until the battleships "King George V" and "Rodney" came up and started pounding the "Bismarck" by gunfire. The enemy answered gallantly, but every turret was eventually silenced, and she was heavily on fire when the cruiser "Dorsetshire" was ordered to close and finish her with torpedoes. Two hits on one side had little apparent effect, but one on the other caused her to capsize.

The Tribal destroyer "Mashona" was sunk by German aircraft (which had not appeared during the action) while returning to port, and, reckoning that the "Bismarck" would have supply ships if she were going to work against British commerce, our Fleet carried out a big sweep before dispersing. This resulted in the capture of six supply ships and an armed trawler which had gone out to cooperate. Undoubtedly the destruction of commerce by a force which could overwhelm any likely convoy was the main purpose of the "Bismarck's" cruise, but there were probably secondary objects—the seizure of the Azores from Portugal was generally accepted as one—which were defeated by the excellent manner in which the carefully planned concentration of British units was carried into effect.

German intrigues in the Middle East to assist in the general move towards the



HE LOCATED THE RAIDER

Contact with the 'Bismarck' was lost early in the morning of May 25, 1941; a Catalina flying boat commanded by Flying Officer Denis Alfred Briggs (above) sighted the enemy again on the morning of the 26th and shadowed her until driven off.

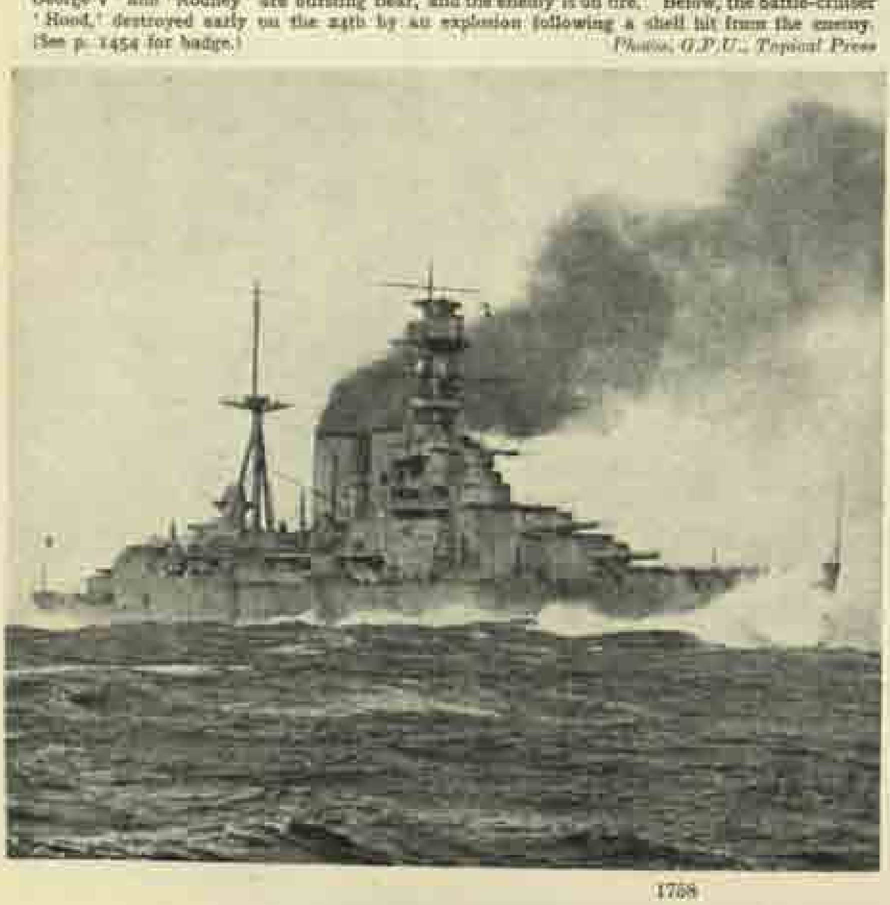
Photo, Planet News



'BISMARCK' AND 'HOOD': END OF A NORTH SEA DRAMA

Above, smoke covers the 35,000-ton 'Bismarck,' which, chased and engaged for 6 days, was finally sunk on May 27, 1941, by a torpedo from the cruiser 'Dorsetshire'; shells from the 'King George V' and 'Rodney' are bursting near, and the enemy is on fire. Below, the battle-cruiser 'Hood,' destroyed early on the 24th by an explosion following a shell hit from the enemy. (See p. 1454 for badge.)

Photos, G.P.U., Topical Press



oilfields resulted in trouble in Iraq and Syria (*see* Chapters 165 and 166). In the former the Navy had little to do except to convoy troops to Basrah towards the end of April. The trouble in Syria was more serious and began through the Vichy authorities assisting Germany. Operations were undertaken by British and Free French forces, the landings being covered by a miscellaneous Fleet which also shelled numerous coastal fortifications.

Vichy Ships Flee from Syria

The Vichy force of flotilla leaders and light craft, reinforced by a few units which had arrived from Toulon through Italian protected waters, occasionally bombarded British and Free French positions, but attacks on floating forces were easily driven off and most of the Vichy ships were damaged more or less seriously when they fled to France before General Dentz surrendered, on July 11, 1941.

In distant waters the enemy's campaign against commerce continued; numerous claims were made by the Berlin radio to striking successes, and enemy mines laid in Australian waters claimed victims. Before the end of the period U-boats were operating two-thirds of the way across the Atlantic; an abandoned raider base had been discovered in the Antarctic; the pocket



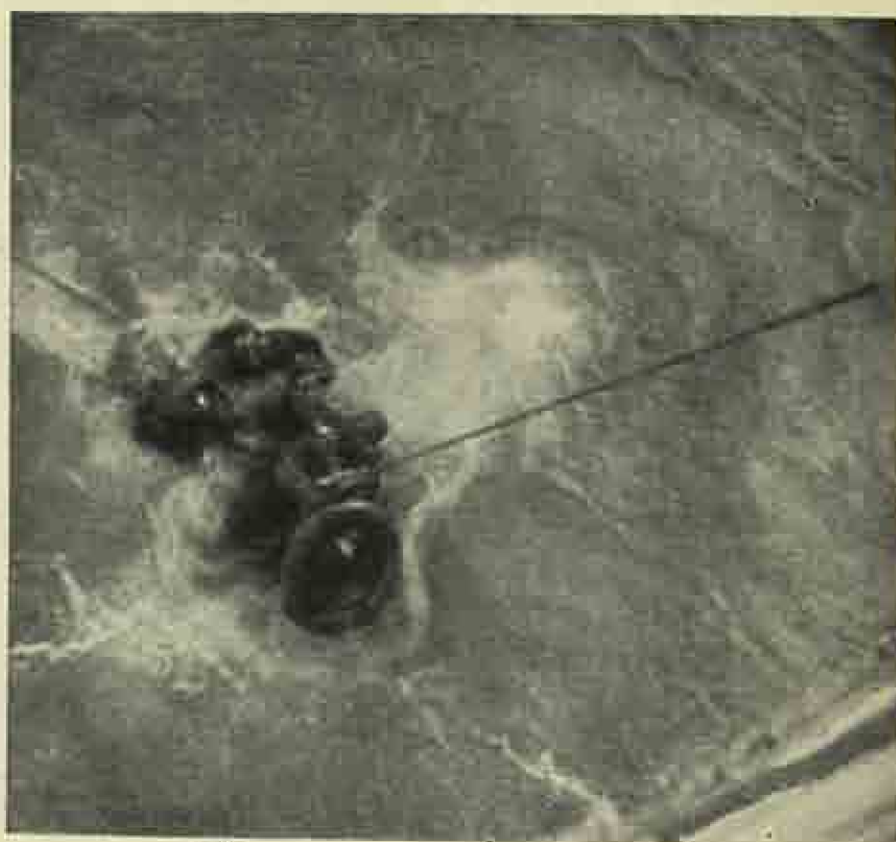
battleship "Admiral Scheer" claimed to have sunk 132,000 tons of merchant shipping and to have returned home safely. On the other hand, H.M.S. "Cornwall" sank the commissioned fruiter "Pinguin" in the Indian Ocean (announced middle of May), and two days later H.M.S. "Leander" and H.M.A.S. "Canberra" captured the supply ship "Coburg" and recaptured a prize. Other successes were kept confidential in order not to warn the enemy.

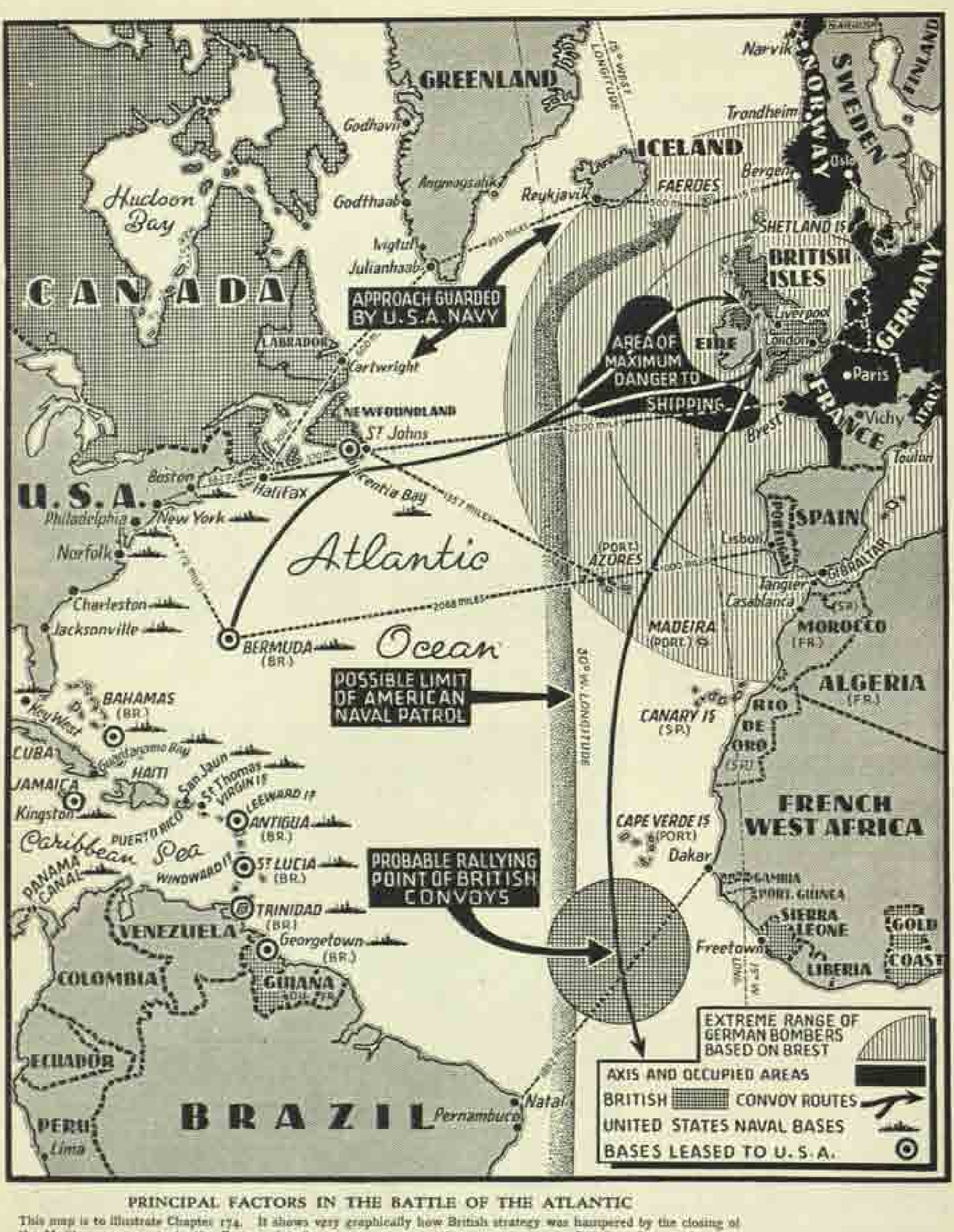
From the middle of June the position of Russia became more and more uncertain, until on the 22nd she was invaded by Germany and Rumania without any declaration of war. On the previous day it had been reported that the Germans were taking over Bulgarian naval bases in the Black Sea, and the development of the occupied Northern Norwegian coast had been noted. To begin with, most of the naval activity was in the Baltic, where both sides had a number of motor torpedo boats and small submarines, and to a lesser extent in the far North, where the White Sea route was Russia's obvious gateway of supplies. In the Black Sea the operations consisted principally of air attacks on Russian ships. After very short negotiations an Anglo-Russian Agreement was arranged, and units of the British Navy began to cooperate in Northern waters.

TORPEDO ATTACK AT NIGHT ON THE 'BISMARCK'

This vivid eye-witness impression was painted by J. D. Whetton, an A.B. on the British destroyer 'Sikh.' It portrays, in a manner impossible to the camera, the night attacks on the enemy. Below, survivors of the 'Bismarck' are being hauled aboard a British warship.

Painting by J. D. Whetton; photo, "Daily Mirror"





PRINCIPAL FACTORS IN THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

This map is to illustrate Chapter 174. It shows very graphically how British strategy was hampered by the closing of the Mediterranean route to the East, and indicates approximately the convoy routes to Britain. German bombers based on French Atlantic ports were able to menace shipping over a wide area; the extreme range from Brest was about 1,200 miles (shaded circular area), while within an effective radius of some 850 miles (shown by inner circle) the peril was even greater.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Harrop*

Chapter 174

BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC AND THE GRAVE SHIPPING SITUATION OF 1941

Shipping Position at Opening of 1941—Hitler's 'Spring Offensive'—President Roosevelt's Summing-up—Nazi Hopes of Starving Out Britain—Long-range Nazi Bombers in the Blockade—U.S. Shipping Programme: Shipping Pool—Sinking of the 'Robin Moor'—British Port Organization—Ministry of War Transport—Merchant Navy Reserve Pool—German Surface Raiders

At the opening of 1941 the prospects of the Atlantic battle appeared brighter, as shipping losses continued to decline. Britain had held her own despite the enormous advantages the Germans had gained by their conquests in Europe in the previous spring—bases for U-boats, bombers, E-boats and surface raiders along the vast coastline from Narvik in Northern Norway to the Spanish frontier. Paradoxically, it was to one of the results of the German military campaigns that the shipping position largely owed its strength. The tonnage added to the Allied merchant fleets by the countries Germany overran and by Greece, then at war with Italy, amounted to over 8,500,000 tons gross, more than three times the tonnage of British ships sunk up to the end of 1940. In the first week of January, 1941, it was announced that the losses were among the lowest of the war. The record for the full month was less satisfactory, but it was the smallest total since the French collapse. Nevertheless, even at the reduced monthly rate of about 200,000 tons of British ships and 100,000 of Allied and neutral, the shipping losses considerably exceeded replacements from the shipyards.

There was no room for complacency and none was evident. Apart from the continuation of a gap between destruction and production, it had still to be proved whether the enemy's reduced success was due to a temporary slackening of effort, to winter weather, or to a solid improvement in British defence. All too soon it was revealed that weather and a pause by the enemy were responsible. On February 24 Hitler announced a new "spring offensive" against Allied shipping. Evidently the U-boat commanders had been schooled to "go slow" until the moment for the offensive arrived. In the last week of February losses jumped from about 50,000 tons a week to 141,314 tons gross. In March British, Allied and neutral losses passed the half-million mark for the second time in the war. They were exceeded only by those of June, 1940, which included the ships sunk during the evacuation of the B.E.F. from France. April saw the highest shipping losses of the war to date—589,273 tons gross. That figure, however, included the Greek and other Allied ships sunk in Greek ports; it was not, therefore, a direct measure of the course of the Battle of the Atlantic. Thus, while there was a drop in the total sinkings during May, British losses increased to the record figure of 380,000 tons.

In his historic declaration on May 27, when a "state of unlimited national emergency" was proclaimed, President Roosevelt clearly outlined the situation.

"The present rate of Nazi sinkings," he said, "is more than three times as high as





AERIAL RAIDERS IN BATTLE OF ATLANTIC

Heavy long-range German bombers such as the Focke-Wulf Condor and Kurier preyed on British and American shipping as it drew near or left the coasts of Europe. Top, right, a Condor is circling round the U.S. merchantman 'Excambion,' then six hours out of Lisbon. Below, a Focke-Wulf Kurier that came to grief at Moura, in southern Portugal, near the Spanish frontier.

Photos, Central Press; Associated Press



AXIS NAVAL CHIEFS CONFER AT MERANO

In March, 1941, Admiral Raeder (third from right) and Admiral Riccardi (third from left) met to "discuss the united operations of their fleets." Raeder was C.-in-C. of the German navy, while Riccardi held the post of under-secretary in the Italian Ministry of Marine.

Photo, Associated Press

the capacity of British shipyards to replace them: it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today."

In fact, the May losses of British ships represented about four-and-a-half times the output of merchant ships from British yards at that period. That was the peak of Hitler's 1941 spring offensive, which had proved to be no idle boast. In June the losses fell to between 300,000 and 400,000 tons, and the decline was accelerated in the following months.

What did the Germans hope to gain from this campaign at sea? No less, perhaps, than the Luftwaffe in the summer of 1940 had set out to achieve in the Battle of Britain. It was, in effect, a determined attempt to bring the British Empire to its knees by cutting its lifeline across the Atlantic.

The Nazis, as Rudolf Hess confirmed, had pinned their faith in victory over Britain not on invasion but on the policy of starvation by blockade. They knew they must succeed before the vast American shipbuilding programme, in association with the British programme and that begun in Canada at the end of April, could finally turn the scales against them. Once again Hitler resorted to the technique of the blitzkrieg, a technique more suited to land and air warfare than to a sea war of attrition. He failed, and, as in the Battle of Britain, it is only in the knowledge of what was attempted that the extent of the failure can be judged. Germany diverted her attention to Russia.

Victory By Starvation

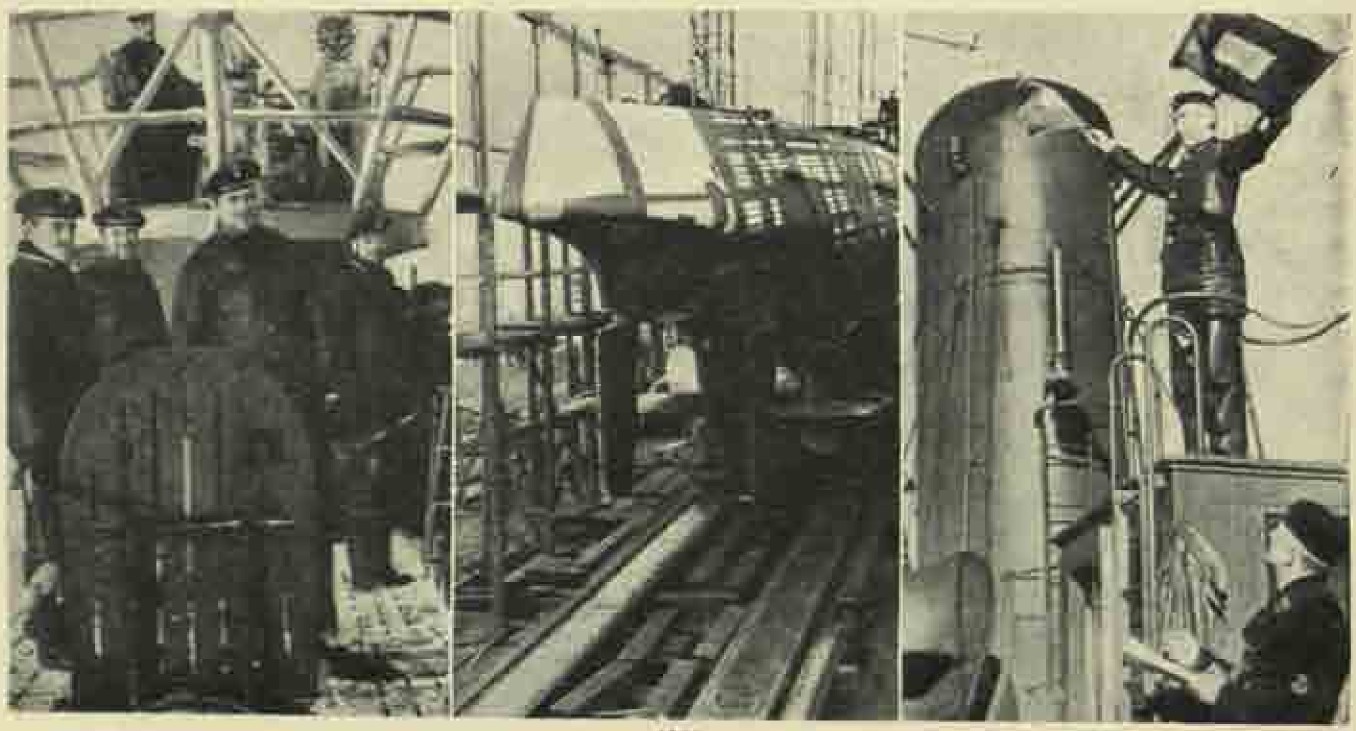
The measure of the threat to Britain's vital communications—not only with sources of supply of food and materials but with the Empire and forces overseas—was supplied by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons early in April. After reviewing the course of the war in various theatres, he declared:

"But, after all, everything turns on the Battle of the Atlantic, which is proceeding with growing intensity on both sides. Our losses in ships and tonnage are very heavy, and vast as are the shipping resources we control, those losses could not continue indefinitely without seriously affecting our war effort and our means of subsistence."

U-BOAT CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALLIED SHIPPING

The German attack upon our merchantmen demanded large underwater forces, for many U-boats failed to regain their bases. Left, below, a German raider in port at the beginning of 1941; note the ice-covered deck and bridge. Centre, stern view of a new enemy submarine on the slipway ready for launching. Right, a submarine tender for provisioning and repairing U-boats.

Photos, Planet News; Associated Press; Keystone



He added that it was no answer to say that we had inflicted upon the Germans and Italians a far higher proportion of losses compared with the size of their merchant fleets, and that our world-wide traffic was maintained. In fact, over 2,300,000 tons of German and Italian shipping had been sunk, captured or scuttled. While Britain had lost nearly four million tons, Mr. Churchill continued, "we have, however, three million tons of foreign or newly constructed tonnage, not counting the considerable Allied tonnage under our control." The immediate supply of ships, as Mr. Churchill indicated, was still satisfactory. But it was imperative that losses should be reduced—every homeward bound ship sunk meant the loss of several thousand tons of supplies—and replacement capacity increased.





U-BOAT 'KILLERS' OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY

The corvette of today is very unlike its namesake of the time of Nelson; then it was a fast and light flush-deck warship with a single tier of guns, while the modern corvette is a miniature destroyer—speedy, immensely powerful for its size, and well armed. Top, the first corvette built for the Royal Canadian Navy; lower photograph, officers chart the corvette's course. In 1939, 56 corvettes were laid down in Britain and ten in Canada.

Photos, J. Hall: Planet News

The renewed U-boat offensive saw a change of tactics, a change which the Germans exaggerated for propaganda purposes. On occasions the submarines attacked single ships or poorly escorted convoys in packs—"wolf-pack tactics," as the Germans called them. These tactics were combined with closer cooperation between the U-boats and spotting aircraft. Long-range bombing became a more serious menace with the appearance of the Focke-Wulf Zerstörer and Kurier fighter-bombers, which could sweep half-way across the Atlantic and back. Later the U-boat packs would follow a convoy and attack it from different points after dark, renewing their attacks from dusk the next evening.

New U-Boat Tactics

The Nazis exceeded all previous efforts in arithmetical contortions in an effort to persuade neutrals (and particularly America) that their blockade was bound to succeed. In two days towards the end of February Hitler claimed that U-boats alone had destroyed 192,000 tons of Allied shipping. Earlier it was announced that in the four winter months the German Navy had sunk 1,524,000 tons and the Luftwaffe 513,000 tons, exclusive of the tonnage sunk by mines; the correct figures had apparently been multiplied by two.

There were two main inter-related causes of Germany's failure to maintain the pace of the spring offensive: increased British Naval and air protection, and the beginning of American Naval patrols in the Atlantic. A subsidiary cause was the increasing weight of bombs dropped by British aircraft on enemy docks, shipyards and port areas. "The defeat of the U-boats and of the surface raiders," Mr. Churchill declared, "has been proved to be entirely a question of adequate escorts for our convoys." Welcoming the "tremendous decision" of the United States to patrol the waters of the Western Hemisphere and to warn the shipping of all nations outside the combat zone of the presence of lurking U-boats or raiding cruisers, the Prime Minister pointed out that British protecting forces would be able to concentrate far more upon the routes nearer home "and to take a far heavier toll of the U-boats there."

Convoy escorts at the beginning of 1941 were far from adequate, but their strength was increasing. In January it was announced that all of the 50 American destroyers transferred to Britain had crossed the Atlantic (see colour plate p. 1658). The quickly built corvettes, vessels of whale-catcher type specially designed for anti-submarine service, began to make their presence felt. Aerial patrols were gradually extended as Britain's air power was built up.

U.S. Destroyers Come into Service

America's part in the war at sea involved more than the western patrols. It was, in fact, of steadily increasing importance. As mentioned in Chapter 134, a start had been made at the beginning of the year on the largest shipbuilding programme in history. In March the Lease-Lend Bill was passed through Congress and the programme for 200 new emergency ships was doubled, the additional orders being earmarked for Britain under the new Act. In April President Roosevelt proclaimed the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden to be no longer a combat zone from which American ships were barred under the Neutrality Act then in force. American supplies were

soon on their way to the Middle East. By releasing some of the considerable volume of British ships engaged in the long Cape passage this development was an important aid in the maintenance of supplies to Britain.

A further measure with similar effect was the creation in May of a United States shipping pool for "all-out aid to the democracies." Part of the tonnage included in the pool was transferred to Britain under the Lease-Lend Act. The remaining portion, mainly taken from the large U.S. coastal shipping fleet, was put into subsidiary war service under the American flag, carrying essential cargoes formerly carried by British ships to theatres outside the war zone or to points for trans-shipment to Britain by shorter routes. Thus oil, wheat and other commodities were brought by pool ships to, say, New York for trans-shipment in British or Allied ships, saving many weeks' voyages. This arrangement was wasteful of shipping resources considered as a whole, but it was a necessary and valuable relief from the effects of the American Neutrality Act.

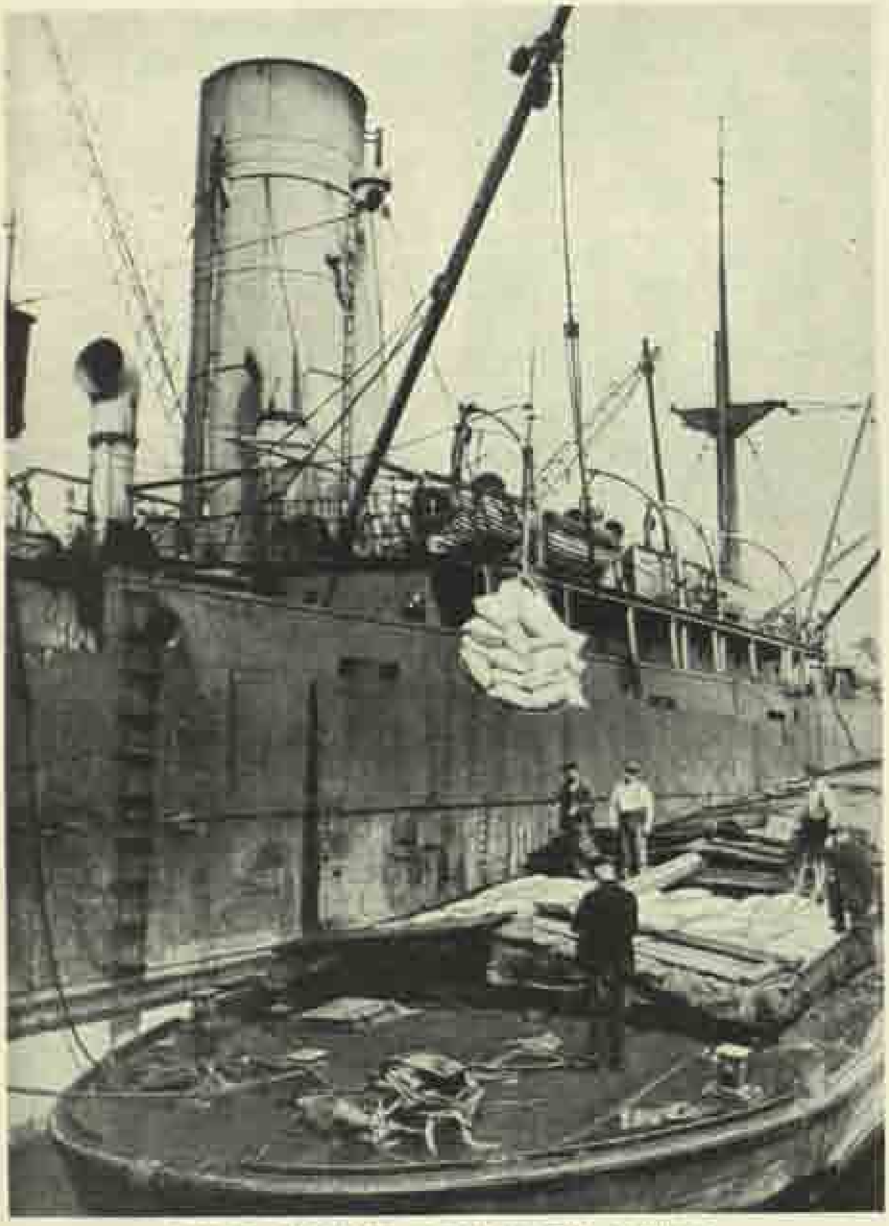
The pool was reported to involve about 200 ships, and its creation represented the first restriction in American economy due to the world scarcity of ships. Part of the pool, however, consisted of Axis vessels sheltering in American ports and requisitioned by the Government under the Ship Seizure Act passed at the end of May.



MINISTER OF WAR TRANSPORT

The Ministry of Shipping and Ministry of Transport were amalgamated on May 2, 1941, and Mr. F. J. Leathers was appointed to the new 'Ministry of War Transport.' On May 20 he was created Viscount, taking the title of Lord Leathers.

Photo, Topical Press



CARGO OF FOOD FROM NORTH AMERICA

After a perilous voyage across the Atlantic in convoy, braving the attack of U-boats and the bombs of Focke-Wulf Condors, the cargo boat has reached a British port and its precious freight of Canadian wheat, dried milk, cheese and lard is landed. Photograph shows bags of flour being loaded into lighters.

Photo, Planet News

Sinking of 'Robin Moor'

It was on a voyage to South Africa that the United States liner "Robin Moor" was torpedoed, shelled and sunk by a German submarine on May 21—the first American ship to be torpedoed in the Second World War. There were eight passengers on board. The American nationality was clearly indicated and admittedly known. But the ship was sunk in mid-Atlantic without provision for the safety of passengers or crew. Such disregard of international law was common in the case of British and Allied ships and the shipping of the smaller neutrals, but it roused the indignation of Americans, who did not learn of the outrage until three weeks later, when ten of the crew and one passenger were landed at Pernambuco by the Brazilian steamer "Ozorio." They had sailed and drifted in an open boat for 18 days. The other boats, which had become separated, were given up for lost. But after 13 days at sea they had been picked up by a British ship and two weeks later were landed at Cape Town. President Roosevelt denounced the German terrorism and declared that the United States "will neither be intimidated nor will it acquiesce" in the German plan of world

domination. "We are not yielding," he said, "and we do not propose to yield." No specific action was taken at the time, but the incident had prepared the American public for events to come.

The first half of 1941 saw far-reaching changes on the "home front" or economic side of the Battle of the Atlantic. The importance of port organization was graphically illustrated by Mr. Churchill's statement that even ten days' saving on the turn-round of the immense Allied fleet was equal to a re-inforcement of 5,000,000 tons of imports in a single year. In January Regional





DESTRUCTION OF ITALIAN RAIDER 'RAMB I'

The converted merchantman 'Ramb I' was armed with 4.7-in. guns and had operated in the Indian Ocean as a commerce raider. On March 9, 1941, she was intercepted by the New Zealand cruiser 'Leander' (7,200 tons; eight 6-in. guns). Five salvos caused the raider to strike her flag, and within fifty minutes she sank after a violent explosion. Top, the enemy crew leaves the burning raider; lower photograph, 'Ramb I' settles down by the bows.

Photos, Wide World

Port Directors were appointed by the Minister of Transport to secure rapid clearance of goods through the ports, quicker turn-round and the best utilization of available transport facilities.

At the beginning of March, more than eighteen months after the outbreak of war, the first steps in port labour control were taken—in the Mersey and Clyde areas only. The peacetime system of casual employment was replaced by a guaranteed weekly wage which could be exceeded if more than the minimum time was worked. The scheme was administered by the Ministry of Transport, the dockers virtually being employed by the Ministry. At first it met with considerable opposition in Glasgow, and it was five months before the principles of the new regime were applied to all ports, and a further six to eight months before they were in practical operation in all important areas.

The weakness of the port situation at this period was divided control. The Ministry of Transport, principally concerned with road and rail services, was the responsible authority at the ports. But only the Ministry of Shipping, who had also to exercise authority over some aspects of port administration, was in a position to appreciate the paramount importance of turn-round and to adjust ship movements according to port conditions. This anomalous situation was rectified at the beginning of May, 1941, by the amalgamation of the Ministries of Shipping and Transport—the most important step in organization on the shipping front since the adoption of the requisition policy. The combined department was designated the Ministry of War Transport, and was placed under Mr. F. J. Leathers, a business man with wide experience in shipping and coal, who had acted at the Ministry of Shipping as Adviser on Coal.

A month later the reorganization of the combined Ministries was completed and an efficient and coherent Department appeared. It included several fundamental improvements in structure, but the most important was the achievement of a unified system of port control. A new division (termed the Port and Transit Control) was linked to the shipping administrative side of the Ministry. Through the Director of Ports it became responsible for distribution of ships to ports for unloading and clearing of cargoes, for port equipment and for labour. The new regime was soon translated into the equivalent of more ships, more voyages and more materials for the forces and the factories.

As already seen in relation to the ports, there are two main sides to war organization—administrative and labour.

'Seamen's Charter'

Within a day or two of the announcement that the reorganization of the new Ministry had been completed an entirely new basis of employment for officers and men of the Merchant Navy was announced. It involved certain measures of control, but did away with the element of casual labour still to be seen in sections of the shipping industry. In granting continuous employment for officers and men, combined with longer leave on pay, the new scheme earned the title of the "Seamen's Charter." Framed in cooperation with the National Maritime Board, representing shipowners and the officers' and men's organizations, it was made effective through the Essential Work (Merchant Navy) Order, 1941. The Order was similar in outline to the labour legislation already introduced in other spheres, and provided for the registration of ex-seamen who had found shore employment. It came into operation on May 26.

The main feature of the scheme was the establishment of the Merchant

Navy Reserve Pool. On discharge from their ships officers and men automatically became members of the Pool, receiving standard wages or, for officers, 85 per cent of their basic pay. The Pool ensured that the seamen were available where and when they were wanted. The scheme obviated delays to ships, provided for future personnel requirements, and generally regularized the manning of the Merchant Navy.

A similar system of control, combined with a guaranteed minimum wage, had already been introduced in the shipyards. This, also, was associated with the registration and recall of ex-shipyard workers. The principal objects were to prevent the drift of labour and to secure greater interchangeability within the various areas.

The increased U-boat and air offensive of the early part of 1941 has already been mentioned. Enemy surface raiders also played a larger part in the sea war. One of the most amazing stories of the activities of raiders came to light early in January. The sinking of the "Port Brisbane" and "Maimoa" by a converted merchant ship in the Indian Ocean is referred to in Chapter 134. On January 1 it was announced that 500 survivors of raider victims had been rescued from Emirau Island in the Bismarck Archipelago—part of New Guinea territory. They had been landed on the island on December 21, 1940 (see illus. p. 1416). Only then did some of the details become known of sinkings dating as far back as the previous August, of outstanding courage by seamen and passengers in the face of overwhelming opposition, of appalling conditions in a prison ship, and of contrasting courtesy in another disguised German vessel. Reports told of no fewer than 13 merchant ships destroyed by raiders in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. They included the "Port Brisbane" and "Maimoa," the British and Dominion ships "Turakina," "Rangitane," "Komata," "Triaster," "Triadic," "Triona" and "Holmwood," the Norwegian "Talleyrand," "Vinni" and "Ringwood," and the French ship "Notou." At least four had been sunk within two or three days.



BRITISH CAPTIVES ON A GERMAN COMMERCE-RAIDER

According to the German caption this photograph shows a group of British sailors picked up after their ship had been sunk in the Atlantic. Some are using their brief daily spell of freedom for such jobs as hair-cutting or clothes mending, while others gossip or smoke in the sunshine.
Photo, Keystone

The "Turakina," with a single gun in the stern, was attacked on the evening of August 20, 1940. Against vastly superior gun-power, speed and trained naval men the merchant ship fought for two and a half hours, having wirelessed news of the action to Australia. Two-thirds of her crew were killed before the unequal fight was abandoned. The survivors were not among those landed at Emirau, and in the prison ship were isolated from the other captives. The "Rangitane" had over 100 passengers on board when, on November 26, again at night, she wirelessed that a suspicious-looking vessel had been sighted. At once the raider opened fire. The wireless was put out of action, but over the emergency wireless the operator calmly proceeded to give the ship's position. The action was quickly over, with the "Rangitane" badly battered and her bridge blown away. Though it was dark and the ship was on fire, there was not the slightest panic. "The passengers and crew might have been going to church parade" was the description. "In a hell of a stew" for fear of being discovered by aircraft, the Germans hurried the abandoning. They bombarded the British ship and eventually sank her with a torpedo. Later, aeroplanes did appear, but failed to spot the raider. A stewardess, Mrs. Elizabeth Plumb, lacerated by shell splinters, helped and guided her passengers into the boats and refused medical aid until others had been attended to. Ten months later it was announced that she, as well as the "Rangitane's" cook and a deck-hand, had been awarded the British Empire Medal for bravery (see illus. p. 1416).

Two of the German vessels had been renamed "Manyo Maru" and "Tokyo Maru," and flew the Japanese flag. The one was a "hell ship," with prisoners herded together in the hold without proper food, sometimes no fresh water, and a machine-gun trained on them. In the "Manyo Maru" cigarettes, books, and playing cards were handed out and other courtesies shown. One of the raiders was reported to be the "Glengarry," a fast cargo liner building for British owners in Copenhagen at the outbreak of the war and seized by the Germans. She was said to be commanded by Count Felix von Luckner, a notorious sea adventurer of the First Great War. Another vessel, it was reported, was the former Latvian ship "Herzog Jakob," seized by Germany in a Mexican port. Undoubtedly some of the raiders were fitted out in Japan and supplied by the Japanese, then "neutrals." The accuracy of the raiders' information about Allied ship movements led to the closing of four Australian commercial broadcasting stations and the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry in New Zealand.

'Tokyo Maru'—Hell Ship

German raiders, warships as well as converted merchant vessels, were also active in the Atlantic. On Christmas Day, 1940, "a powerful enemy surface warship" had unsuccessfully attacked a convoy and escaped with damage. Her supply ship, the steamer "Baden," of 8,204 tons, when intercepted, was set on fire by her crew. On February 12, 1941, a convoy of 19 ships was attacked off the Azores. Six ships were known to have been sunk and a further three were reported missing. It was stated that the raider was a German pocket-battleship, but another version was that she was a heavily armed mercantile vessel.

In March the Prime Minister disclosed that the battle cruisers "Scharnhorst"

and "Gneisenau" were at large in the Atlantic and had made some captures as far west as mid-Atlantic. One of the victims was the British tanker "San Casimiro," captured by the "Gneisenau" on March 15. A prize crew was put on board. They finished up not in Germany, however, but in a British prison camp, for the "San Casimiro" was soon intercepted by a British warship. German communiqués, nearly always grossly exaggerating, claimed that battleships had sunk 22 ships of 116,000 tons gross "during a long operation by strong German naval forces."

In another theatre, the Indian Ocean, the first Italian raider to be heard of was sunk by the New Zealand cruiser "Leander." The "Ramb I," by name, she was a converted banana ship of 3,667 tons and a speed of over 18 knots, and was the first merchant raider of the war reported sunk. Another commerce raider, the German ship "Pinguin," was sunk in the Indian Ocean in May by H.M.S. "Cornwall." Twenty-seven British merchant seamen held as prisoners were rescued. A few days later a further victory by the "Leander" was announced. Together with H.M.A.S. "Canberra" she had intercepted the 7,400-ton German supply ship "Coburg" and a captured Norwegian tanker, the "Ketty Brovig," with a prize crew on board; both ships were sunk.

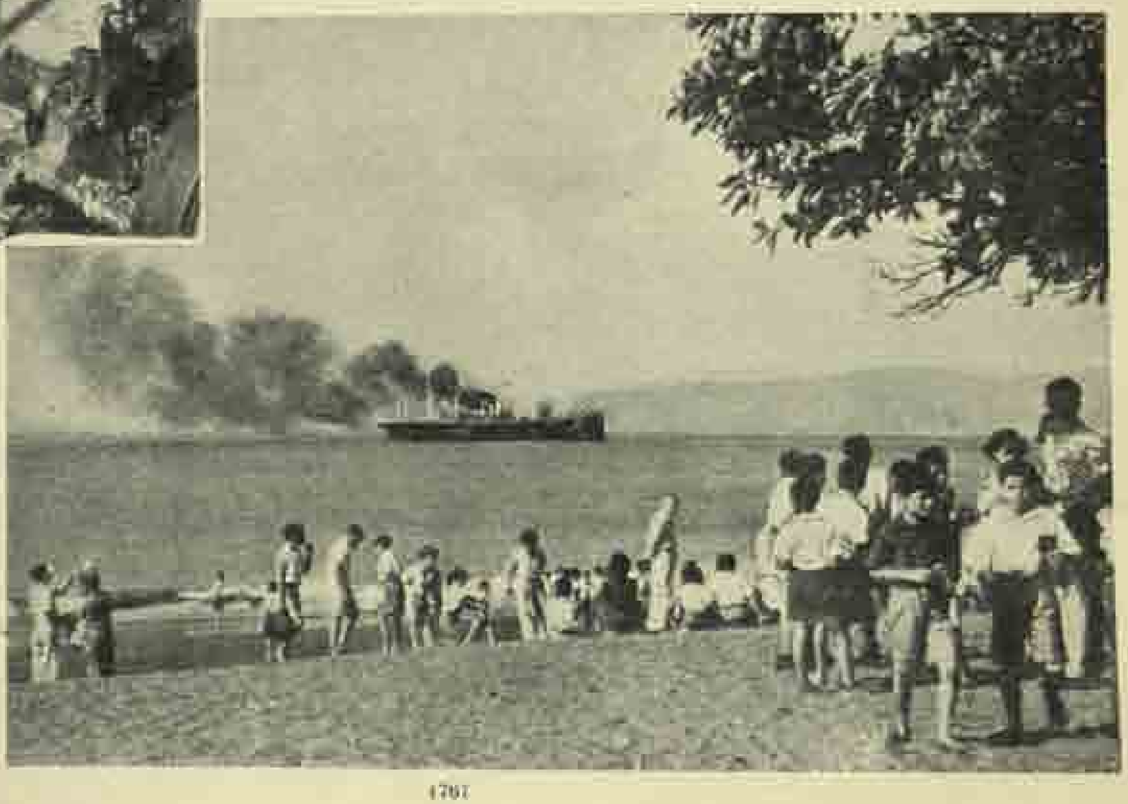
In anticipation of the United States seizing 66 Axis ships sheltering in American ports, a sabotage campaign aboard these vessels began at the end of March. Armed guards were placed in some of the ships, but in other cases the crews succeeded in wrecking the machinery. Similar action was taken by Axis crews of ships in South American ports. Previously several attempts to run the British blockade had been made. Some of these ships were captured, others were scuttled. Early in March, however, a German ship did succeed in running the blockade—but in the other direction. The cargo vessel "Lech," of 3,290 tons, had an interesting career. She left Hamburg in August, 1939, and took refuge in Vigo. Near the end of 1940 she reached Bordeaux, having discharged her cargo. In February, 1941, she again set sail and arrived at Rio de Janeiro early in March. With some swagger her master gave an address on German foreign trade in wartime. (All this propaganda fuss over the arrival of one German cargo ship in South America was an unintended compliment to the efficiency of the British blockade.) Three months later the British Admiralty announced that the "Lech" had been intercepted on her way to France carrying nickel, hides, castor oil, cottonseed cake, mica and coffee.

Merchant Shipping Losses from Enemy Action

	Sept. 3, 1939–Dec. 31, 1940	*Jan., 1941*	*Feb., 1941*	*March, 1941*	*April, 1941*	*May, 1941*	*June, 1941*	*Sept. 3, 1939–June 30, 1941*
	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross	Tons gross
BRITISH								
Mercantile losses	3,821,440	205,473	275,584	348,718	346,208	380,025	229,234*	4,603,172
Naval auxiliaries	211,635	—	5,031	5,360	16,644	27,596	10,549	276,775
Naval trawlers**	25,420	1,478	1,091	1,067	536	983	1,358	32,003
Total British ..	4,058,495	206,951	281,706	354,545	363,588	408,534	240,141	4,913,910
ALLIED ..	787,106	101,296	68,932	141,043	220,965	95,978	82,727*	1,498,047
Total ..	4,845,601	308,247	350,638	495,588	584,553	504,512	322,868	6,411,957
NEUTRAL	916,682	2,962	6,378	26,602	22,100	21,834	18,285*	1,014,843
Grand Total	5,762,283	311,209	357,016	522,190	606,653	526,346	341,153	7,426,800

* Official figures issued in July, 1941; they were probably increased as later information, not published, became known.
** Formerly commercial vessels (i.e., excluding vessels originally built for naval purposes).





CAMPAIGN OF SABOTAGE

Crews of Axis ships sheltering in American ports feared sequestration by the U.S. which they tried to prevent by wilful destruction. Top, the damaged pump of the German tanker 'Pauline Friedrich,' at Boston, Mass. Below, seen off Puntarenas, is the Italian motor vessel 'Fella,' set on fire by the crew apparently to prevent seizure by the Costa Rican government.

Photos, Wide World

Historic Documents. CCXV–CCXVIII

POLICY OF THE VICHY PUPPET GOVERNMENT

On May 12, 1941, Admiral Darlan had a meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden. Shortly afterwards he reported the result to Marshal Pétain and the Ministerial Council, openly declaring himself ready to work for the Nazis against Britain. Below we reproduce broadcasts by these two men of Vichy, and grave statements by the United States and British Governments on the implications of the Franco-German entente.

MARSHAL PÉTAIN IN A BROADCAST SPEECH, MAY 15, 1941:

FRENCHMEN, you have learned that Admiral Darlan has been to see Hitler in Germany. We have approved in principle the negotiations between France and Germany. The new meeting enables us to illuminate the path of the future and to continue the conversations begun with the German Government.

Today there exists a certain feeling of disquietude based on ill-informed opinion. But this is not the time to discuss our prospects, measure our risks and judge our actions. It is a question of Frenchmen following me, without any mental reservation, on the path of honour and national interest. If in the discipline of our public spirit we can successfully conclude the negotiations now in progress, France will surmount her defeat and maintain in the world her position as a world-power and her colonial empire.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE: OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED IN WASHINGTON, MAY 15, 1941:

THE Government of the United States has been profoundly disturbed by the events of the past few days in France, which culminated in the speech tonight by Marshal Pétain. High personalities of the United States Government consider that the moment has come for the French people to choose between the friendship of Germany, the aggressor, and the friendship of the United States.

MR. ANTHONY EDEN, BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, IN A STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 22, 1941:

IT was announced in Vichy on May 14 that Admiral Darlan's report on his visit to Hitler had been unanimously approved by the Vichy Government and that the effect of these deliberations would shortly be felt. On the following day Marshal Pétain broadcast a short statement to the French people appealing for their unquestioning acceptance of whatever results might issue from the negotiations between Admiral Darlan and the German Government. These negotiations have been described in Vichy as opening up a new phase in Franco-German collaboration, of which, no doubt, the action of the Vichy Government in allowing Syrian aerodromes to be used by German aircraft is an example.

President Roosevelt has stated clearly his view of this new and sinister development in Vichy policy, and the United States Government have already taken certain preventive action in regard to French shipping in U.S. ports.

In the confused and uneasy explanations which have been put out in Vichy it has been suggested that the policy of collaboration between the Vichy Government and Germany is to be political and economic only, and it has been stated that the Vichy Government have no intention of attacking Great Britain and still less the United States.

These explanations cannot conceal that the Vichy Government have embarked upon a course which must place the resources and territories of France and her Empire increasingly at the disposal of a Power which is the enemy not only of France's former ally but of France herself.

The French people will, H.M. Government are sure, regard this policy as incompatible with the honour of France. Nor will they believe that the future of France and her Empire will be better served by surrendering them to Hitler's so-called new order than by resolutely maintaining and defending their independence until such time as the victorious Allies shall complete their liberation.

H.M. Government must, however, take account of the acts of the Vichy Government. If the Vichy Government, in pursuance of their declared policy of collaboration with the enemy, take action or permit action detrimental to our conduct of the war, or designed to assist the enemy's war effort, we shall naturally hold ourselves free to attack the enemy wherever he may be found, and in doing so we shall no longer feel bound to draw any distinction between occupied and unoccupied territories in the execution of our military plans.

On August 7 last H.M. Government assured General de Gaulle that it was their determination, when victory was won, to secure the full restoration of the independence and greatness of France. It rests with the French people to determine whether they will play their part in assisting those who have continued to fight for the liberation of France, or whether France will henceforward serve in the ranks of Germany's satellites.

ADMIRAL DARLAN, IN A BROADCAST SPEECH TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE, MAY 23, 1941:

FRENCH People, you have already heard your leader, Marshal Pétain, telling you that it is with his approval that I went to see Chancellor Hitler on his invitation, and that the conversations held between the Head of the German Reich and myself have been approved by him and the Government. The Chancellor has not asked me to deliver the fleet to him. Everyone knows, and the British better than anyone else, that I will hand it over to nobody. The Chancellor did not ask for any colonial territory. He did not ask me to declare war on Great Britain. During the conversations there was never any question of abandoning the sovereignty of France. France chooses freely the path she wishes to follow. She alone decides her present and her future. She will have only the peace which she will have made herself.

Remember, what some people seem to forget, that France has suffered the greatest defeat in her history; that three-fifths of her home territory have been occupied; that we have 1,500,000 of our men held prisoners. This defeat is due to our past faults. From 1919 to 1939 our Government and legislators let errors accumulate and were led into looking after interests which did not concern us, to the detriment of our own. At home they allowed the spirit of the nation to be sapped. They legalized indolence and disorder. Abroad they carried out an incoherent policy. They constituted themselves the protectors of small European Powers, without being capable of producing the arms necessary for the accomplishment of this mission.

Although they decided to help everybody, which would have required a powerful offensive army, our Government and our Parliament only supplied the country with a defensive army. They were not able to prepare for war either morally or materially. Yet our Government declared war.

We lost this war by the failure of those who led us into it, and it was because of an indescribable debâcle, which is a horrible memory for many of you, of the failure of our former allies, and of the failure of a Government which wanted to continue fighting after we had become unable to do so, and which then only thought of flight, that the Marshal was called upon to take over the destiny of the country and ask for an honourable armistice.

In June, 1940, the victor could have refused an armistice; he could have crushed us, and obliterated France from the map of the world. He did not do this. In May, 1941, the victor accepted negotiations with the French Government. Since the interview at Montoire, during which the principle of cooperation was decided upon, France has marked by her actions her willingness to follow this policy. These actions led the Chancellor to mitigate the consequences of defeat.

Listen closely to these words: the future of France depends largely on the issue of the negotiations. France had to choose between life and death. The Marshal and the Government have chosen life. Our duty is clear. Help the Marshal. Help him with all your strength, as I am helping him, in the task of national reconstruction. Just as he and I do, let the higher interests of France guide you in your thoughts and deeds.

Chapter 175

FRANCE UNDER THE MEN OF VICHY

Events in France up to the end of 1940 are described in Chapter 133, and for the most part the present Chapter carries on the narrative up to the middle of the year 1941. But it is useful to include here also a general account of matters political and economic over the entire period of roughly a year after the Armistice of June 22, 1940

THE Armistice terms (see pages 1018–19) divided France into two regions—the Occupied region, including Paris, and the Unoccupied territory, in which the Vichy Government retained to some degree the control of affairs.

Occupied France was dismembered: Alsace-Lorraine was annexed outright and incorporated in the Reich; the Occupied territories to the north of the Somme (the richest French Departments) were isolated and attached, for administrative purposes, to the German authority at Brussels—in a word, Flanders, Picardy, and ancient Lotharingia were torn from France. Access to these zones was forbidden except by special permission. Another zone into which entrance was forbidden was that towards the east, including part of Bourgogne and the Franche-Comté. Other parts of Occupied Territory were administered from Paris. A war zone was set up along the coast, and manned by German troops, as part of Hitler's "West Wall of Europe's Defence" against Britain, as he liked to call it.

Hitler's act in permitting one part—albeit the smaller one—of France to remain under some sort of French Government was purely a matter of expediency. The complete military occupation of France would have tied up German forces in France to an extent which would have depleted too seriously the man-power needed for other war fronts. An attempt at complete occupation might have rallied French opposition, and there was the risk that the French Colonial Empire and the French Fleet—neither of which Hitler was in the position to obtain by force—would resume the war alongside Britain and the Free French. Further, it would be easier to govern through French quislings and collaborationists than by direct German administration. Finally, Hitler, with his uncanny gift for exploiting the worst in human nature, was convinced that by playing on the mingled ambitions and fears of the Vichy clique he could get more real aid from France against Britain than if he attempted to impose cooperation.

Hitler's Subtle Motives

Germany imposed tremendous occupation costs on France, and retained millions of French prisoners of war. Hitler used these prisoners as bargaining counters. From time to time he would offer to release a certain number in exchange for more active collaboration from Vichy, and this was to prove one of the most effective forms of pressure on the Pétain Government. But whatever Vichy was expected to do in respect of such bargains the actual number of prisoners to be released was always inconsiderable. The social and economic results of this impounding of so many Frenchmen in the prime of life were far reaching.

Occupied France was immediately set to work on behalf of the German war-machine. At the same time various notorious French quislings, like the defeatist Déat and the Communist-turned-Fascist Doriot, together with the hired and quislingist press in Paris, were used as a perpetual threat to the Vichy Government. The "Men of Vichy" were given to understand that if they did not fall in with Nazi plans the Germans might at any moment take over the whole of France and place it under the rule of the Paris quislings, whose philo-Nazism and pro-Germanism went much farther than that of even the most ardent Vichy collaborationists.

It soon became apparent that Italy was not to be allowed to play much of the victor's role. For that stab in the back of France, which Mussolini had calculated would bring Italy territorial aggrandizement in Nice, Corsica, and Tunisia, turned out to be a disappointment. Hitler had no intention of handing over slices of French territory obtained by a German victory to which Italy had made no substantial contribution. And so Italy's claims were left open, to be dealt with according to expediency in the future. The Italians had to content themselves with being members of the various armistice commissions in France and the French colonial possessions, although as time went on the importance of these missions decreased. The Germans, using their usual technique of infiltration, were able

No Spoils for Italy



HOW THE ENEMY GUARDED THE CHANNEL COAST

Apart from heavy anti-aircraft batteries at important points the Germans installed machine-guns in pits along the coastline to deal with low-flying British aircraft which were daily carrying out sweeps over the Channel and enemy-occupied France.

Photo, Associated Press



VICHY'S COMMANDER IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

General Maxime Weygand was included in Pétain's Cabinet of July 14, 1940, but early in September was succeeded as War Minister by General Huntziger. Weygand was dispatched to North Africa, where a strong anti-Axis feeling was developing. Above he is seen with Tunisian Légionnaires (June, 1941)

Photo, Planet News

eventually to obtain a grip on French colonial territories—none the less real because its operation was hidden behind the façade of "experts" assisting the armistice commissions.

On July 3, 1940, during the very early days of Vichy, there had taken place the British naval operation at Oran (*see* Chapter 105). Admiral Darlan afterwards never lost an opportunity of using the Oran episode as material for his violent anti-British propaganda. In the meantime the Vichy Administration was beginning its strange career of *attentisme*—"wait and see"—in regard to foreign policy, and repression and para-Fascism in internal policy. On July 14, 1940, a new Cabinet was formed at Vichy which included the following: Marshal Pétain, Admiral Darlan, M. Baudouin, General Weygand, M. Laval, M. Caziot, M. Alibert, M. Marquet, M. Bouthillier, M. Mireaux, M. Ybarnégaray, M. Lémery, General Pujo, and General Colson.

Vichy Policy of 'Attentisme'

Laval and Baudouin were two of the most assiduous workers for defeatism and capitulation even before the fall of the Reynaud Government. Baudouin had been introduced into the Reynaud Cabinet on the recommendation of Reynaud's defeatist woman friend, the Countess of Portes. He was generally regarded as "Mussolini's man." Laval, who in former years had been pro-Italian, now reappeared on the scene as "Hitler's man." Even before the collapse of his country Laval had been intriguing to bring about a Government, such as that of Vichy, which would accept defeat and agree to collaborate with the Germans in Hitler's "New European Order." Consequently both these men had places found for them in the Pétain administration. This was followed by another Cabinet reorganization on September 6 in which Laval and Darlan strengthened their grip on the administration and policy (*see* Chapter 133).

In internal policy Vichy lost no time in putting into effect constitutional changes designed to implement Pétain's "National Revolution." Actually this was not a revolution, but the imposition from the top of a regime which was a mixture of clerical reaction, Fascism and paternalism, with certain imitations of National-Socialism grafted on to it. Pétain and his colleagues saw in France's débâcle the chance to carry out their designs to suppress democracy, to abolish the Republic, and to put in its place a quasi-dictatorship under the cloak of "national regeneration" and "salvation through penance." The wealthy upper middle class supported this policy of Pétain, partly because it feared that a British victory would bring the Socialist Popular Front once more to power in France. In order to emphasize the passing of Parliamentarianism all members of the two Houses of Parliament were forbidden to reside in Vichy, and were sent to the mountain spa of Montdore.

The Republic was blamed for all the shortcomings which had led to France's military defeat, thus ignoring entirely the fact that many of the Men of Vichy, including the Marshal himself, had had their share of responsibility for defeat. Members of the former Republican Governments were to be put on trial for war responsibility in Riom, at the instance of Hitler. The actual trial did not open until Feb. 19, 1942, and then it had to be suppressed because, instead of becoming an indictment of the Republic for war responsibility, the proceedings became an indictment both of Germany and of Vichy.

Suppression of Local Governments

In the sphere of local government the Vichy Government suppressed the departmental and cantonal and municipal assemblies, where the French tradition of local responsibility was likely to persist. At the same time Vichy dismissed large numbers of primary school teachers, and closed the primary teaching colleges, where such teachers had been trained, the reason being the dominance of Left political opinions in the teaching profession. Similarly, on August 24, 1940, Vichy closed all ex-service men's associations, and substituted their own Légion Française des Combattants.

On October 28, 1940, Laval succeeded in ousting Baudouin as Foreign Minister. Baudouin remained for a time as a Minister of State, and subsequently resigned. Four days earlier Pétain, accompanied by Laval, met Hitler and Ribbentrop at Montoire. The main lines of "collaboration" were agreed upon, and this policy was known



CHIEF OF THE FRENCH STATE

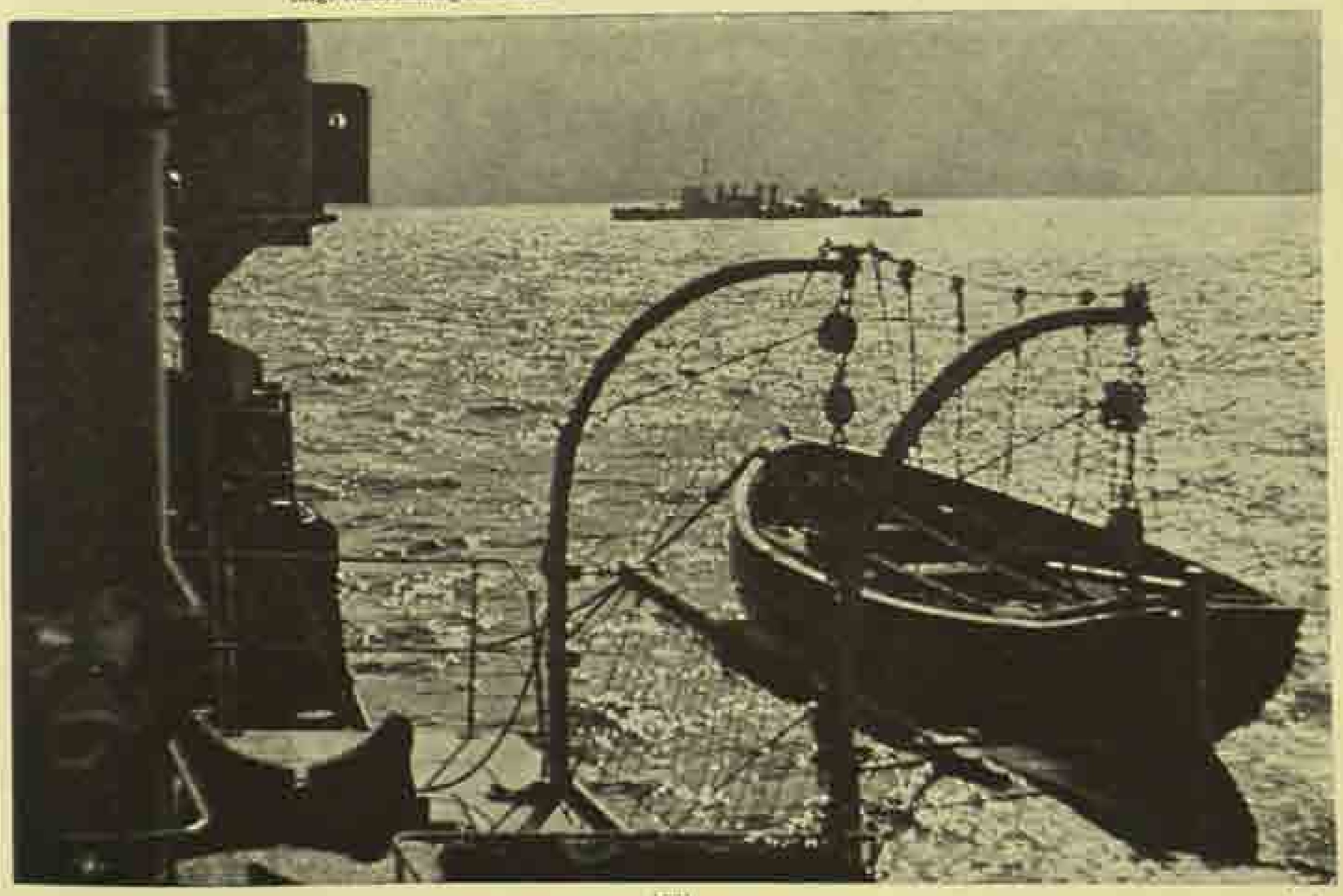
The new French five-franc piece bore the head of Marshal Pétain and the inscription proclaimed him to be Head of the State—a dignity which the Marshal had assumed on July 11, 1940, after calling for the resignation of Lebrun, last President of the Third Republic

Photo, Associated Press



AMERICAN AID FOR BRITAIN IN BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

The shortage of escort vessels for convoys was made up in some degree by the fifty American destroyers transferred to Britain, all of which had reached British ports by January 1941. Below, one of them is seen in mid-Atlantic later in the year on convoy duty, photographed from a corvette. Top, aircraft from the U.S.A. on board a cargo vessel nearing our shores. *Photos, J. Hall*





Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

FRENCH COLONIAL SOLDIERS WHO LEFT SYRIA TO FIGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF FREE FRANCE WITH THE ALLIES

After the fall of France the Italians sent a commission to Syria to supervise disarmament and the reduction of the garrisons. Deep hostility was aroused, for many patriotic Frenchmen sympathised with the Allies, and in large and small groups they left the country. This French Colonial Infantry unit repudiated the armistice with Germany and Italy, and in the autumn of 1940 made its way over the border into Palestine. There it was organized as a section of the Free French Army (later the Fighting French) and trained for the day of rehabilitation. In June, 1941—almost a year after the collapse of France—there came the call to take a hand in the invasion of Syria and the freeing of that territory from the Nazis and the men of Vichy. A few months later Syria became a main training ground of the Free French Army and Air Service.



SPAHIS WHO JOINED THE ARMY OF GENERAL DE GAULLE

Among French Colonial troops who came over to the Allies were units of the picturesque native cavalry known as Spahis, recruited in Algeria and Tunisia. In desert warfare they had no equal, and when conditions were favourable they played a highly important part in the East African and Syrian campaigns. The detachment here seen were photographed in the Sudan.

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright

thereafter as the "Montoire" policy. It was then that Pétain and Laval agreed to give Germany the use of French factories for armaments.

On December 13 Pétain discovered a "palace intrigue" on the part of Laval, who was summarily dismissed and replaced at the Foreign Ministry by Flandin. Alarmed by this show of independence, the Nazis demanded the reinstatement of Laval, but this was not to take place until much later, in April, 1942. However, there was a "reconciliation" between Pétain and Laval after a meeting at La Ferté on January 19, 1941. Laval for a while went "underground," and spent his time intriguing with Abetz in Paris, an intrigue which was to lead more than a year later to Laval being appointed Premier. During this period of Laval's eclipse Darlan rose to the highest position in Vichy after Pétain. On February 9, 1941, the admiral succeeded Flandin as Foreign Minister, and he also became Vice-Premier. Next day Pétain signed a constitutional act nominating Darlan as his eventual successor as Head of the State. On February 14 Darlan took over the Ministry of the Interior, and eleven days later he formed a new Cabinet. On July 18 he relinquished the portfolio of the Interior to Pucheux, and Benoist-Méchin was appointed Secretary-General to Darlan's office.

Laval's Abortive Coup d'Etat

The Vichy Government, while under the direction of Pétain and Darlan, never had a clear-cut policy. Alibert wanted to restore the monarchy in France; Baudouin worked for a Latin alliance, including Spain and Italy, in the apparent hope that it would prove strong enough to counter even a victorious Germany; Pucheux and Benoist-Méchin favoured the most active collaboration with Nazi Germany, as did Marcel Déat. As the full significance of Vichy's policy became plain, resignations from Pétain's National Council became frequent, among them those of André Siegfried and Cardinal Suchard.

While Laval was out of favour the Admiral conducted a policy which became more and more "collaborationist" and correspondingly more and more anti-British. He became the real ruler of France, and the Marshal, although his titular chief, did little more than countersign Darlan's decisions. On August 12, 1941, Pétain in a broadcast announced the conferment of widely extended powers on Darlan. The same day an official decree was issued appointing Darlan Minister of National Defence—which placed the Admiral in the position to give orders to Weygand in Africa—and concurrently



HITLER AND HIS DEPUTY IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL

Top, in Paris Hitler looks towards the Eiffel Tower: the capture of France was a major object of his plan for the enthralment of Europe. Below, Goering leaves the Ritz Hotel, where high Nazi officials in or visiting Paris were housed. Created Hitler's deputy, Goering was appointed Reich-Marshal of Greater Germany in 1939.

Photos, Keystone, "March of Time"

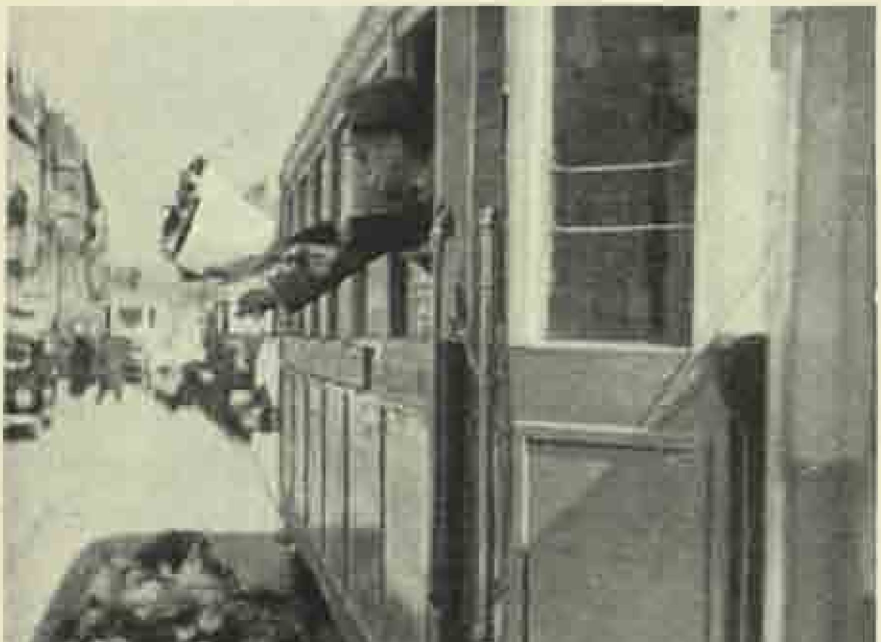
he received a seventh star of his naval rank, which gave him the highest possible position in the French Navy.

On May 12, 1941, Darlan had visited Hitler at Berchtesgaden, and at the end of the month he made a speech violently attacking Britain. Darlan agreed that Hitler should have the use of Syrian aerodromes for the purpose of intervention by the Luftwaffe on behalf of the Iraqi rebels. General Huntziger, the Vichy War Minister, had misgivings, as had also General Dentz, the Vichy High Commissioner in Syria. Darlan, however, had his way and the Syrian aerodromes were eventually placed at the disposal of the Germans. During all this period he was a frequent visitor to Paris, where he maintained contacts with Abetz. He went as near to active combat with Britain as he dared without involving the risk of real war. He brought about intensive economic co-operation with Germany, and so close



FRANCISCO FRANCO VISITS PETAIN

Early in February, 1941, General Franco went to Rome to confer with Mussolini, and on the way back he broke the journey at Montpelier for a talk with Marshal Pétain (second from left). Between Franco (right) and the Marshal is Señor Serrano Suñer, Spanish Foreign Minister.



FOCUS OF ANTI-AXIS FEELING AT MARSEILLES

On March 29, 1941, after the young King Peter of Yugoslavia had taken over Royal power, people in Marseilles placed flowers on the spot where King Alexander with Louis Barthou had been killed in 1934. When the police tried to stop this practice sympathizers boarded tramcars and dropped wreaths as the vehicles passed the scene of the assassination.

Photos, Associated Press, International Graphic Press

did this cooperation become that it seemed at the time that Darlan's France was likely to prove more useful to Hitler than was Mussolini's Italy.

The financing of conquered France during 1940 and 1941 proved simpler than might have been expected. During 1941 the Vichy Government spent 133 milliards of francs, 68 milliards being raised by taxation, while 65 milliards represented a deficit. In addition, 146 milliards a year were paid to the German army of occupation. The total deficit in 1941 thus exceeded 200 milliards. A few French business men who were helping the German war effort profited, but the rest were being steadily deprived of their material wealth, in exchange for what would eventually be worthless paper francs. There was paper money in plenty, but, all the time, the material assets were being sucked up by Germany and industry was being slowly strangled by the loss of raw material and the lack of man power. Many factories in Occupied France closed, and at one time a million unemployed were registered at the labour exchange, two-thirds being in the Paris region. So much food was taken to Germany that millions of French people suffered semi-starvation.

Economics of Nazi Conquest

A number of grandiose schemes were put out by the Germans from time to time as baits for further French collaboration. France was promised a leading position in Hitler's New Europe, and Darlan saw himself possibly holding the position of Lord High Admiral of the "European" navies of the Axis.





GRIM EVIDENCE FROM OCCUPIED FRANCE

Under the street name 'Adolf Hitler Strasse' is a notice board with beside it a number of posters. 'Don't Forget Oran!' reads one; underneath is another: 'With your Scrap Iron we will make Steel for Victory'; alongside is a bill on the 'Law against Drunkenness,' and below it a tragic German announcement that one Marcel Brossier has been executed for sabotage. Below, left, letter received by a Frenchman in Britain from a relative in Occupied France through the International Red Cross. Right, stick-on bill posted surreptitiously on walls, etc., in Occupied France; it reads: 'String up the traitors Laval, Darlan, Déat, Frot, Marquet, and all the rest of the sinister Vichy gang . . .'

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone



Au poteau les traitres :

LAVAL, DARLAN, DÉAT, FROT, MARQUET et TOUS AUTRES de la bande sinistre de Vichy.

Ces traitres n'ont pas qualité pour parler au nom de la France car ce ne sont que de misérables gredins qui touchent de l'Allemagne le prix de leur honteuse trahison

VIVE LA FRANCE !



WHEN VICHY AGREED TO COLLABORATE WITH HITLER

Below, after meeting Hitler (May 12, 1941), Admiral Darlan (left) talks with Bouthillier, Minister of Finance (centre), and General Huntziger, Minister of War, in the council hall at the Hotel du Parc, Vichy, just before a session of Pétain's Cabinet. Top, Marshal Pétain addresses the council.

Photos, Keystone ; Associated Press



Various other schemes were canvassed at the time, including one for a Latin *bloc*, to be composed of France, Italy and Spain. This "Catholic" and "Mediterranean" idea seemed to appeal to Pétain, who held conversations with General Franco and Serrano Suñer. But nothing was to come of it. Germany was the real master, and Hitler throughout held one trump card—that of the millions of French prisoners of war. Vichy was compelled more and more to conform to Nazi orders, but without gaining any substantial reliefs, either as regards the huge quotas of goods she was compelled to send to Germany, the reduction of the occupation costs, or the release of prisoners.

The picture in Occupied France was altogether different. Here were to be found most of the people who were anti-German and pro-British, on the one hand, and the small gang of Fascist quislings in Paris. As early as February 2, 1941, these quislings constituted, under German inspiration, a party on the German Nazi model known as the "Rassemblement National Populaire." Its leaders included Déat and Fontency, but the real patron was Laval. This group and its hired press were used by the Germans and by Laval to bring pressure to bear on Vichy. They provided the material for a constant threat to form a National Socialist Government in Paris.

The inhabitants of Occupied France began underground movements of resistance to the German occupation, movements which later began springing up also in the Unoccupied territory. A patriotic Press made its appearance—printed, distributed and read clandestinely. Active sabotage of the German machine began: trains and power stations and arms factories were blown up; Nazi officers and officials were assassinated. For these acts of revolt the Germans took savage reprisals, instituting the method of shooting batches of hostages for the death of one German. Pétain from time to time made feeble appeals against the sabotage and the assassinations, but all to no purpose. The Germans and their French hirelings tried to explain away these acts of patriotic resistance by attributing them to "Jews and Communists," but nobody was deceived by this trick.

'Underground' Resistance Grows

People in Occupied France came to the point of resistance sooner than those in the Unoccupied region. They saw the requisitioning of foodstuffs for the Germans while French people had to go without. They saw members

of their families taken off to forced labour in Germany. They experienced the physical presence of the German soldiery, and felt the machinations of the Gestapo. French people who suffered as the result of the British air raids on Occupied France welcomed the R.A.F. as they came over, lit flares to guide them, and put flowers on the graves of dead British pilots. Germany turned Occupied France into a great factory for the German war machine, but she also stirred up there a veritable hornet's nest of resistance.

Such resistance came from various quarters—from the Communists, from sympathizers with de Gaulle, and also from Catholic Conservatives who saw through the mask of Vichy's appeal to Catholic tradition and to the anti-Bolshevist "crusade." But the mainstay of resistance was neither of the Extreme Right nor the Extreme Left. Rather it was to be found amongst ordinary Frenchmen—the "little man"—the peasant, the trade union worker, and the like.

What Ordinary Frenchmen Thought

Faced with the growing resistance of the French people, and with increasing pressure by Germany, Vichy then endeavoured to kill two birds with one stone: i.e. to please the Germans by some hostile act against the British, and to pose as guardian of French honour. This twofold aim was attempted by agreeing to play the German game in regard to Syria. (*See* Chapter 166.) Vichy, which had already ordered the High Commissioner in Syria, General Dentz, to place Syrian aerodromes at the disposal of the Germans for the Rashid Ali revolt in Iraq (*see* Chapter 165), permitted Syria to come almost completely under German control. General Dentz was instructed to meet practically all German demands.

There followed the campaign in Syria, conducted by the British in concert with the Free French. It ended on July 14, 1941, in the triumph of the Allies, a success which frustrated Hitler's plan to make Syria a base for a great attack on the British in the Middle East, and also resulted in Syria and Lebanon being granted independence.

Thus a year of French subjugation to Germany and her French hirelings ended with the beginnings of a revival of French resistance, and with a substantial loss of face on the part of those Men of Vichy who had forecast too facilely and inaccurately the future course of the war. The people of France had begun to recover from the numbing and paralysing effect of the great catastrophe, and were taking heart anew.



CLANDESTINE NEWS SHEETS SUSTAINED FRENCH HOPES

Below, secret news sheets that circulated in Occupied France. 'Pantagruel' in one issue commented that the great German spring offensive had opened at—Belgrade! Top, French guard outside the Soviet Embassy at Vichy after Petain had broken off relations on June 30, 1941.

Photos, Associated Press; "La France Libre"



STORY OF FREE AND FIGHTING FRANCE UP TO END OF 1941

After the Fall of France: General De Gaulle's Broadcasts from London—Leadership of Free French Forces—French Colonies Rally to De Gaulle—Council of Defence—Dakar Expedition—How Free Frenchmen Fought in Various Fields—The Armée de l'Air under General Valin—Free French Navy and Merchant Marine—Events in the Far East—Auxiliary Organizations

The Free French movement—or Fighting France, as its leader, General De Gaulle, now prefers to call it—was founded in London at the time of the capitulation of the French Government at Bordeaux. De Gaulle, an expert on mechanized warfare whose ideas had been taken up and put to use by the German, but not by the French, General Staff, tried as a member of M. Reynaud's Government to secure that France, beaten at home, should continue the fight from Africa. When the French defeatists won the day, the General came to London and, in agreement with Mr. Winston Churchill, inaugurated the Free French movement.

On June 18, 1940, General De Gaulle's voice was first heard over the British wireless calling upon Frenchmen to continue resistance. On July 1 Admiral Muselier, who had joined De Gaulle, issued an Order of the Day establishing a Free French Naval and Air Force. Frenchmen who had been saved from capture after Dunkirk and brought to this country joined the Free French Army in Britain. During the later months of 1940 events moved quickly, and Frenchmen in different parts of the French Empire all over the world rallied to the Free French cause.

On August 7, 1940, General De Gaulle concluded an agreement with the British Government by which the latter recognized him as the leader of the Free French Forces. The adherence of different French Colonial territories followed with increased momentum. Already on July 20 the New Hebrides had rallied to Free France. On August 26 the important territory of Chad, in Africa, did likewise; to be followed next day by the Cameroons, and the day after that by French Equatorial Africa. The adherence of these three territories meant the constitution of a pro-Ally bloc of territories stretching right across Africa. It was a factor of great importance to Britain, especially while she was fighting the Italians in East Africa. On September 2 French establishments in the Pacific came over to De Gaulle, to be followed on September 9 by establishments in India (Pondicherry). The next day New Caledonia declared in favour of Free France.

In London on October 27 a declaration was made in regard to the Free French war effort, and a Free French Council of Defence of the Empire was established. As time went on De Gaulle was joined by many distinguished Frenchmen. Amongst famous military names were General Catroux and General Legentilhomme.

Expedition to Dakar

On September 23, 1940, there was the abortive Dakar incident. Dakar was in danger of being turned into an Axis base for Atlantic raiding, with the connivance of the Vichy authorities. Called to Dakar by numerous patriotic Frenchmen there anxious to continue the fight, General De Gaulle led a Free French expedition, supported by British Naval units, in the hope of effecting a peaceful landing. But Vichy had infiltrated defeatists into the administration, and the De Gaullists were fired upon when they attempted to land. Not wishing that Frenchmen should shed the blood of Frenchmen, De Gaulle withdrew the expedition.

With the opening of 1941 Free French troops were fighting alongside the British in Africa. They took part in the capture of Bardia, in General Wavell's Libyan campaign against the Italians. By March Free French troops were taking an active part in our Abyssinian and East African campaign. On April 9 they entered Massawa. Between June 8 and July 14 Free French troops collaborated with the British in the campaign in Syria, under Generals Catroux and Legentilhomme. Meantime, on May 20 a commercial agreement had been entered into between Britain and French Equatorial Africa.

The foregoing account gives briefly the main events in the progress of the



GENERAL DE GAULLE'S VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST

In April, 1941, after an inspection of Free French units fighting with Imperial troops in the Middle East, General De Gaulle (second from right) went on to Cairo, where he met the British Commanders. Here he is seen with General Catroux (right), Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore (extreme left), and General Sir Archibald Wavell.

Photo, Keystone





FREE FRENCH IN SYRIAN AND LIBYAN CAMPAIGNS

Top, tanks of De Gaulle's force marshalling on the Palestine border for the advance into Syria in June, 1941. Below, centre, General Larminat (High Commissioner for the Free French in Africa) inspects Marines taking part in the Syrian campaign

The Italian flag shown below, left, was taken when the south Libyan oasis of Kufra was captured by a Free French motorized column under Colonel Leclerc on March 1, 1941, after a siege lasting 22 days. The column had crossed the desert from Lake Chad, a journey of 600 miles. Right, the graves of four soldiers of the 1st Division of the Free French Forces who fell at Tobruk in January, 1941.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Forces Françaises Libres; British Paramount News







HONOUR FOR SUBMARINE CREW

In June, 1941, Admiral Muselier inspected Free French naval units at a British port and presented the Croix de Guerre to members of a submarine crew; here he is seen mounting the gangway on leaving.

Photo, Central Press

Free French movement during the first year. In other Chapters the achievements of Fighting French units have been recorded from time to time, and in the following pages a summary of the work of all Services is given.

Great Britain became the headquarters and central depot of the Fighting French, where new recruits were equipped and trained and whence they were posted to formations in different parts of the world. Most of the Free French fighting men were in the Middle East and in Free French Africa. With General Wavell on his advance from the Egyptian frontier to Benghazi were Free French detachments which distinguished themselves at Sidi Barrani, Sollum, Bardia, Tobruk and Solluk. At the same time Free French units operating from the outposts of Northern Chad struck at Italian communications in two audacious raids over hundreds of miles of desert to Kufra and Murzuk. Besides aiding the Libyan offensive this move contributed to the success of the British East African campaign, inasmuch as the Italians were prevented from sending reinforcements into Abyssinia.

Where Frenchmen Fought





FREE FRENCH AIR ARM

General Valin (above) commanded the Armée de l'Air fighting with the Allies. At first French airmen served with various R.A.F. units, but later separate squadrons were formed; at right is a pilot of the first Free French fighter squadron, with his machine. Note Cross of Lorraine emblem.

Photos, Bertram Park; Keystone

The Free French played a small but important rôle in both Eritrea and Abyssinia, cooperating notably in the capture of Keren, Massawa and (in November, 1941) of Gondar. The Syrian campaign was painful for the Free French because it involved fighting against compatriots most of whom were actuated by a sense of discipline or had been misled by German propaganda. Subsequently over 5,000 officers and men of the Vichy French—who had been waiting for this opportunity to resume the fight alongside the Allies—joined the Free French Forces.

The Free French Air Force was commanded by General Valin. It operated mainly in Great Britain at this period, though formations took a share in the fight against the Axis in the Middle East. Though there were comparatively few, Free French pilots nevertheless scored over fifty official and thirty "probable" victories, and sank 40 enemy ships. Pilots and mechanics flew in some of the most famous British squadrons. The first Free French Fighter squadron in Britain ("Ile de France" Squadron) assumed operational responsibilities in a vital industrial area of Scotland.

In Free French Africa the Air Force maintained constant patrol activity and kept a very sharp eye open for any Axis move which might indicate a swoop on the Colonies which had rallied to De Gaulle. Free French airmen took no part in the Syrian campaign, in order to avoid individual combat between

compatriots. After the Armistice at Acre, Syria became a training ground for Free French air units, and there later emerged two squadrons destined to assume an active operational role. Though this belongs to a later Chapter, we may note that one of them, the "Lorraine" Squadron, did splendid work in the Libyan offensive of November, 1941, and up to the capture of Halfaya took an almost daily part in operations in the Western Desert. The second air unit trained in Syria was the "Alsace" Fighter Squadron.

The Free French Navy included about 50 warships, manned by 6,000 officers and ratings. Many were engaged on work which was secret, but the following ships have been mentioned in communiqués: the battleship "Courbet" brought down several German bombers; the submarine "Rubis" sank a high tonnage of enemy shipping; the submarine "Minerve" had numerous adventures in the course of patrols along enemy sea-lanes, and sank a heavily laden and strongly escorted German tanker; the corvette "Roselys" while on escort duty in the Atlantic encountered and rammed an enemy submarine.

The Free French merchant fleet made a substantial contribution to the Allies' shipping, for it included 125 ships, of a total tonnage of 590,000 tons—*i.e.* about a quarter of the total French merchant tonnage at the time of the Armistice. The biggest ships were "Ile de France" (53,000 tons) and the newly built liner "Pasteur" (30,000 tons). Roughly, 100,000 tons of cargo for the supply of the Allies were transported monthly by Free French ships.



VOLONTAIRES FRANÇAISES ON PARADE

The equivalent of our A.T.S., this women's corps of the Free French was commanded by Captain Terre, a young Parisienne who had won the Croix de Guerre for work with an ambulance unit during the Battle of France

Photo, Forces Françaises Libres





FREE FRENCH OF OCEANIA

Rear-Admiral Georges Thierry d'Argenlieu (above), Governor of Free French Colonies in the Far East, was wounded when acting as plenipotentiary at Dakar (see page 1263). Left, after presentation of Colours to the Premier Bataillon du Pacifique at Nouméa, New Caledonia, before sailing via Australia to join De Gaulle's forces in the Middle East.

Photos, L.N.A., Forces Françaises Libres

Free French Colonies

In view of their economic importance to the Allies and the strategic significance they later assumed, some details will now be given of the Free French colonial territories. Free French Africa stretches from the mouth of the Congo to the southern confines of the Libyan Desert, and covers an area about 15 times as big as England, with a population of 6,000,000. The strategic importance of this territory is considerable. It protects on the west some 700 miles of South Atlantic sea routes, and on the east guards the flanks of the Belgian Congo, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the sources of the Nile. Its offensive value also is notable, for Chad is a perfect jumping-off ground for raids into southern Libya or even for penetration into Tripolitania.

The territory permitted uninterrupted aerial and land communications from west to east Africa. Material coming across the Atlantic could be flown or transported on the ground either from Pointe Noire northwards or from Nigeria to Cairo via the Chad and Khartoum. The economic value to the Allied effort was substantial, for rubber,





AT BRAZZAVILLE DE GAULLE CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARIES

On August 26, 1941, anniversary of the founding of the Free French Empire, General De Gaulle inspected new armoured cars (top) manufactured in South Africa. A year previously the colonies of Chad, the Cameroons, the Gaboon, Ubangi Shari and the Middle Congo had proclaimed adherence to Free France under De Gaulle. Larger photograph shows the General (left foreground) with General Larminat saluting British and Belgian flags at Brazzaville on Bastille Day, July 14. Behind, in white uniform, is M. Eboué, Governor General.

Photos, British Official : Crown Copyright ; G.P.U.

gold, cotton, lumber, palm oil and hides were exported.

The former French mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon were granted their independence at the close of the brief campaign of 1941. Free French administration was centred in Beirut and Damascus. Syria served as training-ground for part of the Free French Forces, and would assume the utmost importance in the event of the Allies having to ward off an Axis drive into either Turkey or the Caucasus.

Free French colonies in the Pacific (governed by Rear-Admiral Georges Thierry d'Argenlieu) include New Caledonia, the Franco-British condominium of the New Hebrides, and about a hundred South Sea islands, the best known being Tahiti. The strategic role of these possessions in the Far Eastern conflict is twofold. New Caledonia and the New Hebrides are natural outposts in Australia's defence scheme. Further, these islands provide valuable naval and aerial links in the sphere of Allied cooperation determined by the triangle Port Darwin-Honolulu-Panama.

There are certain auxiliary organizations which should be mentioned. The Volontaires Françaises, or Free French A.T.S., are commanded by Captain Terre, an energetic young Parisienne who was awarded the Croix de Guerre for her services in France with an ambulance unit; she succeeded Madame Mathieu, the international tennis star. The Service de la Main d'Œuvre places French specialized workers in jobs. Numbers of them were employed on war work in this country, notably in Lancashire and in London.

In any estimate of the Free French movement it is necessary to remember that the strength and vitality of the cause are centred not in Britain, nor in any theatre of war, but in France. Here General De Gaulle has a loyal following which inspires a large percentage of the population to passive or active resistance to the oppressors. Of course very little can be said about the activities of Free French partisans—in France or even in the German factories to which many workmen had been sent. But it would be a mistake to judge the value or success of the Fighting French movement by the visible and material results alone. We must take into account also the inestimable contribution to victory which proceeded from the spiritual effect of the movement; it provided a focus for the patriotism of millions of French men and women who looked beyond Vichy for the future of France. It inspired the oppressed to fortitude and endurance, and endowed them with that fine spirit that made people in target areas welcome the British raids on French factories working for the German war machine.

NEW COLLABORATION OF THE FREE PEOPLES

On June 12, 1941, Ministers and High Commissioners representing the Governments of the Allies met in conference in London and pledged themselves to mutual assistance in continuing the struggle against Axis oppression "until victory is won." Mr. Churchill opened the meeting with a fighting speech, most of which is reproduced below.

In the twenty-second month of the war against Nazism we meet here in this old Palace of St. James's, itself not unscarred by the fire of the enemy, in order to proclaim the high purposes and resolves of the lawful constitutional Governments of Europe whose countries have been overrun; and we meet here also to cheer the hopes of free men and free peoples throughout the world. Here before us on the table lie the title-deeds of ten nations or States whose soil has been invaded and polluted and whose men, women, and children lie prostrate or writhing under the Hitler yoke. But here also, duly authorized by the Parliament and democracy of Britain, are gathered the servants of the ancient British Monarchy and the accredited representatives of the British Dominions beyond the seas, of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, of the Empire of India, of Burma, and of our Colonies in every quarter of the globe. They have drawn their swords in this cause. They will never let them fall till life is gone or victory is won. Here we meet, while from across the Atlantic Ocean the hammers and lathes of the United States signal in a rising hum their message of encouragement and their promise of swift and ever-growing aid.

What tragedies, what horrors, what crimes have Hitler and all that Hitler stands for brought upon Europe and the world! The ruins of Warsaw, of Rotterdam, of Belgrade are monuments which will long recall to the future generations the outrage of the unopposed air-bombing applied with calculated scientific cruelty to helpless populations. Here in London and throughout the cities of our island, and in Ireland, there may be seen the marks of devastation. They are being repaid, and presently will be more than repaid.

Sufferings of the Conquered Nations

But far worse than these visible injuries is the misery of the conquered peoples. We see them hounded, terrorized, exploited. Their manhood by the million is forced to work under conditions indistinguishable in many cases from actual slavery. Their goods and chattels are pillaged or filched for worthless money. Their homes, their daily life are pried into and spied upon by the all-pervading system of secret political police which, having reduced the Germans themselves to abject docility, now stalks the streets and byways of a dozen lands. Their religious faiths are affronted, persecuted, or oppressed in the interests of a fantastic paganism devised to perpetuate the worship and sustain the tyranny of one abominable creature. Their traditions, their culture, their laws, their institutions, social and political alike, are suppressed by force or undermined by subtle, coldly planned intrigue . . . . .

It is upon this foundation that Hitler, with his tattered lackey Mussolini at his tail and Admiral Darlan frisking by his side, pretends to build out of hatred appetite and racial assertion a new order for Europe. Never did so mocking a fantasy obsess the mind of mortal man. We cannot tell what the course of this fell war will be as it spreads remorseless through ever-wider regions. We know it will be hard, we expect it will be long; we cannot predict or measure its episodes or its tribulations. But one thing is certain, one thing is sure, one thing stands out stark and undeniable, massive and unassailable, for all the world to see.

It will not be by German hands that the structure of Europe will be rebuilt or the union of the European family achieved. In every country into which the German armies and the Nazi police have broken there has sprung up from the soil a hatred of the German name and a contempt for the Nazi creed which the passage of hundreds of years will not efface from human memory. We cannot yet see how deliverance will come, or when it will come, but nothing is more certain than that every trace of Hitler's footsteps, every stain of his infected and corroding fingers will be sponged and purged and, if need be, blasted from the surface of the earth.

We are here to affirm and fortify our union in that ceaseless and unwearying effort which must be made if the captive peoples are to be set free. A year ago his Majesty's Government was left alone to face the storm, and to many of our friends and enemies alike it may have seemed that our days too were numbered, and that Britain and its institutions would sink for ever beneath the verge. But I may with some pride remind your Excellencies that, even in that dark hour when our Army was disorganized and almost weaponless, when scarcely a gun or a tank remained in Britain, when almost all our stores and ammunition had been lost in France, never for one moment did the British people dream of making peace with the conqueror, and never for a moment did they despair of the common cause. On the contrary, we proclaimed at that very time to all men, not only to ourselves, our determination not to make peace until every one of the ravaged and enslaved countries was liberated and until the Nazi domination was broken and destroyed. . . . .

'Lift Up Your Hearts.'

Hitler may turn and trample this way and that through tortured Europe. He may spread his course far and wide, and carry his curse with him: he may break into Africa or into Asia. But it is here, in this island fortress, that he will have to reckon in the end. We shall strive to resist by land and sea. We shall be on his track wherever he goes. Our air power will continue to teach the German homeland that war is not all loot and triumph.

We shall aid and stir the people of every conquered country to resistance and revolt. We shall break up and derange every effort which Hitler makes to systematize and consolidate his subjugations. He will find no peace, no rest, no halting place, no parley. And if, driven to desperate hazards, he attempts the invasion of the British Isles, as well he may, we shall not flinch from the supreme trial.

This, then, is the message which we send forth today to all the States and nations bond or free, to all the men in all the lands who care for freedom's cause, to our allies and well-wishers in Europe, to our American friends and helpers drawing ever closer in their might across the ocean, this is the message—Lift up your hearts. All will come right. Out of the depths of sorrow and sacrifice will be born again the glory of mankind.

JOINT DECLARATION ISSUED BY THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS IN CONFERENCE IN LONDON, JUNE 12, 1941:

The Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, the Government of Belgium, the Provisional Czechoslovak Government, the Governments of Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and the Representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen, engaged together in the fight against aggression, are resolved:

(1) That they will continue the struggle against German or Italian oppression until victory is won, and will mutually assist each other in this struggle to the utmost of their respective capacities;

(2) That there can be no settled peace and prosperity so long as free peoples are coerced by violence into submission to domination by Germany or her associates, or live under the threat of such coercion;

(3) That the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace to this end.





AIR FORCE OF FREE NORWAY

The Norwegian Air Force reconstituted in Britain was in charge of Captain H. Riiser-Larsen (seated above, with Major Bjarne Oen). Squadrons operated with the R.A.F., and on anti-submarine patrol flew Northrop N-3 seaplanes (top, left). Other units served in Iceland.

Photos, by courtesy of Royal Norwegian Government; 'Evening News'







NORWAY'S MERCHANT NAVY

Largely owing to the exertions of Mr. Trygve H. Lie (right, above), later Minister of Supply in the Free Government, four-fifths of Norway's merchant ships came over to the Allies. Thus a tonnage of about 4,000,000 became available for the fight against Hitlerism. A most valuable accretion was the fleet of tankers (one seen on right discharging at a British port). Above, left, Norwegian seamen on the deck of a British warship which rescued them after their ship had been sunk by a U-boat.

Photos, Keystone; Topical; Planet News

INCREASING BRUTALITY OF NAZI RULE IN NORWAY, HOLLAND & BELGIUM

How Germany Exploited Norway and the Low Countries: Period January-June, 1941—Quislingist Activity Failed in Norway—Storm Troopers and Hirdmen—Crushing of Cultural Organizations—Holland Would Not Be Dragooned—Nazi Burgomasters—Queen Wilhelmina's Broadcasts to Netherlands—Seyss-Inquart on Anti-Jew Measures—'New European Order' in Belgium—Flemish and Walloon Quisling Leaders—Belgian Resistance Intensifies

As the year 1941 opened Germany made new and more ambitious attempts to increase her grip upon Norway, Holland and Belgium. All these formed part of a larger German plan, and linked up with repressive measures in Occupied France. For Germany's main aim was to consolidate her rule in Europe, from Norway to the Franco-Spanish frontier, in order to organize—as the Germans themselves put it—the defence of "Europe" against Britain. In a word, the Germans were anxious to secure the western section of Occupied Europe preparatory to embarking upon military adventures in south-eastern Europe and Russia.

The first half of 1941 was a period of intensive organization and repressive activity in Norway, Holland and Belgium. At the same time there was a steady growth of patriotic resistance on the part of the great majority against their oppressors. During this period, too, the contribution to the war on the side of Britain by the Free Norwegian, Dutch and Belgian Governments became greater and more impressive.

German and Quislingist activities in Norway took various forms. In the first place a big effort was made to increase the strength of the "Hird"—storm-troopers of the Nasjonal Samling, Quisling's imitation Nazi party—but the effort failed. In spite of the various privileges and inducements offered recruiting was poor, so that by February 1941 the strength of the Hird was still only some 1,500 members. Most of the new recruits were members of the criminal classes. They were used for propaganda marches, party demonstrations and punitive expeditions against loyal Norwegians—particularly against the schools.

Quisling's Failure

Attempts were also made to bring Norway actively into the war against Britain. On January 12, 1941, Quisling announced that Germany's war against England was also Norway's war, and Hitler had shown his "magnanimity" by consenting to the formation of a "Nordland" Regiment. Norway was to regain her weapons and her military honour, and Norwegian volunteers would get an opportunity to fight shoulder to shoulder with their German comrades for the New Order in Europe. Quisling had counted on recruiting 3,000 young Norwegians, but to the obvious disappointment of the Quisling Press only a few hundred joined, although recruits were promised preference in all public positions after their time of service, together with German as well as Norwegian citizenship and a gift of farms of from fifty to seventy-five acres. On January 30 the first volunteer took the oath before the Gestapo Chief, Heinrich Himmler, who was then on a visit to Oslo.

When Himmler visited Norway again in May 1941, it was not to inspect the Nordland Regiment but to start a Norwegian detachment of volunteers for the Storm Troopers. They were not to go abroad, but were to help the German S.S. in its tasks in Norway. They were given the German title of "Sturmmänner" and wore German uniforms with a skull and the N.S. (Nasjonal Samling) sun-cross. Himmler made them take the oath to "Adolf Hitler, Leader of the Germanics," and to Quisling. Acting-Councillor Jonas Lie was made leader.

On June 29, 1941, one week after the Germans attacked Russia, the Reich Commissioner, Terboven, announced that Hitler had consented to the immediate formation of a Norwegian Legion to join the anti-Bolshevik "crusade." This was to be exclusively Norwegian, with Norwegian officers. A tremendous propaganda campaign was instituted, but with little result. The N.S. leaders had hoped for at least 10,000 Norwegian volunteers, but only 1,000 joined and these were mostly Hirdmen who had been ordered to do so. Two months later a first detachment of 700 men, the Viking Battalion, was sent to a training camp in Germany. After several changes of staff the



QUISLINGISM MADE NO HEADWAY IN NORWAY

As this Chapter relates, the 'Nasjonal Samling' or Quisling Party had few adherents, despite alternate cajolery and threats by the Nazis. Here, on snow-covered shutters, someone has scrawled sentiments that many felt: 'To Hell with the N.S.' Copies of similar photographs circulated freely in Norway among the loyalist majority of the people.

Photo, Planet News



leadership was taken over by the German S.S. Three-quarters of the strength of the Norwegian Legion came from the S.S., the Hird or the N.S.

German and Quislingist attempts to dragoon the Church, the schools and the artistic professions were made on a determined scale, but encountered strong resistance. In February the Bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning Nazi attacks on Christianity, and in spite of the ban of the authorities this letter was published through secret channels and read widely.

On February 15 a new law was introduced whereby applications for posts in the Civil Service were to be subject to political allegiance. This called forth a protest signed by 43 organizations.



NORWEGIANS HONOUR R.A.F.

Hundreds of Norwegians went to the funeral (top) of three British airmen shot down during a raid on the island of Austevoll, near Bergen. To another grave, that of an 'Unknown British Pilot' (below, right), went a procession of schoolchildren on Norway's Independence Day (May 17); the grave was heaped with flowers.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



HOW NORWEGIANS EXPRESSED PATRIOTISM

The Quisling government introduced currency notes for quite low amounts, since Nazi requisitions had brought about a shortage of metal. Norwegians named the 2-Kroner notes (above) 'Quislings,' and the 1-Kroner notes 'Uslings' (cowardly traitor). The comments read: 'To Hell with Quisling'; 'Long Live Norway.'

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Schools were broken into by Hirdmen because of Nazi anger at the anti-German and anti-Quisling attitude of both teachers and pupils. In consequence, there were school strikes at Oslo, Bergen, and elsewhere. During April Hirdmen broke into hospitals and arrested the celebrated Dr. Gjessing, because of his protests against attempts to politicize the medical profession.

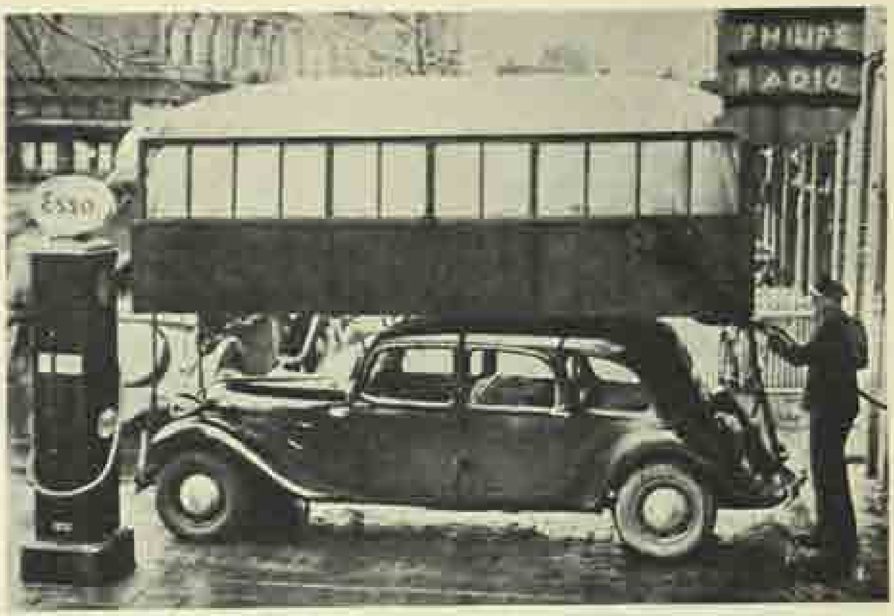
Attempts to Nazify the Fishermen's Organization were rejected by the fishermen. Similar attempts upon the Labour unions were also unsuccessful because of the determined opposition of the Norwegian T.U.C.

On May 23 Norwegian actors called a general strike in sympathy with six members of the Actors' Association who had been disqualified for life because of refusal to participate in German broadcasts; and on June 26 four directors of the Oslo National Theatre were arrested for refusing to apply to the Quisling Ministry of Culture and Enlightenment for a lecture.

In the meantime King Haakon and the Free Norwegian Government in London became the rallying point of loyal Norwegians all over the world. On April 9, first anniversary of the German invasion of Norway, the King had broadcast from London to the people on the Norwegian Home Front. The Norwegian Government in London signed a military pact with the British Government on May 28. Norwegian forces were cooperating with the British forces. A small but efficient army was trained in Scotland. Detachments of it had taken part in the British

commando raids on Norway. The Norwegian Air Force was reconstituted in Britain; squadrons operated as part of the R.A.F., and also served in Iceland. Units of the Norwegian Navy took station with the British Navy.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Free Norway to the Allied cause was in merchant shipping. The Norwegian Merchant Navy did yeoman service throughout the period under review and later, despite heavy losses, in the Battle of the Atlantic, bringing supplies of oil and food and munitions of war to Britain. In 1939 this merchant fleet had a registered tonnage of 4,834,902; five-sixths of it came under the control of the Norwegian Government in London. Second only to the British Mercantile Marine in magnitude, it had an oil tanker fleet as big as that of Britain.



HOLLAND'S PETROL WAS EARMARKED FOR THE NAZIS

Owing to the petrol famine caused by Nazi expropriations for the war machine Dutch taxis were compelled to use gas as a propellant. Even with a large and unwieldy gas-bag such as this, however, the car could run for only 22 miles before refuelling.

Photo, Sport & General

In the Netherlands during the early months of 1941 there was the same process of subjugation and pressure by the Nazis. As for Dutch colonial possessions, the Netherlands Indies were still a source of economic and military strength to the Allies, though it could be discerned that Japan had ill-concealed designs upon these territories. While the Germans tightened their grip on Holland itself, the Japanese were trying to carry out economic penetration of the Dutch East Indies, preparatory (as it later was demonstrated) to an eventual attack upon them. The Japanese proposed all manner of trade agreements, which were refused by the Dutch authorities. The latter realized what was the real Japanese intention, and warned the British and U.S. Governments.



BRITISH AIRMEN DROPPED TEA FOR THE DUTCH

Tea, among many other foodstuffs, became very scarce in the Netherlands, and thousands of small packets of tea grown in Batavia were dropped over Holland by aircraft of the R.A.F. and R.C.A.F. Above, a Canadian airman with packets ready to be loaded into the machine for transport.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

In Holland the severe winter of 1940 had led to unrest, which reached a serious point in February 1941. The Hague was fined by the German authorities 60,000 florins because of damage to German army cars, and at the end of February thirty-five Dutchmen were sent off to concentration camps in reprisal for the shooting of one German sentry at Hilversum. During February also the city of Heerlen was fined 110,000 florins because of "undisciplined behaviour." On the 12th there were riots at Utrecht. On the 19th a German policeman was killed at Amsterdam, and for this the Germans took five hundred Jewish hostages by way of reprisal. On the 25th and 26th there were widespread riots at Amsterdam, Haarlem, Zaandam, Utrecht and Rotterdam. The German authorities then declared a state of siege. On the first day of March Amsterdam was fined 15,000,000 florins. Two days later Nazi burgomasters were appointed in Amsterdam, Zaandam, Hilversum and Haarlem.

Sabotage in Holland

A big trial was held at The Hague on March 7, and eighteen Dutchmen were condemned on the charge of membership of a secret organization. Fifteen of them were shot. On the 20th Queen Wilhelmina, broadcasting from London,



CABINET OF THE ROYAL NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT

Here, at the Government's headquarters in London, is a meeting of the Dutch Cabinet: left to right, Colonel A. Dijxhoorn, Defence Minister; M. van Kleffens, Foreign Secretary; M. Welter, Minister for Colonies; Admiral Furstner (Navy); and Dr. Gerbrandy, Premier.
Photo, G.P.U.

declared: "We will never forget our martyrs."

During May and June the "V for Victory" campaign was conducted by means of the B.B.C. broadcasts from London. The German authorities found themselves for some time unable to cope with or stem the eager response of the Dutch. "V" signs appeared on walls, and were scratched or chalked on German official cars. In various other ways there was evidence of the enthusiastic support of this campaign by the Dutch. Goebbels tried to purloin the symbol for his own propaganda.

When Germany invaded Russia, in June 1941, the stout Russian resistance aroused great enthusiasm throughout Holland. Most Dutchmen were convinced that Germany would lose, and this caused fury on the part of the Nazi authorities and the Dutch quislings. On June 29 there was a great pro-Russian demonstration at Amsterdam, which the Germans tried to counter by preaching a crusade against Bolshevism. Seyss-Inquart, the German governor, made a speech in which he said that "the crusade has started. Dutchmen cannot remain aloof. They must participate in the European struggle." The Dutch, however, did not respond.

Stillborn 'Crusade'

Economic difficulties became more acute during this period. Rationing was gradually tightened. In May special economic judges were approved to deal with the "black market," but the market continued to flourish.

Nazification and anti-Semitism proceeded apace. The Dutch Nazi movement started a burgomaster's course for three hundred members. Introducing more anti-Jewish laws, Seyss-Inquart declared, "We do not consider the Jews to be Dutchmen." On March 13 a decree had been announced "for the removal of all Jews from economic life," and in May Jews were expelled from the Stock Exchange and from the medical profession.



OFFICER OF DUTCH PATROL

After putting up a brave fight for their country many ships of the Royal Netherlands Navy made their way to British ports. Thereafter units took station with the British Navy and rendered invaluable aid against the U-boats.

In the field of religion there was increasing resistance to the Nazis, who sought to muzzle the ministers and pastors. As early as January 26 the Catholic bishops issued a letter condemning Nazism and declaring that there would be no sacraments for the Dutch Nazis.

The Germans decreed that school teachers were only to be appointed by departments under Nazi control, but the denominational schools refused to comply with this measure. All journalists were compelled to join the Nazi organization, the profession was closed to Jews, and all broadcasting was centralized and Nazified.

From April what might be called the "financial annexation" of Holland began by means of a new system of payments between Germany and Holland.

The bulk of the Netherlands Navy—cruisers, destroyers and a number of submarines and auxiliary craft—were stationed in the Netherlands East Indies and actively collaborated with the British Navy. In European waters a squadron of the Dutch Navy took part in the activities of the Allied Navies. A Dutch submarine operated successfully in the Mediterranean.

A squadron of the Royal Dutch Naval Air Service was formed to operate



'ILE DE FRANCE' FREE FRENCH FIGHTER SQUADRON OF THE R.A.F.

French airmen who escaped from France after the collapse in June, 1940, were joined as time went on by many others who came from all parts of the world to fight under General De Gaulle. For a time they served in various units of the R.A.F. until separate squadrons were formed, the first such being the 'Ile de France' Squadron, of which a flight is here seen with its Spitfires. The Free French Air Force was commanded by General de Brigade Aérienne Martial Valin (ranking as Air Commodore, whose portrait appears on page 1782).

Photo, Keystone



HOW THE GERMANS LORDED IT IN OSLO

As if they had become the owners of Norway the Nazis set about the Germanization of street names and direction signs. For example, they renamed the Tordenskjolds Plass, calling it Rathausplatz ('Town Hall Place'), and erected a big signboard on which were indicated the 'Reichsstrassen' to important towns. Below, outside the Royal Palace on Hitler's birthday, April 20, 1941.

Photos by courtesy of Royal Norwegian Government





ASPECTS OF LIFE IN BELGIUM UNDER THE NAZIS

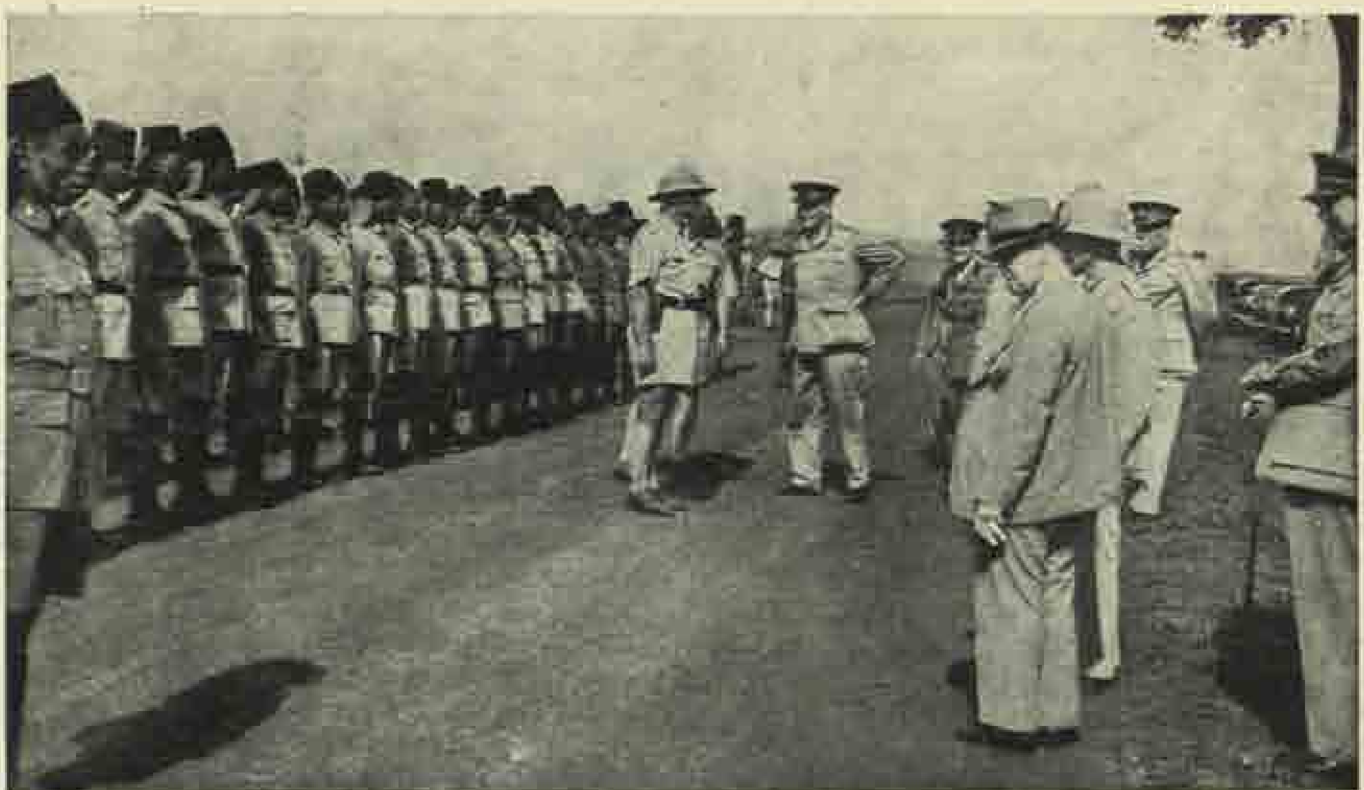
As in all the German-occupied countries, the food situation of Belgium rapidly deteriorated, what with Nazi looting and the compulsory transfer of labour to war industries. Top photograph shows a queue outside a butcher's in Brussels, on a report that meat was being sold. Below, Belgians bring wreaths to the funeral of British airmen killed in an R.A.F. raid.

Photos, Keystone; Inbel





HOLLAND COMMEMORATES HER ENTRY INTO THE SECOND GREAT WAR
In the ruins of the Dutch Reformed Church in Austin Friars, in the City of London, a service of commemoration was held to mark the first anniversary of May 10, 1940. Queen Wilhelmina attended, and the Premier (Dr. Gerbrandy) is to be seen on left in the rostrum. The original church was granted by Edward VI in 1550 to Protestant refugees, mainly Dutch; it was destroyed in one of the big German raids of the autumn of 1940.
Photo, Sport & General



BELGIAN TROOPS FROM CONGO FOUGHT IN EAST AFRICA

Early in 1941 a Belgian Colonial Mission visited Lieut.-General Sir A. G. Cunningham, then G.O.C. in East Africa, to discuss the strengthening of Belgian participation in the operations. Here (in mufti) M. de Vleeschouwer, Belgian Minister of Colonies, is inspecting native orderlies from the Congo; on the extreme right is Lieut.-General Cunningham.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

with the British Coastal Command. Many volunteers and conscripts from all parts of the world arrived in Britain to join the Netherlands Brigade named after Princess Irene. Nearly two million tons of Dutch Merchant Marine tonnage, of which one million and a quarter was chartered directly to the British, served the Allied cause.

Much the same story may be told of Belgium during this period. Her colonial territory, such as the Congo, remained under the jurisdiction of the Free Belgian Government in London, but metropolitan Belgium was completely under the heel of the German oppressor. The Germans during 1941 endeavoured to increase their direct grip on the country and also to work through the Belgian quislings. The latter included Léon de Grelle, the Rexist (Fascist) leader, and De Man, a one-time Socialist leader who had become "converted" to Hitler's "New European Order." It might have been thought that the sharply marked racial division between the French-speaking inhabitants and those of Flemish origin would have offered an easy opportunity for Nazi subversive tactics. De Grelle led the French-speaking Fascist malcontents, and just such another opportunist was found for the other group, but the Nazi efforts produced surprisingly little result: the fantastic promises to the rival bodies cancelled out to a large extent.

Quislings in Belgium

Employers were forbidden to treat with the old trade unions, and industrial enterprises were riddled with spies and informers. Men who refused to join the local Nazi party had their unemployment and other insurance benefits withdrawn from them. Nazification of the civil service, education and the churches was attempted. Any effort at resistance or sabotage on the part of patriotic Belgians was savagely repressed or punished, but in spite of all the pressure—moral, physical and economic—brought to bear upon the Belgian people, their resistance grew in strength and intensity with the passing of each month.



DUTCH-BELGIAN FRONTIER

At all stations and road crossings the Nazis imposed a strict search to stop the smuggling of foodstuffs. Severe penalties were threatened by a notice on the barrier.

Photo, Associated Press

During January, February and March the anti-Nazi movement gained impetus and several acts of sabotage took place, including the cutting of telephone lines and the destruction of German army property. In February there were incidents of this kind at Dinant, and the Germans took as hostages the Burgomaster, several advocates, and members of various professions. This was a typical case. Similar acts continued during May, and by June the movement had reached very large proportions.

Belgian Resistance Grows

Loyal Belgians manifested their sympathy for the British. Anti-German posters appeared on the walls and there were demonstrations in favour of Britain. As in the Netherlands, the

British "V" campaign made great strides. Amongst inscriptions on the walls were "Long live Churchill" and "R.A.F."—besides, of course, "V" everywhere. Indeed, the "V for Victory" campaign on the wireless originated with the Belgian section of the B.B.C., because the initial V stands for "Victoire" in French and "Vrijheid" in Flemish.

Patriotic Belgians risked their lives by giving help to stray British soldiers who had been separated from their units during the fighting in 1940 and had since lain concealed.

Demonstrations took place from time to time against the quislings, and Rexist meetings were frequently marked by violence. The Belgian clergy also stood up against the German occupation authorities and the local quislings. A typical example was the refusal to administer the sacraments to Nazi extremists. This attitude was approved by Cardinal Van Roey, Archbishop of Malines.

When Germany attacked Russia the Germans endeavoured to raise a Belgian "volunteer" contingent to fight "Bolshevism," but, as in Norway, this was a failure. The "Flemish Legion" was not at all representative of national feeling. The Belgian Primate and other bishops refused to allow appeals for recruits to be read from church pulpits, and for this the bishops were heavily fined.



TRAINING A BELGIAN ARMY IN BRITAIN

The many Belgian men who escaped across the Channel when their country was overrun by the Nazis formed the nucleus of a valuable army. Equipped with the best Britain could furnish, they underwent intensive training. Above, a squad advancing over a sand dune.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



SAILORS OF THE SECTION BELGE OF THE ROYAL NAVY

Only the shoulder badge distinguishes these Belgian youngsters from their British comrades in the Royal Navy, with whom they serve on completion of training. Many are former fishermen, and thus splendid material for their new Service. This photograph was taken at an R.N. shore establishment.

Photo, Central Press

The Free Belgian Government in London became the rallying point of loyal Belgians, but, unlike the Norwegian and Dutch sovereigns, King Leopold was a prisoner of war, and the Belgians were handicapped to some extent. The Belgian King refused German offers to reassume his kingship under German tutelage upon Nazi terms. His attitude was an inspiration to his people, but his stand was a lonely one.

Free Belgians in Britain

The Belgian Air Force was reconstituted in Britain and soon had as many pilots and planes as it possessed at the time of the German invasion of Belgium. Eighty-eight per cent of Belgian men and fifty per cent of Belgian women in Britain were gradually put on to war work in this country, and among them were a number of engineers, technicians and industrial specialists. Belgian Commando units were formed, which later took part in raids made on German-occupied territories. Belgian parachute units were raised. Steadily a Belgian Army was built up until the time should come for it to take part in a telling stroke against the enemy.

Chapter 178

MENACE OF JAPANESE ENCROACHMENT

First Six Months of 1941—Matsuoka Lays Down Conditions for 'Peace'—Thailand's Dispute with Indo-China: Japan Mediates—European Journey: Matsuoka Visits Berlin, Rome and Moscow—Hitler's War with Russia—Matsuoka Dropped from New Japanese Cabinet—More Demands on Indo-China—Britain Cancels Commercial Treaties—U.S.A. Concurs—Southward Drive in China—Stepping-stones to Further Aggression

When 1941 opened the countries bordering the Pacific were still at peace, with the exception of China, where the "incident" was well on in its fourth year. But in one and all there was talk of war, and preparations for its coming. Japanese ambitions to create a "new order" in Eastern Asia after the totalitarian pattern worked out by the Nazi and Fascist craftsmen in Europe were the subject of eager speculation and of most anxious concern. When would Japan strike? was one question most frequently asked; and, second only to it, against whom would she launch her thunderbolts?

Japanese statesmen still professed their desire for peace, although it was becoming increasingly evident that it must be a Japanese peace. In a speech to the Japanese Diet on January 21 Mr. Matsuoka, the Foreign Minister, was at pains to lay down the conditions for the maintenance of peace between Japan and the U.S.A. The real difference between the two countries was America's refusal to admit Japan's right to construct a sphere of self-sufficiency in Eastern Asia. But that right must be admitted, since Japan could not abandon a policy so necessary for her prosperity and her security. If, then, the U.S.A. persisted in her determination to oppose Japan in executing the New Order in Eastern Asia, Japan must oppose America, even to the extent of entering the war on the side of her allies, her partners of the Axis in the Tripartite Pact. So far as he himself was concerned, Mr. Matsuoka expressed the hope that America would "liquidate past circumstances" and join in endeavouring to avert the "impending crisis of civilization."

Japan's Ideas of 'Peace'

For the rest, Mr. Matsuoka's speech was a review of the political situation as it was seen from the windows of the Japanese Foreign Office. He denounced the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China as being "riddled with internal disruption," while its armed resistance had notably declined. Both Britain and America were helping Chiang Kai-shek with money and material, but the Burma route was "being seriously and continuously damaged by our loyal and gallant air forces."

Turning next to the Netherlands East Indies, Mr. Matsuoka let fall an expression of the opinion that, like French Indo-China, "if only for geographical reasons they should be in intimate and inseparable friendship with our country." Not unreasonably, this was taken as being a suggestion that the Netherlands East Indies should find a place in a Japanese-dominated "greater East Asia," and it brought a speedy and firm repudiation from the Dutch authorities. Whereupon there came a Japanese *démenti*: Japan was not contemplating any military or political hegemony; all she had in mind was economic co-operation. . . .

Next Mr. Matsuoka referred in his survey to French Indo-China, which had formed the most important route of supply for "the leader in Chungking since the beginning of the China affair," but which was now, following the agreement of the previous autumn (see page 1484), partially occupied by Japanese armed forces, while the frontier between French Indo-China and China had been closed. Then, Mr. Matsuoka went on, "a movement was now stirring the Thai people for the recovery of lost territories at present incorporated in French Indo-China. . . . Japan, as the leader in East Asia, could not afford to remain indifferent to such a dispute, which she hoped would be settled at the earliest possible opportunity."

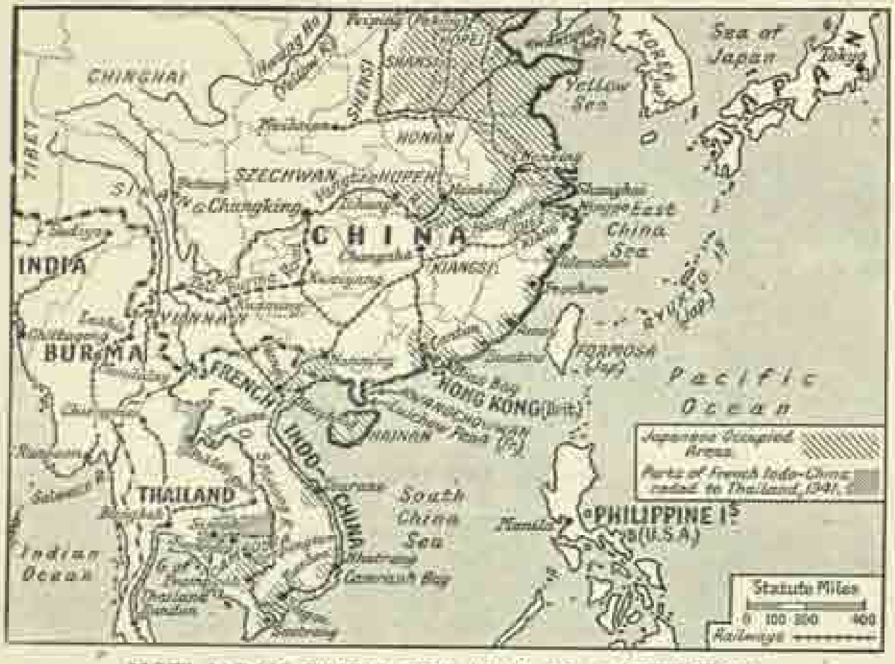
To trace the story of this dispute we must turn back the page to June 12, 1940, when a treaty of non-aggression was signed in Bangkok between the Thai government and France (and also Britain). The Thai government refused



JAPAN MEDIATED IN THE THAI-INDO-CHINA DISPUTE

After Thailand (Siam) and Indo-China had come to blows over Thailand's demands for the cession of territory Japan proposed an armistice, which was duly agreed on January 31, 1941. A peace conference opened on February 7, and by March 11 a treaty between the disputants was signed at Tokyo. Here Matsuoka (centre, left) is signing; beside him is Matsumiya, Japanese ambassador. Seated on Matsuoka's right are the French delegates, René Robin and Arsène Henri, while on the opposite side of the table are Prince Varavarn (nearest Matsumiya) and the other Thai representatives.

Photo, Wide World



HOW JAPAN PAVED THE WAY TO AGGRESSION

This map shows the state of affairs up to July, 1941. The territories in Laos and Cambodia which Thailand, with Japan's backing, was able to extort from French Indo-China are shaded. So also are the large regions in China which Japan at that date had wrested from the gallant armies of Chiang Kai-shek. In September, 1940, Japan had secured bases in Indo-China.

to ratify the treaty until their demands for certain rectifications of the 1000-mile-long frontier with Indo-China had been allowed and made. In October the authorities in Thailand and French Indo-China were mutually accusatory, each alleging the other had violated the frontier with troops and planes; and these incidents were followed by Thailand's demand for the cession of Cambodia and Laos—territories under French rule since 1863 and 1893 respectively. The Vichy government refused any concession in this direction, while declaring its readiness to ratify the non-aggression treaty and to submit to arbitration the possible restoration of certain islands in the Mekong river. The Thai Premier, Luang Bipul Songgram, repudiated any desire on the part of his country to secure its aims by force of arms; but such was the tension on the frontier that by the middle of November fighting had broken out at Vientiane and other places, and bitter accusations were hurled to and fro concerning unprovoked attacks, bombing raids, and the firing of towns and villages. By the end of the year these incidents had so multiplied that the Thai High Command could speak of "hostilities on a large scale." During the first week of 1941 fighting was reported at many points on the frontier; Thai troops crossed into Cambodia and were said to be advancing on Siemreap, near Angkor, and French planes bombed several Thai villages by way of reprisal for a Thai bombing attack on Sisophon. Then on January 20 the Vichy Ministry of Marine issued an account of a naval battle fought on January 17 between a French force comprising the cruiser "Lamotte-Picquet," assisted by the sloops "Dumont D'Urville," "Charner," "Marne" and Tahure," and a Thai squadron made up of two coast-defence cruisers and three torpedo-boats; it was claimed that two of the Thai torpedo-boats had been sunk and the third damaged, while the French force had gone unharmed.

Shortly after this engagement Japan made an offer of mediation. This was accepted, and on January 29 an armistice conference was opened at Saigon on board a Japanese warship. The commission soon reached agreement, and an armistice convention—to last until February 25—was signed on January 31.

With unusual promptitude the peace conference opened at Tokyo on February 7; France and Thailand were represented by their respective ambassadors to Japan, M. Arsène Henri and Prince Varavarn, while the Japanese representatives were Mr. Matsuoka and Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, who had recently returned from a tour of Thailand and Indo-China as Japan's special ambassador. After ten days of deliberation no agreement was in sight. In view of Thailand's attitude, protested the French envoy, the issue might well be left to the decision of the sword.

Thailand and Indo-China Settlement

M. Henri also protested against the presence of a Japanese squadron in the Gulf of Thailand, since this constituted a threat which made real discussion impossible. Here Mr. Matsuoka intervened, and after the armistice had been extended to March 7 he put forward new proposals with a demand that they



BRITAIN AND AMERICA PLAN DEFENCE MEASURES

By April, 1941, it was clear that Japan was at least seeking to take every possible advantage of the European conflict, if not to proceed to open aggression at a favourable moment for herself. At Manila, capital of the Philippines, Sir Robert Brooke-Popham (centre), C.-in-C. Far East, discussed counter-measures with Admiral Thomas Hart (left), C.-in-C. U.S. Asiatic Fleet, and Francis B. Sayre, U.S. High Commissioner in the Philippines.

Photo, Wide World



STAGE IN MATSUOKA'S 'MISSION OF PEACE'

Matsuoka, after visiting Moscow, reached Berlin on March 26, 1941, and was given a State reception. Top, with Hitler, to whom he presented a reproduction of an old Japanese car of state; on the right is Goering. Below, left, he chats with Dino Alfieri (centre), the Italian Ambassador, and Ley, head of the Nazi Labour Front. The occasion was a reception given by Ribbentrop, who is seen in the right-hand photograph between Matsuoka and Hitler on the balcony of the Chancellery, Berlin. *Photos, Keystone; Associated Press*







MATSUOKA MAKES A PACT IN MOSCOW

Yosuke Matsuoka, Japanese Foreign Minister, returned to Moscow after his Berlin visit and in the course of a few days negotiated a pact with the Soviet. Left, at the Yaroslavsky station for his homeward journey on April 13, he talks with Lozovsky, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs; right, Stalin bids him farewell in person—an unusual honour.

Photos, "News Chronicle"

should be accepted or rejected by midnight on February 28. Yet another plan, declared definitely to be a final one, was put forward by the Japanese on March 3, and its main points were accepted on the next day.

The treaty signed on March 11 gave Thailand a great deal; altogether she received about 25,000 square miles—the district of Paklay, in Laos, and a large area in northern Cambodia. Japan guaranteed the settlement, and by way of return Indo-China and Thailand gave assurances that they would not conclude any agreement with a third power for political, military, or economic co-operation against Japan.

Thailand Secures Territory

In Thailand the settlement was well received; on the other side, however, Admiral Decoux spoke of "forced arbitration," and a spokesman at Vichy admitted that France had made the concessions demanded of her since she was in no position to do otherwise. The ceded territories were occupied by Thai troops at the end of July.

To return to Mr. Matsuoka. His speech in the Diet on January 21 was heard with concern, even alarm, by many outside Japan—perhaps by many inside, too. As we have seen, the Dutch Government hastened to put on record its determination to keep the Netherlands East Indies outside the Japanese sphere of influence. Australia, America, and Britain were similarly perturbed, even stimulated into action. Broadcasting a few hours after Mr. Matsuoka's speech Sir Frederick Stewart, Australian Minister for External Affairs, declared that Australia was not likely to contemplate the disturbance of the status quo to the detriment of democratic ideals; "however, a number of influences are at work favourable to a better understanding between ourselves and Japan. Our hope is for the maintenance of peaceful relations even though military alliances with militant nationalism make continuance difficult." On February 12 a joint statement signed by Mr. Fadden and Mr. Curtin, Acting Premier and Labour leader respectively, warned the Australian people that the war had entered on a new phase of the utmost gravity, while in New Zealand the Premier, Mr. Fraser, likewise commented on the deteriorating situation abroad. In March an American naval squadron visited New Zealand and Australia (*see* illus. p. 1729). American aircraft, it was announced, were being flown direct to the Far East from the west coast of the U.S.A. Hongkong and Singapore saw to their defences, and in April Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, C.-in-C. Far East, held discussions at Manila with the U.S. defence authorities on the co-ordination of the defence of Malaya, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies. These reactions did not go unremarked in Japan, and Mr. Matsuoka and his Vice-Minister, Mr. Ohashi, hastened to declare that Japan's advance in the



MATSUOKA CONSULTS THE DUCE IN ROME

From Berlin Matsuoka went on April 1 to Rome, where he saw Mussolini, Ciano, King Victor Emmanuel and the Pope. He is here acknowledging, with Mussolini, the cheers of the crowd. After a further short stay in Berlin and a final talk with Hitler the Japanese Foreign Minister set off again for Moscow for further discussions with Molotov.

Photo, Keystone

Pacific would be by peaceful means only. In Washington Admiral Nomura, the newly appointed Japanese Ambassador, exerted himself on similar lines.

Still Mr. Matsuoka continued to attract the limelight. On March 12 he left Tokyo for Europe on what he described as a "mission of peace." Travelling by way of the Trans-Siberian railway, he arrived in Moscow twelve days later, and

Matsuoka in Moscow

there, "in a very friendly atmosphere," he had a two-hour conversation with Stalin and Molotov. On March 26 he arrived in Berlin, where he was given a state reception; in a message to the German people he declared that among Japan's ideals was "that harmonious world community with room for all nations in which they can realize their wishes and fulfil their ambitions." After conversations with Hitler, Ribbentrop, Goering, Keitel and Funk, the Japanese Foreign Minister went on April 1 to Rome, where he had audiences with Mussolini and Count Ciano, King Victor Emmanuel and the Pope—with the last possibly because of Mr. Matsuoka's Christian persuasion. Arriving back in Berlin on April 4, he had another conversation with Hitler, and then set off for Moscow, not forgetting to wish Germany "good luck and success" in that invasion of the Balkans which she had just launched. In the Kremlin on April 7 he had another long talk with Molotov, and the next few days were filled with discussions, so that on April 13 the way was



RETURN OF THE ENVOY

Matsuoka returned to Japan on April 25, 1941, to be greeted with much enthusiasm. At a mass meeting soon after, he praised the Axis. But on June 22 there came Hitler's invasion of Russia, and less than a month after, when a new Japanese Cabinet was formed, Matsuoka was dropped in favour of Vice-Admiral Toyoda.

Photo, Wide World



U.S.A. SEEKS A BASIS OF AGREEMENT

No country could have done more than the United States, under the leadership of Roosevelt, to bring about a reasonable understanding with Japan. Here Joseph Grew, U.S. Ambassador to Tokyo, is talking things over with the recently appointed Foreign Minister, Vice-Admiral Teijiro Toyoda (summer of 1941).

Photo, Wide World

clear for the conclusion of a pact of friendship and neutrality between Japan and the U.S.S.R.

Both contracting parties, it was stated in the document, agreed to maintain peaceful and friendly relations between them and to respect each other's territorial integrity and inviolability. Should one of the contracting parties be the object of military action by one or more States, the other contracting party would observe neutrality throughout the whole duration of such conflict. Finally, it was resolved that the Pact should come into force immediately on ratification for a period of five years.

Following the signing of the pact a joint Japanese-Soviet statement was issued to the effect that the U.S.S.R.



would respect the territorial integrity of Manchukuo, while Japan would do likewise as regards Outer Mongolia.

Not unsatisfied (we may believe) with the results of his mission, Mr. Matsuoka entered his train at Moscow for his return journey, and it was remarked that Stalin saw him off—a very unusual honour. On April 24 the Pact was ratified by the Japanese Privy Council and on the next day by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. In America and Britain press comment was critical, but in Russia the newspapers maintained that it represented no alteration in Russia's relations with Germany, Japan's ally. "The U.S.S.R.," said "Pravda," "is as true as ever to its policy which is unswervingly directed to maintaining peace and avoiding an extension of the war."



SUCCESSIVE MOVES IN THE GAME OF 'GRAB'

By an agreement forced on the Vichy Government in September, 1940, Japan secured the right to establish bases in French Indo-China. At Haiphong (top, Japanese column marching in) she made an air base from which the Burma Road was bombed. In June, 1941, Japan demanded and obtained further territory, and the lower photograph shows her advance guard driving into another town of Indo-China soon after.

Photos, Keystone

Then on June 22 Germany struck at Russia. Maybe Mr. Matsuoka was surprised; maybe he had got a hint in the Kremlin, if not in Berlin. No official comment was forthcoming in Tokyo, but when it was suggested that America might aid Russia via Vladivostok, a Foreign Office spokesman said that "this would put Japan in an awkward and embarrassing position." But on July 16 Prince Konoye and his cabinet resigned en bloc in order to make room for a "stronger government to cope with the national and international situation." The next day Prince Konoye received the Emperor's command to form a new ministry, and its composition was announced on July 18. It was remarkable in containing four generals and three admirals, and among the ministers dropped was Mr. Matsuoka. His place at the Foreign Office was taken by Admiral Toyoda. Abroad, it was felt that Mr. Matsuoka's disappearance was connected with the delicate position in which Japan found herself following the attack made by one of her allies against another; but there was little hope that the new ministry would follow a more pacifist policy. Rather, its largely military composition pointed the other way. Japanese interests would be its chief, indeed its only consideration; and those interests were closely bound up with the extension of the "co-prosperity sphere."

New Japanese Cabinet

That sphere was rapidly extended. In French Indo-China the Japanese took a further stride forward in June. Admiral Decoux, the French Governor, had been refused reinforcements—from a document discovered in the office of the former Vichy High Commissioner in Beirut following the British-Free French occupation of Syria it was apparent that the German armistice commission continually refused to allow French troops to be sent to Indo-China from France or Madagascar—and so he was unable to resist the continual encroachment consequent upon the grant of bases in September 1940. (See page 1484.) So it was that on June 23 an official spokesman in Vichy announced that Japan had demanded further bases in French Indo-China "as a temporary military measure to defend Indo-China against the De Gaullists, Chinese and British." The Japanese occupation, he emphasized, constituted no threat against Indo-Chinese integrity or French sovereignty; on the other hand, "Chinese troop concentrations in Yunnan and British troops and aircraft in Burma and Malaya led Japan and France to fear an Anglo-Chinese attempt to occupy Indo-China. France cannot defend Indo-China alone. We had proof of that in Syria. Japan's intervention comes within the 1940 agreement (the Tripartite Pact), which recognized Japan's predominant position in the Far East and her responsibility for maintaining peace in Asia." So, "in an atmosphere of cordiality," negotiations had been conducted at Hanoi between Decoux and the Japanese general Sumita, and at 8 p.m. that evening had been brought to a successful conclusion.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Eden, Britain's Foreign

Secretary, indignantly countered the suggestion that Britain had had any designs on the integrity of Indo-China; British relations with Indo-China had been greatly restricted since the fall of France, while those with Thailand had always been excellent. Two days later he made a statement on this latest act of Japanese aggression. "Although there is no official news of the conclusion of a definite agreement between the Japanese and Vichy governments," he said, "or of the occupation of further bases by the Japanese forces, it is quite evident that both these events are imminent. That this new aggression was meditated by Japan has been clear for some time past. . . . That the occupation of bases in southern Indo-China is taking place with the consent of Vichy, does not obscure the fact that Japan has achieved her object by making demands backed by threats of force if they were not complied with. The miserable plight of the Vichy Government in face of these demands provides one further example of the blessings of collaboration with the Axis. To the sorry tale of humiliations to which the Vichy Government have subjected the French is added the new indignity of having to accept the so-called protection of Japan against a threat which everyone knows does not exist."

From July 26 Great Britain and the Dominions imposed a ban on dealings in Japanese balances, gold and securities, thus freezing Japanese assets throughout the Empire; and at the same time Sir Robert Craigie, the British Ambassador in Tokyo, informed Admiral Toyoda, who (as we have seen) had just succeeded Mr. Matsuoka as Japanese Foreign Minister, that the British Empire's commercial treaties with Japan had been denounced. The U.S.A. took similar action, while the Netherlands East Indies extended the licensing system to all exports to Japan. By way of retaliation Japan issued orders freezing American and British assets in Japan.

Japanese Assets Frozen

Speaking in Washington, Mr. Sumner Welles, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, strongly condemned Japan's recent stroke. The course taken by the Japanese Government was, he said, "a clear indication that it is determined to pursue an objective of expansion by force or the threat of force."

There was not the slightest ground, he went on, for the belief that the U.S.A., Britain, or the Netherlands had any territorial ambitions in Indo-China, or had been planning any aggressive moves against Japan. The American Government could only conclude, therefore, that Japan's action had been undertaken because of the estimated value of her bases in Indo-China for the conquest of adjacent areas. Japan had never been denied the rights to purchase tin, rubber, oil, and other raw materials in the Pacific area on equal terms with other nations, but the step she had just taken tended to jeopardize the procurement by the U.S.A. of essential materials, such as tin and rubber, necessary for America's normal economy and for the consummation of her defence programme. The safety of other areas in the Pacific, including the Philippines, was endangered by Japan's action; "the Government and people of this country fully realize that such developments bear directly upon the vital problem of our national security."



TAKING OFF FOR A RAID ON CHINESE POSITIONS

During the years 1940 and 1941 Japan built up a large air force, turning out thousands of fighters and bombers. Twin-engined aircraft such as those seen here were used for the devastating raids made on Chungking and other Chinese cities in the summer of 1941, when the war with China was nearing the end of its fourth year.

Photo, Keystone

But Japan paid no heed to speeches, however condemnatory, however filled with warning. On July 28 Japanese troops to the number of 24,000 began disembarking in Camranh Bay, and in anticipation of their arrival French and Japanese planes roared over Saigon, Indo-China's capital. It was announced that the newcomers were to occupy eight airfields, viz: at Saigon, Nhatrang, Siemreap, Tourane, Bienhoa, Soctrang, Kompongtom, and Pnompenh. Throughout the week Japanese continued to arrive, and very shortly there was not a strategic point or a vital aerodrome without its garrison. Strong concentrations of the invaders were also assembled within striking distance of the Thai frontier, while Camranh Bay was converted into a Japanese naval base.

Indo-China thus fell an easy prey to the Japanese, and the same could soon be said of Thailand. But China was still proving a highly indigestible meal for the Japanese stomach. In spite of nearly four years of heavy and hard campaigning only a fraction of China's vast territories had been brought by the Japanese under their full control. At the end of 1940 the invaders occupied the Chinese provinces on either side of the Yangtze river east of Ichang, together with most of the coast line, including the most important ports with their hinterlands of varying size. Since their power was based on the sea, their control was most effective in the maritime regions and the Yangtze valley; in the more inaccessible regions to the west Chiang Kai-shek's sway was complete. Then most of the great cities were in Japanese hands—Peking (Peiping), Hankow, Hangchow, Nanking and Canton. At Nanking, indeed, a puppet Chinese government was installed under the quisling Wang Ching-wei.

In this vast war zone there was always fighting, but not for long in any one district; the tide of war swept back and forth, engulfing now this region, now that, as the Japanese sought to secure some advantage over their wily antagonist. In November, 1940, the invaders launched a "winter offensive" in east Hupeh, north of Hankow, but after bitter fighting they were able to claim little real gain. In the following January they shifted their attention to the south, landing troops in Bias Bay, east of Hongkong, and endeavouring to extend their hold on the Canton area. In the same month they delivered a fresh drive in southern Honan which,





CHUNGKING THE INDOMITABLE

Built on a lofty promontory at the fork of the Yangtze and Kialin rivers, Chungking was exposed to constant air attack but carried on undaunted, even after years of war. Top, left, in a cave hospital under the city; top, right, after a raid early in 1941. Factories and machine shops were transferred to the interior (below, left, plant ready for transport), but many industries carried on in the rocky caverns. On the right is part of a newspaper printing plant, with compositors at work; in the room beyond is a typesetting machine.

Photos, Keystone; Paul Popper; Wide World





claimed Chungking, was soon completely checked. Then there was a lull in this area until the middle of March, when there was another Japanese offensive up the Yangtze valley from Ichang. This, too, was held, and the Chinese also claimed successes in a strong counter-offensive in north Kiangsi.

Meanwhile the Japanese had continued their landings in the south; by March 5 they claimed to have occupied the South China coast for 250 miles on either side of the Luichow peninsula facing the Japanese-controlled island of Hainan. Their aim was to close a channel of supply which was still operating to the advantage of Chungking; but after a few days many of the ports were reoccupied by the Chinese, the Japanese falling back on an intensification and extension of the blockade. About this time there were indications that the Japanese had other objectives than the closing of one of the few remaining doors into China. From Chungking and Hongkong came reports of large-scale Japanese naval and air concentrations—far larger than would seem to be justified by the strength of the local Chinese forces. A Japanese naval base was reported to be under construction at Bias Bay, almost next door to Hongkong. Strong Japanese air squadrons were said to be based on Hainan island, where, as likewise on Formosa, land forces were reported to be assembling. There were reports, too, of Japanese warships moving in a southerly direction.

Landings in South China

Again there was a lull in the land operations. Then early in May the Japanese launched a vigorous offensive in southern Shensi, on both banks of the Hwang Ho, which the Chinese swiftly countered with an offensive of their own in Shensi, Honan and Hupeh; and in the south the Japanese attacked again, occupying a number of ports, including Ningpo and Foochow, while Chungking, the Nationalist capital, was subjected to a number of savage and devastating air raids.

A few weeks more, and on July 7 what had begun and was still described by the Japanese as "the Chinese incident" entered its fifth year. No longer was it a conflict between two nations merely, said the Chinese Generalissimo in a statement from Chungking; the wars in Asia and in Europe had become closely related. China would never give up the fight against the Japanese aggressor, she would never seek "appeasement," and if those Powers who were in league against the aggressors combined to crush Japan in the Far East, they would be able to impose a settlement of the conflict in Europe.



STEPPING-STONES FOR SOUTHWARD AGGRESSION

Japanese troops captured the Chekiang coastal towns of Ningpo and Wenchow in April, 1941—completing a chain of footholds down to Canton (see map in page 1798). Top, Japanese wade ashore; below, marching into Ningpo.

Photos, Associated Press



NAZI POLICY AND STRATEGY BEFORE THE ATTACK ON RUSSIA

New Year Proclamation to Nazi Party, 1941—Effect of British Air Raids—Trade Agreements With Russia—Foreign Labour in the Reich—Raeder's Speech to Shipyard Workers—Hitler on U-boat Warfare—Occupation of Bulgaria—Swift Changes in Yugoslavia—The Hess Affair: Martin Bormann Appointed Deputy—Invasion of Russia, June 22, 1941

The beginning of 1941 saw evidence of the consolidation of Axis plans in the Balkans. During the autumn of 1940 the way had been paved for the complete economic and military penetration of Bulgaria, her adherence to the Tripartite Pact being considered in Berlin only a matter of time. Axis plans envisaged the early establishment of German troops in Bulgaria; while Yugoslavia, faced with Axis troops on three sides and a hostile sea on the fourth, could not long delay her submission to Axis designs. The elimination of Greece would follow apace, since further embarrassment for Mussolini must irrevocably impair Axis prestige.

On the Home Front things were not going so well, although the edifice of Nazism was outwardly as strong as ever. But for the people a much-needed tonic was becoming urgent, and it needed to be something more than diplomatic victories and bloodless conquests. "Victory! And in 1941!" was to be the tonic.

With Teuton thoroughness the Nazi press and radio blazed forth the Fuehrer's threats and promises. In his New Year proclamation to the Nazi Party Hitler said that 1941 would see the German Army, Navy, and Air Force enormously strengthened and better equipped, and that under their blows the last boastings of the warmongers would collapse, thus achieving the final conditions for a true understanding among the peoples. He reiterated Dr. Goebbels' warning of the terrible future which would be Germany's should the democracies be victors. In a proclamation addressed to the German Army he promised that 1941 would bring Germany the completion of the greatest victory in her history. "Britain," said Dr. Goebbels, "is reeling under the heavy blows of our armed forces. . . . She is struggling painfully for bare existence."

To some degree the Germans in their homes and factories were heartened by this incessant "victory propaganda," but against these gains in morale were set the dispiriting effects of decreasing rations and increasing raids by the R.A.F. During the previous summer and autumn the German housewife had been able to enjoy the fruits of Nazi conquests. Here was something tangible—food in many forms and varieties—which had contrived to give Hitler's victories an air of finality. When her larder was thus supplemented the end of the war had seemed in sight. For how otherwise would Hitler, with his genius and foresight, permit so great an increase of rations both in quantity and quality unless he saw victory round the corner? The mass of Germans interpreted Nazi home policy as it was intended. England, they thought, was really beaten. Soon warmonger Churchill would be forced to resign and a "sane" British Government would sue for peace.

This dream ended all too soon when stocks of food began to approach their previous low levels. The Churchill Government did not fall. The English did not sue for peace. On the contrary, there was irrefutable nightly evidence of the enemy's growing strength. As the winter grew in intensity of coldness, enemy raids took on a new and devastating meaning. There could be no mistaking the meaning of the terrible raid on Bremen on January 1, 1941, when more than 20,000 incendiaries (double the number dropped by the Luftwaffe on London on December 29, 1940) fell on the city.

Heavy R.A.F. Raids

The threefold combination of heavier air raids, lack of sustaining food, and the severe winter contributed to the feeling of frustration which neutral observers have stated was manifest over the greater part of the country, especially in the industrial and dock areas. The mighty Third Reich had no control over these factors, though the effects might be mitigated by clever propaganda. It soon became apparent to the Nazi leaders that propaganda in itself was insufficient.

The signing of four agreements between Germany and the U.S.S.R.



DUTCH FASCISTS' TRIP TO MUNICH

Anton Adrian Mussert, chief of the Dutch Fascists, visited Munich in January, 1941. He is here seen (first row, second from left, in dark greatcoat) with Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, and Seyss-Inquart, Reich Commissioner for the Netherlands, leaving the Temple of Honour after placing wreaths for German party leaders. Other photographs are printed in page 1467.

Photo, Associated Press



MARCHING ORDERS FOR NAZI OFFENSIVE

On the anniversary of the foundation of the Nazi Party (February 24, 1941) Hitler held his customary rally in the Hofbrauhaus at Munich, and is here seen with the leaders. He boasted of the sinking of British convoys, and gave what the Nazi press called 'marching orders' for the final struggle with his enemies. *Photo, Sport & General*

on January 10, 1941, was in part a logical outcome of the situation on the German home front. These agreements were as follows:

(1) A new trade agreement, to take the place of last year's trade agreement, due to expire in February.
(2) An agreement about the new Russo-German frontier along the territory of what was formerly Lithuania.
(3) An agreement for an exchange of nationals between Germany and Russia, to be applied to the former territories of Latvia and Estonia.
(4) An economic and financial agreement relating to questions of property involved in the transfers provided for in (3).

Without divulging precise details Germany undertook to increase substantially her exports of manufactured goods to Russia in return for raw materials, oil and grain. This agreement, an extension of that of February 11, 1940, involved a turnover of 1,000 million marks and, at least theoretically, was designed to ease the German shortage of certain strategical raw materials and food. "The largest quantity of grain ever shipped from one country to another" was the boast of the German radio.

These agreements were hailed with great satisfaction in Germany; clearly, said the Nazi press and radio, they constituted a diplomatic victory for Germany and still another blow against the English. The repatriation agreement, involving 45,000 German nationals from Lithuania and 12,000 from Estonia and Latvia (which brought the total to 500,000 since September 1939), was a measure whose effects were twofold; it removed friction between the countries involved, and for Germany brought some slight relief in the labour problem.

Indeed, the labour shortage was not the least of German troubles at home. The demands of the armed forces had had the inevitable effect of depleting the labour market, already strained by the increasing call upon its resources by the industrialists. Unlike Britain, Germany had no reserves of unemployed to call upon.

According to the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung," a statement in the journal "Reichsarbeiterblatt" dated January 14 gave the number of foreign workers on German farms as 1,390,000, including 650,000 Polish, French and Belgian prisoners of war. By the end of April, however, the German Ministry of Labour estimated foreign labour engaged in farming, mining and industry at 2,000,000 persons, of which 315,000 were Italians. Since the greatest proportion of these were compulsory labourers, forced to work for long hours under poor conditions and for poor pay (the Danes, for instance, received about £2 per week; the Poles 25s. per month), their value to the Reich was unquestionably much lower than it might be. Constituting about 10 per cent of the people then employed in Germany, it is estimated that their annual contribution to the national income was about £250-300 million, and to the war effort £100 million.

On January 20, 1941, Hitler met Mussolini and, using the Italian military disasters in Albania and Libya as a pretext, secured such a grip on Italy as to turn that country virtually into an occupied region. German and Italian propaganda termed it "closer collaboration" and "unity of command and purpose," but in truth the new arrangement was a cloak for the extension of German control over the Italian war-machine and Italian war economy. It may be that Hitler became aware that his Ally's endurance was weakening—to observers outside Axis countries there seemed to be certain signs of this tendency—and took immediate steps.

On January 28, 1941, Admiral Raeder, Commander-in-Chief of the German



GERMANS TAKE CHARGE IN ITALY

After Hitler's meeting with Mussolini on *January 20, 1941*, the Italian fighting services and major industries soon came under Nazi direction. Above, headed by officers of the Luftwaffe, German troops march through the streets of Padua. Below, German airmen with large bombs in the Mt. Etna region of Sicily (April, 1941).

Photos, Keystone; Planet News



Navy, made a speech to shipyard workers in which he gave warning of the difficult tasks confronting the people. For the German Navy there would be the task of defeating Britain's sea-power and of cutting off her sea-borne supplies, while the Luftwaffe would continue to attack military objectives in the British Isles. No less than 6,300,000 tons of Allied shipping, he said, had been sunk since the war began. Nevertheless, "we do not underestimate England's strength, and we know she is tough. She is fighting for her life and would try to avert disaster by every means." Admitting that casualties in German dockyards during the past year had been very heavy, he warned the people that R.A.F attacks would grow in intensity, and drew attention to other difficulties, such as housing and nutrition problems.

That the German leaders were becoming uncomfortably aware of the growing menace of the R.A.F. was further evidenced by a broadcast on January 31 by General Milch, Inspector-General of the Luftwaffe, who warned the people not to expect too much from the anti-aircraft defences. In 1918, he said, the English, with the exception of the Germans, were the best airmen in the world. Referring to night bombing,



SYMBOLS OF NAZI OVERLORDSHIP

These Italian (left) and German postage stamps were issued early in 1941, after Hitler had secured virtual control over Italy. The inscription on the German stamp is 'Two Nations and One Conflict.' The Italian stamp is for 50 centesimi; the German, for 12 pfennig plus a war surcharge of 38 pfennig.

Photo, Sport & General

he confirmed that defence by night-fighter planes was the most difficult task of A.A. defences, and that incessant work was being carried out to find a solution of the night-fighter problem.

This warning followed closely on Hitler's Sportpalast speech of January 30, marking the eighth anniversary of his accession to power, in which he assured the people that they would never starve and that the leaders had made provision against the lack of raw materials in the shape of the four-year plan. "At sea," he continued, "U-boat warfare will begin this spring, and they will notice that here, too, we have not been asleep. Production has been enormously increased in all fields . . ."

Following on the Hitler-Mussolini conference Axis penetration in the Balkans was speeded up. Even before this the threat to Bulgaria had increased to such an extent that the unofficial presence of German troops in that country was becoming increasingly embarrassing to the government. On January 14 the Bulgarian Telegraphic Agency issued an official denial that German troops were in the country, a denial which was repeated on February 12, following Mr. Churchill's warning to Bulgaria. So-called German tourists and technicians had been quietly infiltrating into the country for months past, and when German occupation began on March 3, following Bulgaria's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact on March 1 and its ratification next day by the *Sobranje* (Parliament), the world was not surprised. Axis technique had by now become too obvious for its implications not to be recognized. Thus Hitler secured another diplomatic victory.

Nazis in Bulgaria

But more than diplomatic victories were needed to palliate the effect of hardships endured on the home front. The need for more food and for clothes made of wool instead of ersatz materials was easily apparent. But food and clothes in greater supply were not available, despite the exploitation of the occupied countries. Thus, when Hitler addressed members of the "old guard" of the Nazi Party at Munich on February 24, he seized the opportunity to make further assurances to the German housewife, on whom fell the major burden of feeding the nation. "The German people are winterproof," he said. "They have survived thousands of winters in their history, and they are going to survive this one."

On February 13-14, 1941, Admiral Raeder and Admiral Riccardi, chief of the Italian navy, met at Merano for naval talks. As a result a German admiral was appointed liaison officer to the Italian navy, and German control officers were appointed to Italian warships. Henceforth the Nazis were in virtual control of the Italian navy, whose movements would in future be dictated by German strategy and German requirements. As it turned out, the Italians were soon called on to make decoy raids and squander their warships for Germany.

With Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Italy under Nazi control there remained in the Balkans only Yugoslavia and Greece (apart from Turkey) still comparatively free, despite economic pressure and the threats of military intervention.

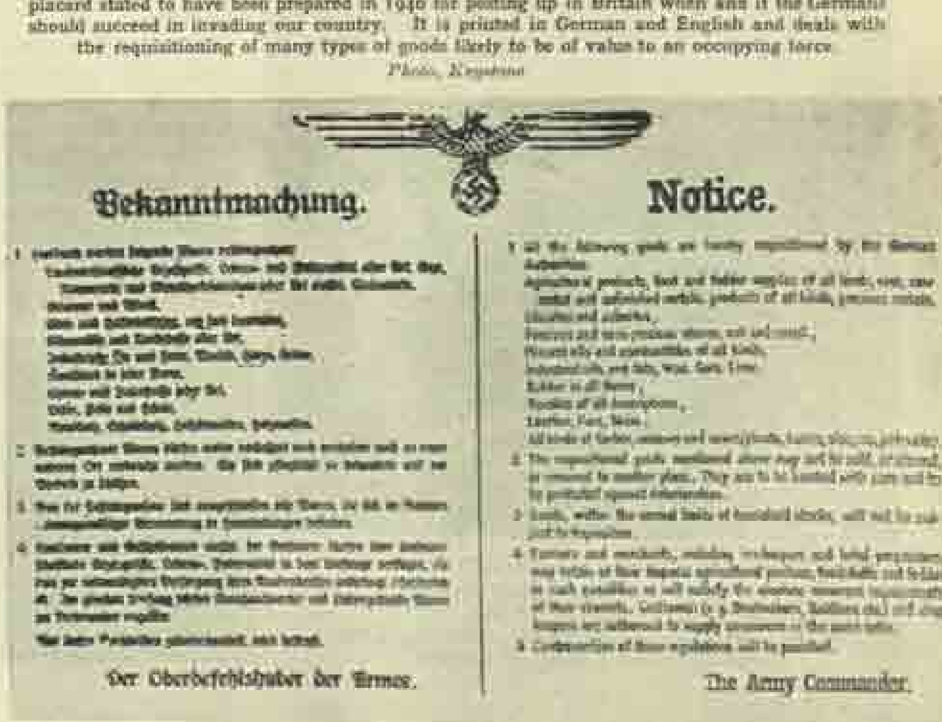
Coup d'Etat in Yugoslavia

Following Bulgaria's signing of the Tripartite Pact in early March, it was a logical conclusion that Yugoslavia would not be able to resist effectively the economic and military pressure not only of Berlin but also of Bulgaria, Hungary and Italy, and on March 25 Tsvetkovich, the Yugoslav Premier, and Cincar Markovich, the Foreign Minister, signed the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. But for once German plans in the Balkans were to receive a check. Yugoslav feeling was outraged, and on March 22-27 General Simovich, chief of the Yugoslav Air Force, staged a successful coup d'état with the whole-hearted backing of the entire country. The Tsvetkovich government was overthrown. The pity of it was that this last-minute awakening of Yugoslav nationalism was doomed to failure. On April 6, without warning, Germany invaded both Yugoslavia and Greece, the campaign opening with the indiscriminate bombing of Belgrade. By April 17 organized Yugoslav resistance had ceased, and by the end of the month the Allied Forces had been driven out of Greece. The main forces were transferred to the island of Crete, the German

'IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED' IN BRITAIN

The Belgian clandestine newspaper 'La Libre Belgique' published this photograph of a Nazi placard stated to have been prepared in 1940 for posting up in Britain when and if the Germans should succeed in invading our country. It is printed in German and English and deals with the requisitioning of many types of goods likely to be of value to an occupying force.

Photo, Keystone





GERMAN ADVANCE GUARD ENTERS BULGARIA

Bulgaria joined the Axis on March 1, 1941, and immediately there began the entry of German troops destined a few weeks later to invade Yugoslavia and Greece. Above, in cars and on motor-cycles the first units cross into Bulgaria. (See also illus., p. 1586.)

Photo, Sport & General

conquest of which in May is described in other pages.

Axis propaganda lost no time. Here indeed were great victories—not decisive, perhaps, yet once again the British had been driven off the continent. Hitler, in his Reichstag speech at the Kroll Opera House, Berlin, on May 4, alleged that German losses in Yugoslavia and Greece totalled only 1,151 killed and 3,892 wounded; he claimed the capture of 342,000 Serb troops and 218,000 Greeks. Nevertheless, in his speech there were signs of concern at the increasing flow of American supplies to Britain. Referring presumably to the United States, he said that if democratic countries were counting on choking the National Socialist State with the force of their material production there could be only one answer—the German people would never again experience a 1918. "Force of arms," he continued, "will never make us yield. The German soldier will be given still better weapons this year and next year."

Unconsciously perhaps he betrayed the fact that, despite the outward show of confidence, he did not expect 1941 to bring Germany the final victory.

German morale was profoundly disturbed by the flight of Rudolf Hess to Scotland on May 10. The Nazi propaganda machine, for once, failed to convince even its friends among the nations.





FUEHRER'S BIRTHDAY CONGRATULATIONS

Hitler was 52 on April 20, 1941; a special postage stamp (right) was issued to mark the occasion. Above, replying to congratulations from (left to right) Goering, Keitel and Himmler.

Photos, Associated Press; Wide World

Contradictory statements were made in futile efforts to explain Hess's flight. He was suffering from insanity and hallucinations; he was the "angel of peace" and the "would-be saviour of England." One moment Hess knew nothing of Germany's military secrets; the next, the hope was expressed that Britain would be "sufficiently chivalrous not to worm any secrets from him." There were two reasonable explanations: either Hess had come to Britain, with Hitler's consent, in the hope of securing an agreed peace; or he had made such a bid on his own responsibility. In any case he would be disowned unless he succeeded.

After the Hess Escapade

Hess's escapade was closely followed by the promotion on May 14 of Martin Bormann to Party Chancellor, but with that office, however, for the future, under Hitler's own personal jurisdiction. The following day soothsayers, crystal-gazers, fortune-tellers, and astrologers were banned throughout Germany. Was Hitler, said to be a fervent believer in occultism, apprehensive of the future? There were rumours of the arrest of many friends of Hess—Karl Haushofer, propounder of the "lebensraum" theory, and Messerschmitt, the aircraft designer.

During these months (January–June) the Luftwaffe had not been idle. Its operations were extensive. Apart from the night-bombing of British cities, German planes ranged the skies over the Atlantic and North Seas, attacking and sinking Allied shipping: with the



SALUTE TO THE RED ARMY. By Cowan Dobson

TO mark the 25th anniversary of the Red Army, in February 1943, there were celebrations in London, in Glasgow, and in other British cities. His Majesty the King sent a telegram of congratulation to M. Kalinin and ordered the presentation of a Sword of Honour to Stalingrad. Above is Mr. Cowan Dobson's impression of the great meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, which was attended by representative units of the Armed Forces and Civic Defence Services. Mr. Duff Cooper is on the platform, which is decorated with the flag of St. Andrew, and the national emblem of the U.S.S.R. The painting was sent to Russia as a tribute from the people of Glasgow.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN FIGHTER AIRCRAFT



EXCEPT for the Lockheed Lightning, shown at top, right, the types here shown are single-engined fighters—outstanding examples of aircraft employed to escort bombers. The Typhoon (below, right) is British; the rest are American-built. General H. H. Arnold, Chief of U.S. Army Air Forces, stated that in his opinion the Lightning and Thunderbolt were the best in their class. Comparing engine power, the North American Mustang (top, left) has an Allison liquid-cooled 12-cylinder V-type motor of 1,900 h.p., while the Lightning is powered by two Allisons, each giving 1,150 h.p. The nominal speed of both aircraft is about 380 m.p.h. The Republic Thunderbolt (below, left, in echelon formation) and the Hawker Typhoon (below, right) are in a different class, with single engines giving an output of 2,000 h.p. The British Typhoon—from the same builders as the remarkable Hurricanes—has a Napier Sabre 24-cylinder sleeve-valve engine and a top speed of over 400 m.p.h. The Pratt & Whitney Double Wasp engine of the Thunderbolt (18-cylinder air-cooled radial) gives the same speed. This aircraft is especially designed for high altitudes—up to 40,000 feet. Armament in the American machine is 8 machine-guns; in the Typhoon it is (i) 4 cannon or (ii) 12 machine-guns. The peculiar striped marking of the Typhoon is to make it easily distinguishable from the German FW190, which it resembles in appearance.

Direct colour photographs by Fox; L.N.A.; Associated Press; Sport & General





Lockheed Lightnings came into service with the Royal Air Force in 1942, and were highly successful in the Tunisian operations. The design is unusual, on account of the twin fuselages which carry the tail unit.



The Hawker Typhoon, one of the most heavily armed and armoured fighters, scored many successes against tip-and-run raiders, E-boats and minesweepers.



SKY DUEL ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT: RED AIR FORCE FIGHTER AND BOMBER TYPES

A German bomber unit is attempting to cover a river-crossing for their retreating forces whilst Russian bombers, operating in support of the Red Army, have attacked dumps and concentrations on the enemy-held river bank. Meanwhile, Soviet fighters are breaking up the German attack. The German Heinkel 111 in the left foreground has had its starboard engine cowling torn open by cannon fire and the power unit is starting to flame. Through the plexiglas panels of the cockpit the pilot and gunner-bomb-aimer can be seen, the latter training his 7.9 mm. gun on the Soviet MIG-3 fighter swooping just ahead. Top right, is a later Soviet fighter type, the Lagg-3, of all-wood construction, claimed to be more than a match for the Focke-Wulf 190. Seen through the smoke, upper left, are two types of Russian light-reconnaissance bomber: the AK-4 (nearest the corner) and the PE-2. Both these types fly at 300 m.p.h., driven by two 1,100 h.p. engines.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Howarth*

invaluable assistance of the new Focke-Wulf Kurier, a heavy four-engined bomber with a crew of 6 (introduced into service in January), German air attacks on Britain's vital life-line assumed worrying proportions. Nevertheless, the Luftwaffe did not escape without loss.

Concerning night-operations against Britain little need be said here, except to measure the degree of success attendant upon these operations. Apart from the heavy damage caused to commercial and private buildings, as well as to historic monuments all over Britain, the Luftwaffe's intensive and prolonged raids achieved nothing of a decisive character. Certainly the loss of life and the casualties inflicted (18,400 killed, 21,200 injured) were grievous, but even this was negligible considering the scale of the attacks. The price paid for all operations over Britain was the destruction of 1,096 planes.

At sea the most notable feature of Germany's strategy was her submarine warfare, which was carried out extensively and with great determination. The destruction of 397 Allied ships totalling 1,783,692 tons, as well as their vital cargoes, during the first six months of 1941 was no small achievement. Not all these losses were inflicted by submarines, for German sea raiders and the Luftwaffe claimed a small but important share. Of other operations the most outstanding was the sinking off Greenland on May 24 of H.M.S. "Hood," Britain's largest battle cruiser, against which may be set the battleship "Bismarck," sunk on May 27 after a 1,750 mile chase.

On June 22 Hitler perpetrated his greatest crime by attacking his former ally, Russia (*see* Chap. 181). An hour after the commencement of the attack Goebbels broadcast a proclamation by Hitler, outlining his reasons for marching against the Soviet Union and accusing her of "desiring to stab Germany in the back while she is engaged in a struggle for her existence." Stalin was also accused of occupying and bolshevizing spheres of influence in the Balkans, of violation of the German-Soviet treaties, of carrying out subversive activities in Germany, massing 160 divisions on the German frontier and provoking incidents, and conspiring with England for "still closer collaboration between the political and military leaders of Britain and the U.S.S.R." The stage was set, the curtain up, for the greatest drama of the world war. Both Axis and Allies knew that when the curtain fell again the fate of the world would have been decided.



SUCCESSOR TO RUDOLF HESS

After Hess had been disowned by the Nazis, Hitler appointed as his Party Chancellor Martin Bormann (previously Reichsleiter), but brought that office under his own personal control (May 24, 1941).

Photo, New York Times Photos

CONFERENCE BEFORE THE ATTACK ON RUSSIA

When Hitler met Mussolini at the Brenner Pass on June 2, 1941, the world wondered what would be the next Nazi move. It is probable that Hitler wanted to make sure that Italy would play the proper rôle in the great Russian adventure, which opened twenty days later.

Photo, Wide World





Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR by Harrop

RESOURCES OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The enormous extent of the Russian lands makes it difficult to represent them in a single map of reasonable size, but here the artist-cartographer has succeeded in showing graphically the immense extent and bountiful resources of that vast domain which Hitler attacked on June 22, 1941.

RUSSIA ON THE EVE OF THE NAZI INVASION

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—After the Civil War: Building a New State—Territories Lost by Brest-Litovsk Treaty—Three 'Five Year Plans'—Sacrifices for National Security—Industry Moved Back Eastward—Abortive Plans for Non-Aggression Pacts—British and French Mission of 1939—Pact With Germany—Partition of Poland—The Buffer Zone—Baltic Bases—Germany Strikes—Russian Resources

If the reader is to comprehend the rise of Russia as a new military and industrial force before the outbreak of the second world war and the events that led to the destruction of the uneasy alliance between Russia and her bitterest enemy, Nazi Germany, it is necessary to give a rapid historical review. For this we must go back to 1919.

On November 7, 1917, Kerensky's government fell and there was born the All-Russian Congress of Soviets ("soviet" means council), out of which was to develop the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the outbreak of war in 1939 the Union comprised eleven Republics, of which the largest and most important was Russia proper—the R.S.F.S.R. or Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic. It had a constitution adopted on December 5, 1935, of which the first Article proclaimed: "The U.S.S.R. is a Socialist State of workers and peasants." The area of Union territories was a little over 8,000,000 square miles, and its population numbered about 166,000,000. Following upon the German conquest of Poland and the frontier demarcation of September, 1939, the states of Western White Russia and the Western Ukraine voted themselves into the Union. In August, 1940, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia entered the Soviet Union. This, then, was the Russia against which Nazi Germany pitted herself on June 22, 1941.

For twenty years after the launching of the Bolshevik republic Soviet Russia was a pariah amongst the nations. She had no representative at Versailles, no voice in the peace treaties which wound up the four years of the first world war. Throughout 1919 Russia was the scene of civil war. Time after time it seemed that the "Reds," opposed as they were by large armies of "Whites" strongly supported by British, French and Japanese troops and aided by supplies, were about to be overborne. (The purpose of this intervention in Russia by Britain and her allies was the reconstruction of an anti-German front.)

To the amazement of the world the Bolsheviks managed at last to secure the mastery over all their foes. In part their victory was due to the withdrawal by the Allies of military aid to the White generals—Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel—at the end of 1919; in part it was due to the incompetence of these men themselves, but to a much larger extent it may be attributed to the unwillingness of the people to fight against the Bolsheviks. In a large degree the success of the Reds was due to the military genius of Trotsky, who built the Red Army out of undisciplined and demoralized remnants of the Tsarist armies. By the end of 1920 the Bolshevist state was firmly established in Western Russia, and within the next two years the last dissident elements had been expelled from, or exterminated in, the remotest corners of Siberia.



JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN

The Russian Premier was born near Tiflis in 1879. After the revolution of 1917 he became a member of the Political Bureau. Since 1919 he has been General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee. On May 6, 1941, he became Chairman of Commissars (equivalent to Premier), and after the German invasion he took over the Defence Ministry.

Photo, New York Times Photos

The Red victory had been purchased at a great price. Huge provinces had been laid waste; the Soviet had had to abandon considerable territories which until 1917 formed part of the Tsarist realm. On the Baltic three new States came into being—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Poland achieved her independence in 1919; and in 1920, by the Treaty of Riga which brought the Russo-Polish War to a close, the defeated Bolsheviks were forced to cede to Poland a large area in the Western Ukraine.

By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia had lost all her western provinces, which thus acquired a nominal autonomy under German overlordship. After the treaty Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania had in turn declared their independence. In the south, Bessarabia had united herself with Rumania. Peace treaties with Russia were signed by Finland and the Baltic States in 1920. Thus Soviet Russia's new western frontier bore many a trace of military weakness and strategical inferiority.

Russia was now faced with the colossal task of setting her house in order. The machinery of the new State had to be erected; an army and a navy and later an air force to be organized; agriculture and industry to be put on their feet, and the workers and peasants encouraged and, if necessary, coerced to produce essential goods and perform essential work without which the State could not go on existing. The clumsy and cumbersome administrative machinery of Tsarist days was of little utility, and its personnel had been obstructive. Lenin was the chief



organizer of the new industrial fabric. In 1922 he introduced the N.E.P., or new economic policy, which allowed a certain amount of private enterprise in trade and industry and permitted private profit. When the N.E.P. had served its turn by encouraging production it was terminated (1927) and the first of the great Five Year Plans took its place.

Lenin had died in 1924; but his disciples carried on his work. Henceforth private enterprise was ruled out and State action alone was relied upon; under the vigorous and ruthless direction of Stalin the great economic experiment was begun.

Great Economic Plans

For the first time all the actual and potential resources of a great State were brought within and under the direction of a central planning agency. The first Plan, covering the years 1928 to 1932, was principally concerned with the establishment of basic industries and the increase of the instruments of production, without which no rise in the standard of living was possible. The Russian people were forced to submit to years of toil, with little material reward; but they were given a vision of a bright and glorious future, and the second Five Year Plan (1933-37) was devoted to the production of "consumer goods," as well as factories and machinery and equipment of every kind.

The progress achieved was spectacular. Agriculture proved to be the great problem, and the "Kulaks" (small farmers and better-off peasants) opposed the government plans to the point of concealing or destroying grain and eventually of limiting production to little more than the amount that would feed their own small circle. The Five Year Plans hinged on the success of the Colkhoz, or collective farm, since only by amalgamating a number of small farms into one big one could the benefit of mechanization be obtained. A third Five Year Plan was launched in 1938. As before, industrial and agricultural production, new construction and the provision of new consumer goods were to be whipped up to ever higher levels.

A few figures will give an idea of the great strides that had been made. In 1913 Russia had produced 4,000,000 tons of cast iron, 29,000,000 tons of coal, 9,000,000 tons of naphtha. In 1936 the corresponding outputs were roughly 14,500,000 tons, 126,000,000 tons and 29,000,000 tons. Cities rose in virgin forests: Magnitogorsk, the great metallurgical centre in the Urals, with a population of more than 200,000 is an example. Engineering achievements included the canal joining the White Sea to the Baltic, that connecting the rivers Volga and Moskva, the Turk-Sib. railway, the doubling of the track of the eastern half of the Trans-Siberian railway, the great hydro-electric station on the Dnieper. Immense workshops for tractors were built at Stalingrad, Kharkov and Chelyabinsk, others for motor vehicles at Moscow and Gorki, a great establishment for railway rolling stock at Moscow. The number of workmen employed rose from about ten millions before the war of 1914-18 to over 14 millions in 1930 and to 26 millions in 1937.

One noticeable feature of the third Plan was an intensification of the tendency to regional self-sufficiency and a further shift of the industrial centre of gravity from Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine to the east, to Central Asia and to Siberian regions hundreds of miles beyond. Many of the most vital industries were scheduled to be duplicated in the Urals, the Volga area, and in Kuzbass near the foothills of the Altai Mountains; and new plants in these distant regions were ordered for construction with all haste.

Industries Moved Eastward

The reason for these and many similar items in the programme was obvious; the Soviet State was apprehensive of war, and was doing its best to avoid being dealt a crippling blow in the opening weeks of a campaign. In 1914 the Tsarist armies had been hamstrung by lack of munitions. This was the peril to be prevented.

Who, then, was the enemy that the Soviet feared? An enemy on the west, it was clear, and as clearly Germany. In 1922 Germany had been the first to conclude a treaty with the Bolshevik State, but the meeting of Rathenau and Chikvin at Rapallo was by now ancient history. The Weimar republic was dead, and in its place was established the Reich of Hitler, in whose "Mein Kampf" was expressed the most

'WE MUST BE READY FOR WAR,' SAID VOROSHILOV

The occasion was the great parade of the Red Army in Red Square, Moscow, on November 7, 1939 (above). At the microphone is Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov, then Defence Commissar; on his left are Stalin, in fur cap, and Molotov, Foreign Commissar. Ranged on either side are other Soviet leaders. Right-hand photograph is of the 23rd anniversary parade a year later at the same historic spot.

Photos, Planet News



violent denunciation of Bolshevik ideology and practice.

Certainly after the Nazi triumph in 1933, if not before, Stalin became aware of the danger to be apprehended from Nazi Germany. In 1933 France and the Soviet started negotiations for an "Eastern Pact" to include Germany, Soviet Russia, Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Czechoslovakia. France was to guarantee the proposed Pact, while Russia for her part was to guarantee the Locarno Pact.

Russia Strove for Peace

Germany declined to sign; Poland also, giving the reason that she already was party to a non-aggression pact with Germany; Finland made no reply to the proposal, and it is not surprising that in these circumstances the Pact died still-born. In 1934 the Soviet proposed to Germany that the two States should jointly undertake to preserve the independence and integrity of the Baltic States. A like proposal was made to Poland. The German government declined, and Poland refused also, while simultaneously signing a non-aggression treaty with Germany.

At the end of 1934 the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations; in May, 1935, she signed a treaty of mutual assistance against aggressors with France and another with Czechoslovakia; and in 1937 she concluded a pact of non-aggression with the Chinese Republic. Yet at Munich, in September, 1938, Russia was left out of the conference. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the Soviet Union, three days after Hitler's march into Prague, proposed a conference of Britain, France, the U.S.S.R., Rumania and Turkey to devise means of resistance to further Nazi aggression. The proposal was rejected—in the opinion of the British Government it was "premature"—but Russia was invited to join with Britain, France and Poland in a declaration against aggression. Russia agreed, but the proposal came to naught because (so it was believed) of the unwillingness of a Polish Government to enter into any close relationship with the Soviet Union.

Then Britain proceeded to give a guarantee to Poland (as well as to Rumania and Greece) without apparently consulting the Russian Government until after it had been given. All through the summer of 1939 negotiations were in progress for the conclusion of a Triple Pact of Mutual Assistance between Russia, Britain and France; but the plan came to grief, ostensibly because of the Soviet Union's demand that there should be a joint guarantee of all the border States from

the Baltic to the Black Sea. Some of them did not desire such a guarantee.

So the way was left open for Hitler. On August 23, while a British and French Mission was still in Moscow, a Pact was indeed signed in the Kremlin—but it was with Germany. What was the reason for this astounding stroke? The principal one, no doubt, was that given by Molotov to the Supreme Soviet Council on August 31:

"As the negotiations had shown that the conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance could not be expected, we could not but explore other possibilities of ensuring peace and eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R."

It must also be recognized that at this period Britain and France had not a great deal to offer. In space the first two Powers were far distant from Soviet territories, while Germany was at its borders. Probably the Soviet knew as well as did the British Government that our own defences were sketchy and inadequate; that we should be hard put to beat off German forces, let alone afford substantial help to Poland, to whom we had pledged our support. And there was the lesson of Munich clear for all the world to read. Certainly there was deep mistrust in Russia of the British Government of the day—of its intentions, its sincerity and its determination.

On October 31, 1939, the Soviet's intentions became clearer. Molotov, then Soviet Premier and Foreign Minister, addressed the Supreme Soviet Council, and among the delegates were two from the provinces of Western White Russia and Western Ukraine—territories which had been included in Poland by the Versailles settlement, although, as a leader in "The Times" of November 2 admitted, the provinces were a racial part of the Russian family. Molotov declared that the chief points of Soviet foreign policy were a free hand in international affairs, the continuation of the policy of neutrality, and a wish to shorten the European war.

The alliance was a matter of mutual interest. Russia was given a breathing space in which to prepare for the conflict which the realists in the Kremlin must have deemed to be inevitable. Hitler's eastern flank was now secured and he could deal with Poland—soon to be overrun and dismembered. Russia's gains were immediate. Half Poland fell to her at little cost. Molotov stated the casualties as 731 killed and 1,862 wounded. Next year, following the successful conclusion of the Finnish War, Russia absorbed bloodlessly the three Baltic States and Bessarabia.

So by the early months of 1940 Russia had rectified her frontier to some purpose and could now breathe freely. A buffer of former Polish territory now separated her from Nazi Germany; and she had secured bases in the Baltic States. The peril that had existed in the nearness of Finnish territory to Leningrad had been removed by the cession of the Karelian isthmus to Russia. When the Nazi invasion began on June 22, 1941, these newly-acquired areas were swiftly overrun by the Nazi armies. Yet if the Germans had been able to start the campaign from the 1938 frontier their first onslaught might well have carried them beyond Moscow and perhaps as far as the Urals.

The alliance was to endure for rather less than two years, and Stalin employed the time that had been won in the further development of Russia's defences.

How Stalin Utilized the Respite

Yet already, if Hitler is to be believed, the Soviet was so strong as to constitute a serious menace to German security. In the Fuehrer's proclamation announcing the invasion of Russia he dilated upon the way in which the Soviet had seized every opportunity of profiting from the victories which German arms had won, and declared that since August, 1940, he had found it necessary to strengthen his forces in the eastern regions of the Reich because of the "tremendous concentrations of Bolshevist divisions." Then Hitler proceeded to adduce "evidence"—derived in the main from Molotov's requests when the Soviet envoy came to Berlin in November, 1940 (see page 1294)—that Russia and Britain were contemplating the establishment of a front against the Reich.

From this speech of Hitler's it is clear that the Russian gains on the Baltic, in Poland, Bessarabia and the Bukovina had been tolerated with very bad grace. On the other hand, there seems little doubt that Russia viewed with the deepest concern Nazi penetration in the Balkans, culminating in the invasion and overrunning of Yugoslavia and Greece and the conversion into satellite states of Rumania and Bulgaria.

To those who saw the war from outside it seemed that when the clash came





JAPAN SIGNS A NEUTRALITY PACT WITH RUSSIA

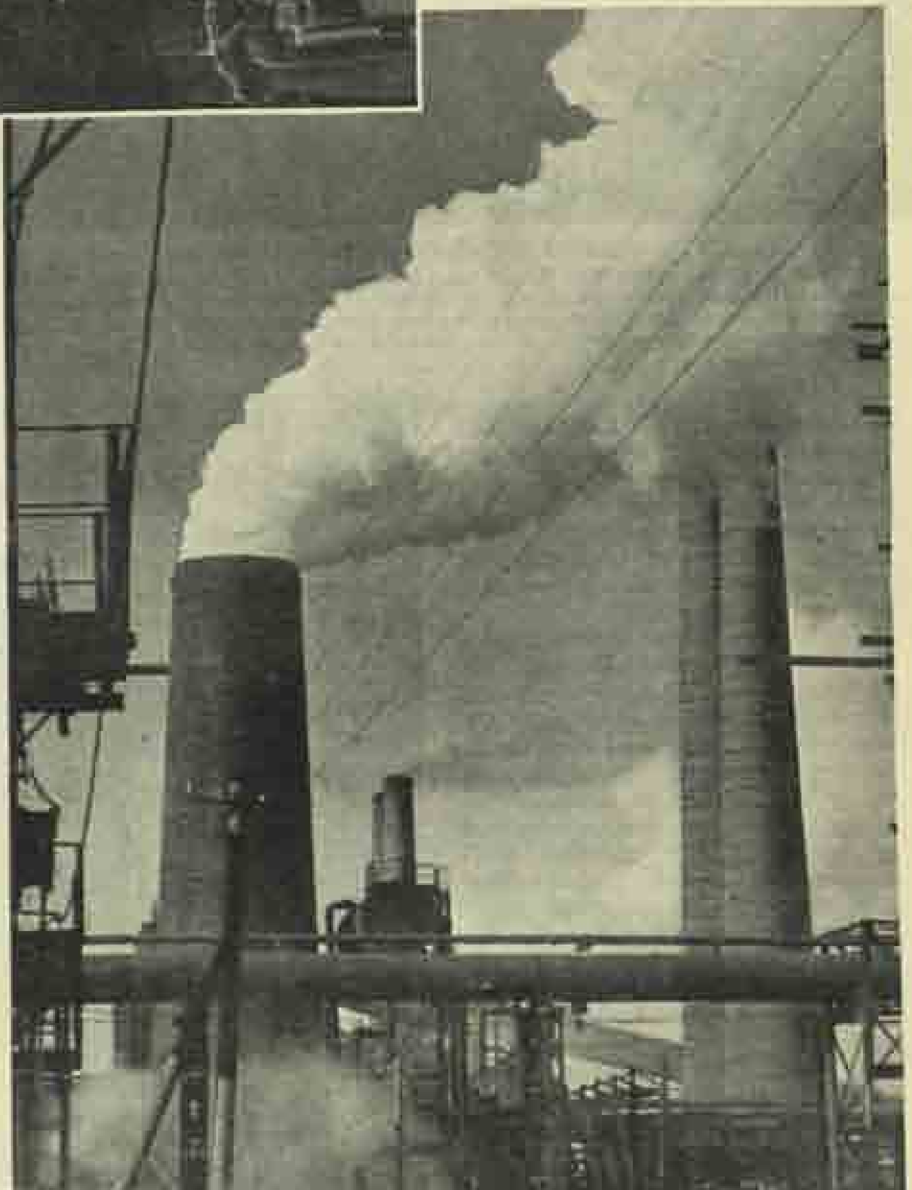
Seated at the table Matsuoka signs the pact pledging the neutrality of the two countries in the event of either being attacked by a third (April 13, 1941). Stalin (behind Matsuoka) and Molotov (on Stalin's right) seem well pleased, but the Russian Premier was astute enough to appreciate the true motives behind Japan's move. Inset, Stalin at the Yaroslavsky station after the departure of the Japanese.

Photos, "News Chronicle"; Keystone



White Russians and the forces of the Allies after the Peace of Brest-Litovsk was virtually the creation of Trotsky, who led it through the civil war. After this period it was drastically reorganized and disciplined; the fact of class equality did not do away with the need for rigorous obedience and the punctilious fulfilment of military duties.

In 1934 the number of the active army was increased from about 600,000 to almost a million; two years later it had grown to a million and a half. The length of service varied from one to five years. Service was of course obligatory, and those not drawn for the army year by year received military training



INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, SOURCE OF RUSSIA'S STRENGTH

By great privations Russia built up enormous industries which made her self-sufficient. She exploited her bountiful mineral wealth, and the lower photograph shows a plant at Magnitogorsk for making coke used in smelting the rich magnetic iron ore of the region. Top, 'Stalinets,' tractors for the mechanized farms, seen in the yard of a great factory at Chelyabinsk.

Photos, Pictorial Press; Planet News

Russia would be overborne by the Nazi might. Was it likely that the Red Army, which apparently had not been able to defeat the Finns without difficulty, would be able to stand against the force which had swept across France to the Channel in a few days and then had brought proud France to her knees?

In western Europe much of the uncertainty about Russia's military and economic strength had been due to the successive "purges" carried out by Stalin. Eight high-ranking army officers were shot in June, 1937, the most important being Marshal Tukhachevsky. Later that year many senior officers in the army and navy were shot or removed from their posts. It was hinted that a plot to overthrow Stalin's government and to set up one with pro-Nazi leanings was behind this great purge, but, whatever the motive, military observers in other countries were unanimous in thinking that it must seriously have weakened the Soviet. And there had been other startling clearances of former associates. Kamenev and Zinoviev had been tried and shot in 1936; others, including Radek, Sokolnikov and Pyatakov, were executed early in 1937; another group, including Karakhan and Yenukidze, was tried and shot in December. Yagoda, till then head of the G.P.U., was shot together with Bukharin and Rykov (against whom he himself had begun the dread investigations) in March of 1938.

Mystery of the Purges

What was the real strength of the U.S.S.R.—in men, in machines, in morale? The "Red Army of peasants and workers" had been formed by edict of March 2, 1918, under Krylenko. The army which fought against the



STALIN ADDRESSES ARMY COMMANDERS IN KREMLIN

Early in July, 1941, shortly after Hitler's forces had invaded the country, the Russian leader explained the situation to commanders of the new Red Army which was to be sorely tested in repulsing the Nazis. Alert, keen and eager, the young officers listen intently to Stalin. (Compare with the photograph in page 763, of Molotov addressing the Supreme Soviet in this same Hall of the Kremlin.)

Photo, Planet News

in their own district. Students had to put in periods of training and pass certain military examinations, after which they were given a commission in the reserve on completing a year of service. A decree of September 22, 1935, reintroduced most of the former army ranks and titles.

The industrialization of Russia under the Soviet regime had eliminated the main weakness of the armies in Tsarist times—incapacity to equip fully the available man power and to maintain supplies. Further, the agricultural policy based mainly on mechanization had given the peasants a new standard of intelligence and initiative, while contact with tractors and machines had given a useful mechanical knowledge to hundreds of thousands.

Russia sedulously concealed her real military strength, and did not send her latest and most powerful weapons to the great military parades in Moscow.

In March, 1939, Voroshilov asserted that the bomb salvo (total weight of bombs capable of being dropped) of the Red Air Force was twice that of the Luftwaffe, and even in 1935 General Guderian, Hitler's tank expert, had stated that the Soviet Union had 10,000 tanks.

At June 22, 1941, there were believed to be some 160 Russian divisions with which to stem the German invasion. Germany was probably employing much the same strength. The Soviet was credited with an air force of about 10,000 machines, with a front-line strength of about half. This was perhaps an underestimate.

About the Russian navy there was little known. Nominally it contained four old but modernized battleships; five old cruisers and four modern ones, the latter armed with 7-in. guns; there were believed to be about 50 destroyers and some 170 underwater craft.

In June, 1940, the eight-hour day and seven-day week were reintroduced, and industries concerned with war production were decentralized. Another pointer was the constantly increasing defence budget. In 1940 the allocations were double the 1938 figures, and amounted to one-third of the total Budget expenditure. The Budget estimates for 1941 showed still further increases, the 1938 figure being trebled.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler struck. The story of the invasion is told in the following Chapter. Before the day was out Mr. Churchill, on behalf of Britain, had welcomed Russia into the ranks of the United Nations and had pledged her our utmost aid.



SOVIET EMERGENCY COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

After the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, Stalin took over the Defence Ministry from Voroshilov and a Council of Defence was set up. Here are the five members: (front row, left to right) Molotov, vice-chairman; Stalin, head of Council; Marshal Voroshilov; (back row) Malenkov, of Supreme Soviet; Lavrenti Beria, chief of Ogpu.

Photo, Planet News

Historic Documents. CCXXI–CCXXIV

SOVIET RUSSIA IS ATTACKED FROM LAND AND AIR

Hitler's armies and air force invaded Russia at 4 a.m. on June 22, 1941. Below are extracts from the German Note handed to M. Dekanosov after the invasion had started, from Hitler's attempted justification of aggression, from the broadcast in which M. Molotov informed the Russian people of this new outrage, and from that in which Mr. Churchill hastened to make a declaration on British policy.

VON RIBBENTROP, IN A NOTE, DATED JUNE 21, HANDED TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR JUNE 22, 1941:

IN contrast to Germany's recent friendly policy towards Russia, the Soviet Union adopted a wholly different attitude. By means of centres chosen in neighbouring countries it attempted, as it had done before, to carry out subversive activities and preparatory measures for sabotage in Germany and the territories occupied by her. . . .

The comprehensive material concerning the anti-German activity pursued by the Soviet Union, which will be published by the Reich Government, proves conclusively that Soviet Russia's declaration constituted a definite attempt to mislead Germany; nor did the advantages accruing from Germany's friendly attitude cause the Soviet Government to adopt a loyal attitude towards the Reich. . . . Contrary to all the engagements which they have undertaken and in absolute contradiction to their solemn declaration, the Soviet Government have turned against Germany.

The Soviet Government have violated their treaties and broken their agreements with Germany. Bolshevist Moscow's hatred of National Socialism was stronger than its political wisdom. Bolshevism is opposed to National Socialism in deadly enmity. Bolshevist Moscow desires to stab National Socialist Germany in the back while she is engaged in a struggle for her existence.

In the coming struggle the German peoples are fully aware that they are called upon not only to defend their native land but to save the entire civilized world from the deadly danger of Bolshevism and to clear the way for true social progress in Europe.

HITLER, IN A PROCLAMATION BROADCAST BY GOEBBELS, JUNE 22, 1941:

NEVER did the German people harbour hostile feelings against the peoples of Russia. Yet for over 20 years the Jewish-Bolshevist rulers in Moscow endeavoured to set not only Germany but the whole of Europe aflame. At no time did Germany attempt to carry her National Socialist ideals and conceptions into Russia. Yet the Jewish-Bolshevist rulers in Moscow unswervingly endeavoured to force their domination upon us and upon other European peoples—not only by ideological means, but above all by military force. . . .

While our soldiers from May 10, 1940, onwards had been breaking the power of France and Britain in the west, the Russian military deployment on our eastern frontier was being continued to a more and more menacing extent. From August, 1940, onwards I therefore considered it to be in the interests of the Reich no longer to permit our eastern provinces, which moreover had already been so often laid waste, to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous concentration of Bolshevist divisions. Thus came about the result intended by the British and Soviet Russian cooperation—namely, the tying-up of such powerful German forces in the east that the radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German High Command.

This, however, was in line with the object not only of British but of Soviet Russian policy. For both Britain and Soviet Russia intend to let this war go on for as long as possible in order to weaken the whole of Europe and render it still more helpless. . . .

The moment has now come when to continue as a mere observer would not only be a sin of omission but a crime against the German people, and even against the whole of Europe. Today something like 160 Russian divisions are facing our frontiers. For weeks violations of this frontier have been taking place, not only into our country but in the far north, right down to Rumania. . . . I have therefore decided today once again to entrust the fate and the future of the German Reich and of our nation to the hands of our soldiers. May our Lord God aid us in this greatest of all struggles.

M. MOLOTOV, IN A BROADCAST TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, JUNE 22, 1941:

TODAY, at four o'clock in the morning, without giving any reason to the Soviet Government and without a declaration of war, German forces attacked our country. . . . This unheard-of attack is without example in the history of civilized nations. It has been made in spite of the fact that there is a non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia which was conscientiously kept in every detail. . . .

After the attack the German Ambassador in Moscow, Schulenberg, at 5.30 in the morning, gave me, as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, a Note in the name of his Government that the German Government had decided to proceed against the Soviet because of the concentration of units of the Red Army on the Western German frontier.

In answer to this I declared in the name of the Government of Russia that until the last minute the German Government had made no representation to the Soviet Government. Germany decided to attack the Soviet in spite of the peaceful attitude of the Soviet, and because of this very fact Fascist Germany becomes the aggressor. I have also to announce that at not a single point have our forces or our air force allowed any frontier to be violated.

Now that this attack on the Soviet has taken place, the Soviet Government have given our forces the following order: Beat back the enemy's invasion and do not allow the enemy forces to hold the territory of our country. This war has been forced on us not by the German people, not by the German workers or intelligentsia, whose problems we thoroughly understand, but by a clique of bloodthirsty Fascist leaders of Germany.

MR. CHURCHILL, IN A BROADCAST SPEECH, JUNE 22, 1941:

AT four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. . . . This was no surprise to me. In fact, I gave clear and precise warnings to Stalin of what was coming.

No one has been a more persistent opponent of Communism than I have been for the last 25 years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it, but all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past, with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away. . . .

Now I have to declare the decision of his Majesty's Government, and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will in due course concur. But we must speak out now at once, without a day's delay. I have to make a declaration. Can you doubt what our policy will be?

We have but one aim and one single irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate, with Hitler or any of his gang.

Any man or State who fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or State who marches with Hitler is our foe. . . . It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and Allies in every part of the world to take the same course, and pursue it as we shall faithfully and steadfastly to the end. We have offered to the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power. . . . The Russian danger is our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA—UP TO THE FALL OF SMOLENSK

Hitler's Threefold Invasion, June 22, 1941—Von Leeb's Drive Against Leningrad—Finland Joins the Nazis—Von Bock's Objective Was Moscow—Von Rundstedt Aimed at Kiev and Odessa—Big Initial Advances by the Nazis are Checked—Russia's Delaying Tactics—Budyonny's Peril in the South—Fall of Smolensk—Retreat to Dnieper Line—After Seven Weeks

The political background in Russia during the years immediately preceding Germany's invasion is described in Chapter 180. After the partition of Poland in 1939 and the occupation by Russia of the Baltic States, both partners in the pact of friendship fortified the new boundary and stationed large forces in the frontier zone. It was clear that Russia placed no great confidence in the pact, and that her acquisition of territory had been mainly with the object of providing a buffer in advance of her previous frontier, behind which her main armies would deploy. It was no doubt hoped that the covering forces in the buffer zone between the former and present frontiers would absorb the first shock if Germany attacked, and would gain time for the main army to complete its mobilization and deployment.

The great weakness of the Russian position was that whereas Germany, being at war, was fully mobilized and war-trained, the Red Army could not be brought to the same state of readiness without exciting suspicion and possibly precipitating an attack. Moreover, the Soviet needed time to reorganize and rearm up to the standard which, it was clear, Germany had reached, for much of her own equipment was obsolescent. Fortunately for Russia a year and three-quarters elapsed before the attack came, and in that period her munition establishments redoubled their efforts. The Finnish war gave valuable experience, and the drastic purge of the Red Army probably removed elements of doubtful loyalty and efficiency.

Germany's occupation of Rumania and the Nazi campaigns in Greece and Yugoslavia did not necessarily imply a threat to Russia, though their results cleared the arena and protected the Nazi right flank in the contemplated act of aggression. Before the Balkan campaigns were over there were reports that the Reichswehr was massing on the Russian frontier, but these stories were generally taken merely as an indication of pressure applied to extort a greater measure of economic reciprocity. On June 22 the Nazi armies invaded Russia; there was no declaration of war. German and Rumanian troops attacked from the Baltic to the Black Sea, while the Luftwaffe bombed Russian cities and aerodromes. Although Russia was not altogether unprepared her mobilization was incomplete and operational surprise had been achieved. From the first Germany held the initiative. The Russian primary object was, by delaying action, to gain time for the complete mobilization of her vast resources. Germany, on the other hand, was confident that in a blitzkrieg she would destroy Russia's military power and secure control of her economic resources.

Germany Underestimated Russia

Germany, like the rest of the world, grossly underestimated the strength of the Red Army and the new standard of efficiency the Soviet regime had achieved. The German people were promised a complete victory within three months, while many outside Germany, accepting German invincibility and misled by early Russian failures in the Finnish war, expected a Russian collapse in half that time. Yet a study of the Finnish war, especially in its later phases, suggested that in leadership, armament and administrative capacity the Red Army might prove more formidable than that of the

RIBBENTROP ON THE INVASION OF RUSSIA

On the morning of June 22, 1941, after the world had learnt that Hitler's armies were invading Russia, Ribbentrop summoned Press representatives to the Berlin Foreign Office building to hear him read the Note which had been handed to the Soviet Ambassador, dated the day before. The German Foreign Minister is standing, right.

Photo, Keystone



Tsarist regime—the fighting quality of the Russian soldier had never been in doubt. One reason for the world's misjudgement was that the Red Army had kept its secrets well, and little information on which to base a reliable opinion was obtainable.

Although the attack was delivered along the whole front the main thrusts were made in three directions. In the north Von Leeb's group of armies advanced from East Prussia, through the Baltic States and White Russia, towards Leningrad, and had also the mission of capturing the recently acquired Russian naval bases in Estonia.

In the centre Von Bock's group struck directly towards Moscow, following the main road from Poland north of the Pripet marshes—one of the few good roads in Russia, and Napoleon's line of invasion. South of the Pripet marshes Von Rundstedt's group (partly composed of Rumanians and in a few days to be joined by Hungarians) operated in the Ukraine and Bessarabia—Kiev being the immediate objective of his left wing, while his right aimed at capturing the Russian naval bases of Odessa and Nikolaev. The great industrial area of the Donetz basin provided a still deeper objective for Von Rundstedt. Each group thus had an objective which the Russians would be compelled to stand and protect, for, in addition to their political importance, both Leningrad and Moscow were great centres of munition production.

Von Bock Struck at Moscow

Von Brauchitsch (who had commanded the Nazi armies in Poland and in the Western campaign) was again Commander-in-Chief. On the Russian side Stalin retained control, with Zhukov as his Chief of Staff; Voroshilov in the north, Timoshenko in the centre and Budyonny in the south commanded sections of the front.

In the north the main physical obstacles to be encountered were the rivers flowing towards the Baltic, great tracts of forest and marsh, and the Valdai hills. In the centre physical obstacles were fewer, since the line of advance lay in the watershed of rivers flowing to the Baltic and Black Sea. There were of course rivers to be crossed, notably the Beresina, which figured so largely in the Napoleonic campaign, and afforested areas, especially in the approaches to Moscow. The Pripet marshes in the initial stages of invasion tended to cramp manoeuvre and to divide the German forces.

In the south the main physical obstacles were the great rivers discharging into the Black Sea, but between them the country was open and provided great facilities for mechanized operations; moreover, the west banks of the rivers in all cases dominated the left. Throughout the campaign towns and villages provided centres of resistance to Panzer attacks and had frequently to be by-passed. The Russian railways were of broad gauge and thus could not be used by German rolling stock till the tracks were relaid; though the invader came prepared for this change-over it added to the difficulty of the ever-lengthening line of German communications. On the other hand, during the summer months mechanized transport could move freely across country over the sun-baked plains.

In its initial phases the German invasion met with immediate success, except on the Bessarabian front, where for ten days German and Rumanian troops failed to cross the Pruth until other of the invaders forced a passage of its upper waters.

In Poland and from East Prussia Panzer thrusts penetrated the Russian defences and, in some instances, notably at Bialystok, surrounded large groups. The Russians fought with determination, counter-attacking and fighting on even when isolated. Resistance was particularly strong south of the Pripet marshes; Przemysl was temporarily recaptured after it had been occupied by the Germans, and Lwow stood out for some days, part of the troops holding it eventually cutting their way out after having been surrounded.



NAZI TROOPS ACROSS THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER

According to the German caption the top photograph shows a point where a pioneer unit bridged a stream for the Nazi troops early in the morning of June 22, 1941. Below, German infantry guard the flank of a main road near the Russian frontier, while refugees move back to safety.

Photos, Keystone





IN SIX WEEKS RUSSIA LOST 300,000 SQUARE MILES

In the first swift onrush of the Nazi forces, the 'buffer zone' of former Polish territory was overrun and the invaders captured a region almost as large on the eastern side of the 'Stalin line,' reaching Smolensk on the vital railway to Moscow. The conquered region is shaded, and the lines of June 22 and August 14, 1941, with the main Nazi thrusts, are indicated

Farther east in the Luck area there were fierce tank battles in which the Germans lost heavily. North of the Pripet marshes opposition stiffened as Von Bock approached the frontier of Russia proper in the neighbourhood of Minsk. Von Leeb's advance from East Prussia through Lithuania and Latvia met with less opposition; Panzer troops reached Dvinsk on the Dvina on the fifth day, though, with resistance stiffening, the lower Dvina was not crossed till July 1.

On the whole the attack had gone according to plan and German confidence was unshaken. The rate of advance, averaging over 20 miles a day, was certainly impressive, and by the end of the first week most of Russian-occupied Poland had been overrun. In one respect only had there been definite failure: the initial attack on Russian aerodromes had produced little result, for apparently aircraft had been dispersed in distant aerodromes out of harm's way. The Russian Air Force was therefore soon able to play an important part, and the Germans failed to establish that supremacy in the air which they had gained in previous campaigns. Moreover, the Russian aircraft that came into action proved to be of much more advanced types than those used in the Finnish war. Russian bombers attacked German cities and Rumanian ports and oil refineries, and it was not surprising that the Germans soon decided to suspend air attacks on Britain and transferred large sections of the Luftwaffe from west to east.

Feats of Russian Airmen

During the first week of the war Finland threw in her lot with Germany, and Sweden allowed the passage of German troops from Norway to Finland—a strange and important unneutral concession, for without it the Russian Navy, both in the Arctic and Baltic, could have prevented substantial German assistance reaching the Finns. As a consequence of these developments a subsidiary theatre of war opened on the Finnish frontier; in the south the Finns were fighting to regain lost territory in Karelia, and in the north a German force attempted to capture Murmansk, with a view to denying it as a port of entry for the material assistance Mr. Churchill had promised to Russia. Finnish intervention clearly indicated eventual cooperation in the attack towards Leningrad, and threatened the naval base at Hango, at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, which Russia had acquired in 1940.

Pressing back the Russian covering armies, the German advance continued during the second week without serious

check, great victories and immense captures of prisoners and material being claimed. Russian rearguards continued to fight stubbornly, and towards the end of the week German complaints of the bad condition of roads indicated that difficulties were being encountered.

In the third week Russian opposition stiffened and it became evident that the Germans had now made contact with the so-called Stalin Line. This was not a heavily fortified position, but a zone of great depth containing numbers of fortified strong points and well defended physical obstacles. It should be more properly considered as the position in which the main Russian Army deployed and took station behind the covering force in the buffer zone. It stretched from the Gulf of Finland and Lake Peipus in the north to the Black Sea, running roughly parallel to the original frontier and some distance in the rear. Lake Peipus in the north, the Beresina and Upper Dnieper in the centre, and the Dniester in the south were the main physical obstacles in the line, but towns formed centres of resistance, especially against Panzer thrusts.

Slow Russian Mobilization

It is important to note that owing to the great distances and the limitations of the railway system it took a considerable time for Russian formations to reach their positions after completing mobilization. For recruiting, training and administrative purposes peace stations and mobilization centres, in a huge country like Russia, must obviously be widely scattered; and formations from eastern provinces and Siberia might take weeks, or even months, to reach the theatre of operations. It is clear, therefore, that only a part of the Russian army was available to stem the German advance, though there was an immense and growing mass of reserves behind it.

During the third week Von Leeb was definitely checked by counter-attacks in the neighbourhood of Ostrov, south of Lake Peipus, near the Latvian border. In the centre there had been heavy fighting about Minsk, and, though Panzer troops may have reached the Beresina, the line of the river was held. South of the Pripet marshes strong opposition blocked the road towards Kiev about Novograd Volynsk, near the Polish frontier; and, although the Pruth had been crossed, fighting continued in Bessarabia; the Dniester had not been reached. The momentum of the advance had temporarily been lost, and it had become evident to the German High Command (and to the world in general) that Russia was proving tougher than had been expected. A distinct lull





SCENES IN CAPTURED BREST-LITOVSK, GRODNO AND LUCK

Grodno, shown in centre, and Brest-Litovsk (top) were occupied by the Nazis on June 24, two days after the invasion began. Luck, of which an aerial view is given below, fell on July 1. Top photograph shows German reconnaissance units; in the Grodno scene note the soldier paying out field-telephone cable as he walks.

Photos, "Daily Mirror"; Associated Press; Keystone





ANGLO-RUSSIAN PACT OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

On the evening of July 12, 1941, a formal Alliance between Britain and Russia came into being with the signing of an agreement to give each other all assistance and support during the war against Hitlerite Germany. Molotov signs for Russia; behind him is Stalin, with Sir Stafford Cripps (British Ambassador to Russia) on his right.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

occurred in the fighting along the whole front while preparations for more deliberate attacks were made.

At the end of the week these attacks were delivered with considerable success. Panzer thrusts penetrated deep into the Stalin position, giving rise to many German claims that proved to be premature. Thus Leningrad was said to be threatened, Vitebsk captured, the Beresina passed; and it was claimed that German troops were approaching Smolensk and Kiev. But the Russians stood firm, and such claims referred generally to Panzer thrusts and gave a false impression of the rate of the German advance. Panzer penetrations did not produce in the Russian leaders that moral paralysis which had been caused among the commanders in other Nazi campaigns. The Russians realized that when unsupported by infantry the Panzer thrusts must eventually be brought to a standstill through difficulties of maintaining petrol and ammunition supplies. Russian troops, even when their line of retreat was threatened, held their ground to prevent the slower-moving German masses from expanding the gaps formed by the Panzer formations and advancing in support of these armoured columns. Strong counter-attacks against the Panzer spearheads and the infantry main bodies were an essential feature. Considerable Russian forces were isolated, but they fought on to delay the German advance, though eventually they might be captured.

Premature German Claims

With short pauses to organize attacks where resistance was strongest the German drives continued, and about mid-July Hitler proclaimed that the decisive battle of the war was being successfully fought. Great claims of captures of prisoners and material were made; these, though grossly extravagant, had some foundation, for the Russian tactics were bound to prove costly, since retreat played so small a part in them and the German attack was overwhelming.

The fiercest fighting was about Pskov (south of Lake Peipus, which protected the Russian right); towards Smolensk, which was reported to be encircled by Panzer forces; and about Novograd Volynsk on the line of advance towards Kiev. The German main effort was in the direction of Moscow. Perhaps to allay growing disappointment in Germany, where an early end to the war had been expected, Hitler on July 21 announced that the decisive victory had been won; that the Russian Army had been broken up into disconnected fragments with no recognizable central control, and that it only remained to mop up the isolated groups still holding out. This, of course, was a false picture, for it took no account of the reserves which the Russians had available to replace losses, or of the tactics they had deliberately adopted and which in the long run were to prove successful.

Main German Thrusts

Heavy fighting continued during the fourth, fifth and sixth weeks, but the first week in August showed no notable progress either towards Leningrad or Kiev; and Smolensk, though surrounded, still had not been captured. In the south the enemy had had more success and Budyonny's army was in difficulties. The crossing of the upper Dniester had exposed his right flank, and though the direct advance towards Kiev was still held up 80 miles short of that city, a strong German threat

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF CHARLES XII AND NAPOLEON

With their usual showmanship the Nazis, on reaching the famous Beresina crossing, put up a signboard which read: "Here the Beresina was crossed by Charles XII of Sweden on June 25, 1708, in his campaign against Peter the Great; and by Napoleon on November 27–29, 1812, during the retreat from Moscow." At the left is the building used by Napoleon as headquarters.

Photos, Associated Press









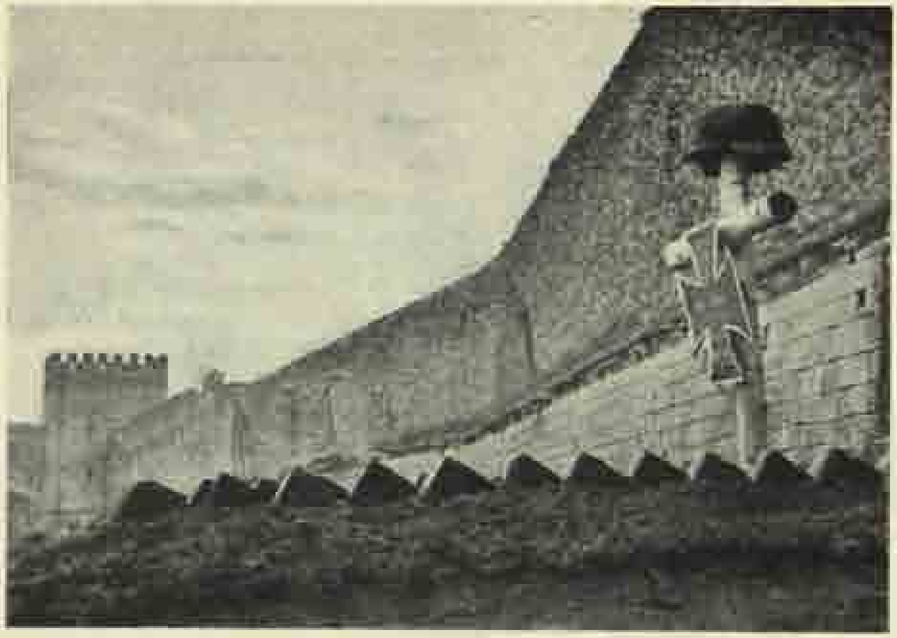
HOW RUSSIA MET THE FIRST SHOCK OF INVASION

Soviet infantry advance as tanks clear the way (1). Aerial warfare was fierce; one of the many Nazi planes shot down is seen at (2). In (4) civilians are sheltering from bombers in a shallow ditch. Soviet tanks were well hidden when not in action (5); here the crew follow out a route on the map. Behind the enemy's line of advance there was unceasing guerilla activity; (3) shows the Soviet guerilla soldier's grenades and pistol at his belt

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone; Associated Press; Planet News







OUTSIDE THE CITY WALL OF SMOLENSK

Smolensk, on the Dnieper, some 250 miles W.S.W. of the Russian capital, was evacuated by Soviet forces about August 10, 1941. Its strategical importance, on a vital railway connexion with Moscow, is clear from the map in page 1822. Photograph shows the grave of a German soldier close to the city wall.

Photo, Associated Press

developed in a S.E. direction towards Byelaya-Tserkov, cutting the railway between Kiev and the Southern Ukraine. In addition, Rumanians and Germans had forced a passage over the Dniester near its mouth, and had cleared the whole of Bessarabia. Budyonny fell back to the line of the Bug River, leaving Odessa as a thorn in the German side which, while it held out, prevented the enemy from using sea communications to relieve his difficult supply problems. The naval base at Nikolaiev at the mouth of the Bug was also threatened, and was in fact captured on August 15 after it had been evacuated and thoroughly wrecked by the Russians.

The river Bug did not provide a good defensive line, particularly as the Byelaya-Tserkov thrust turned it. Moreover, between the Bug and the Dnieper there were no good defensive positions, the terrain presenting facilities for mechanized operations. Any attempt to hold the Bug line must fail, and a retreat to the Dnieper had in fact already begun.

In the north also things were not going too well for the defenders. Though Von Leeb was held up in his direct advance on Leningrad, he had pursued the second part of his mission, the clearing of Estonia and capture of Russian naval bases there. Russian forces in Estonia had a twofold task—to protect the naval bases and to prevent a German advance northwards, to the west of Lake Peipus, which might develop into a threat to Leningrad along the coast of the Gulf of Finland. If compelled to fall back the Russians had divergent lines of retreat and would lose contact. Von Leeb, by advancing in the first instance north along the west side of the lake, took advantage of this weakness; he reached the shores of the Gulf and isolated the Russians in western Estonia. But attempts to pass round the north end of Lake Peipus were checked, the Russians holding the River Narva, which flows from the lake to the sea.

On the Finnish front the German attempts to capture Murmansk had failed, for the marshy and rocky ground presented great difficulties. But in the south the Finns had made progress on both sides of Lake Ladoga, cutting the Murmansk railway where it skirts Lake Onega and threatening the canal which connects the Gulf of Finland and the White Sea—a channel by which the smaller units of the Baltic Fleet, including submarines, might if necessary be withdrawn to Arctic waters.

Nazi Failure at Murmansk

During the first half of August the danger to Leningrad had undoubtedly grown serious. Not only was there the menace from Finland as well as the risk of a German thrust north of Lake Peipus, but Von Leeb's main armies had now begun to make progress. Developing an attack with his right wing towards the river Lovat, between Kholm and Lake Ilmen, he reached Staraya Russa, gaining the railway running eastwards through that town. This protected his right flank from Voroshilov's counter-attacks while he pressed on directly towards Leningrad.

The general situation by August 14 (on which date the Russians admitted that "several days ago" they had evacuated Smolensk) was as follows: In the centre, though



BLAZING RUSSIAN TANKS AMID THE CORNFIELDS

Taken late in July, 1941, this photograph shows in the distance Russian tanks crippled by gunfire. German soldiers go forward through the corn, followed up by German tanks. The open level terrain gave the utmost advantage to mechanized fighting vehicles.

Photo, Associated Press



IN BATTERED SMOLENSK

As early as the middle of July the Germans claimed the capture of Smolensk, but the Russians fought off the invaders for nearly another month. A German communiqué of August 6 said that the army group of Von Bock had 'gloriously concluded the gigantic battle of Smolensk,' but actually the city was not evacuated until about the 10th, after fierce resistance and many counter-attacks.

Photo, Associated Press





FALL OF MINSK, CAPITAL OF WHITE RUSSIA

Minsk was captured by heavy armoured units of the German forces in the early days of July, 1941, after fierce fighting. Much of the town had previously been razed to the ground by enemy bombers, as the lower photograph shows. Top, German tanks and advance mechanized units entering Minsk.

Photos, Associated Press : Keystone





FLAMING TOWNS IN THE PATH OF THE INVADER

As the Germans advanced through Russia in July 1941 they gained much territory, but the Soviet armies withdrew generally after successfully laying waste the land and so robbing the enemy of material gains. Top, at the Beresina German motor-cycle troops are about to cross on a float—a burning village behind them. Lower photograph, tired Nazi troops halt for food on the outskirts of Vitebsk.

Photos, Keystone



NAZI ARMOURED COLUMN ENTERS A BURNING VILLAGE

Warily the enemy advances through a village which the retreating Soviet troops have left in flames. In one armoured fighting vehicle the gun is trained against Russian aircraft; in the other the weapon is aimed at the wooden building at the left, from which—so says the German caption—attack by Russian snipers is feared. Crouching as they go, Hitler's infantrymen advance from the lorries.

Photo, Associated Press

Smolensk had fallen, resistance east of that city was still fierce and no marked progress was being made by the enemy. In the north pressure towards Leningrad was increasing both west and east of Lake Peipus, but the German advance was not rapid. In southern Finland the offensive did not immediately threaten Leningrad, but might eventually endanger the communications of the city with northern and eastern sources of supply. In northern Finland the attempts to capture Murmansk had failed. In the south the situation was becoming acute, for, although the advance towards Kiev was checked, the thrust S.E. about Byelaya-Tserkov and Uman, coupled with the German advance along the Black Sea coast, made Budyonny's position precarious. Odessa was encircled, and transports were at Nikolayev ready for an evacuation.

The Germans had made a great advance, but results had fallen short of their expectations. They were still a long way from Moscow, and they had failed to destroy the Red Army or render it impotent.

Failure to Secure Decision

The chief cause of their failure to secure decisive results by blitzkrieg methods was the skill and gallantry with which the Russians carried out a prolonged retreat without losing control and without any sign of demoralization. The world watched the struggle with growing admiration, and the oppressed peoples of enemy-occupied countries began to take heart and to devise means of adding to German difficulties—difficulties which the Germans had begun to admit they were encountering.

Nazi excuses at first attributed failure or incomplete success to the indifferent character of Russian roads, which slowed down movement and hampered the delivery of supplies of all kinds. Soon, however, the effectiveness and completeness of the scorched earth policy which Stalin had ordered were also admitted. Everything that might be useful to the invaders was found to have been destroyed or removed. Even the harvest and other food supplies, which were expected not only to meet many of the needs of the army but to replenish diminishing reserves in Germany itself, had been destroyed or removed, as well as agricultural machines and those of industrial establishments. Owing to the lack of local supplies thus brought about an ever-increasing strain was thrown on the German lines of communication. Never had a ruthless policy been so thoroughly carried out or received such loyal cooperation from the individuals from whom sacrifices were demanded. The unity and devotion of the Russian people in their resistance to the invader exceeded all expectations, and there was a complete absence of traitorous Fifth Column activities which in other countries had been so thoroughly organized beforehand by the invader.



RUMANIAN TANKS ENTER KISHINEV

The Bessarabian capital was taken by the Nazis on August 28, 1941. The German caption states that the Cathedral (the dome of which is seen burning) was fired by the retreating Russians, but the appearances rather suggest an incendiary attack by enemy bombers.

Photo, "Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung"

Many had thought that in the face of blitzkrieg tactics and the mechanization of transport the immense spaces of Russia had lost their defensive value and no longer rendered her unconquerable; but as the lines of over-taxed communications grew longer those Germans who believed this were undeceived. Nor was popular resistance purely negative in character. As the advance proceeded, guerilla parties, sometimes assisted by soldiers who had lost their units and by parachutists, began to harass the German rear, carrying out demolitions and attacking small detachments and supply convoys. In spite of barbarous reprisals the movement grew and, as it became organized, proved a menace which not only caused great enemy losses but entailed the employment of many protective parties and dissipated the German strength. The moral effect upon the invaders of constant danger and unceasing vigilance was also great.

RUSSIAN ARMY LEADERS AND THEIR NAZI OPPONENTS



MARSHAL TIMOSHENKO, WESTERN FRONT

Of Bessarabian peasant stock, Timoshenko was a conscript in the former Tsarist army. In 1919 he commanded a Red Army cavalry division and defeated Denikin in the Caucasus. He took over the Russian Western Front in July 1941.



MARSHAL VOROSHILOV, NORTH-WEST COMMAND

A former metalworker, Klimenti Voroshilov won renown by his defence of Stalingrad against the White Russians in the civil war of 1919.



MARSHAL BUDYONNY, SOUTH-WEST FRONT

Budyonny, a Cossack, took over command of the Soviet forces in the Finnish campaign of 1939–40 when things had gone badly for Russia. In July 1941 he was appointed to the South-west Front.



FIELD-MARSHAL VON BOCK

Confronted Timoshenko on the Central sector of the Russian front. He had led an army in France on the Somme-Aisne line. Centre, Field-Marshal Ritter von Leeb, who opposed Voroshilov in the Northern sector.

Russian portraits by Vakorlev



FIELD-MARSHAL RITTER VON LEEB



Fd.-MARSHAL VON RUNDSTEDT

Budyonny's antagonist on the Southern sector. In the Battle of France his armies had begun the French defeat by a break-through along the Meuse. With Von Leeb he had been recalled from retirement in September 1939.

German portraits by Von Kursell

Chapter 182

ENCIRCLEMENT OF LENINGRAD AND THE CAPTURE OF KIEV

Budyonny Falls Back Behind the Dnieper—Evacuation of Nikolayev and Siege of Odessa—Key Town of Gomel—Von Leeb Presses On Against Leningrad—Estonia Overrun—Voroshilov's Counter-Attack—Fall of Oesel Island—Timoshenko Hits Back in Smolensk Salient—Dnepropetrovsk Abandoned and the Great Dam Demolished—Twofold Drive Against Kiev by Von Bock and Von Rundstedt: Kiev Falls—Black Sea Fleet—Loss of Baltic Bases

After the evacuation of Smolensk the Germans evidently met strong opposition east of the city and to the south-west of it on the upper Dnieper. Timoshenko constantly delivered local counter-attacks and had considerable reserves. There is evidence that the Germans looked on Moscow as their main geographical objective, but the drive towards it had now produced a marked salient in their front, owing especially to their failure to cross the upper Dnieper where the river forms the eastern limits of the Pripet marshes. In order to give the advance fresh impetus it was necessary to widen the front of attack and to improve communications which had been rendered difficult by the delay in capturing Smolensk. This meant, though heavy fighting continued, a somewhat prolonged pause to complete preparations before a final advance towards Moscow.

In the meantime the advance towards Leningrad continued with vigour, though progress was slow. In the south the pursuit of Budyonny's army, now in full retreat to the Dnieper from the abandoned line of the Bug, was pressed hard in order to prevent it re-forming behind the Dnieper. Between Budyonny's retreating forces and the Smolensk salient Russian resistance west of Kiev was still strong, and all attempts to encircle that city from the north were checked for some time about Korosten, 70 miles to the N.W. Few details are available as regards Budyonny's retreat, but the German claims to have cut off large forces and to have captured great numbers of prisoners suggest that the withdrawal was not effected without great difficulty and heavy losses. The greater part of Budyonny's armies appear to have reached the Dnieper and to have established themselves there, for on August 18 German communiqués claimed only the occupation of all the country west of the river with the exception of small bridgeheads.

Budyonny Falls Back to Dnieper

In the extreme south, Nikolayev had been evacuated on the 17th, and on the 18th the siege of Odessa (by then partly evacuated) was begun with a definite attempt to capture the port, made chiefly by Rumanians. Odessa was to resist valiantly, repelling many attacks and counter-attacking, before it was evacuated in the middle of October. That, however, is to anticipate events.

Leaving Rundstedt facing Budyonny on the Dnieper, and before following events in the Leningrad area, special attention should be drawn to the capture on August 19 of Gomel, situated about halfway between Kiev and Smolensk, some 25 miles east of the upper Dnieper. The importance and implication of this thrust were not at first appreciated, though it indicated that the Germans had passed an obstacle which had given them much trouble. Gomel is an important railway centre. One line runs through Bryansk towards Moscow, another south to Odessa, passing east of Kiev and crossing the Dnieper at Cherkasy, and a third runs S.E., linking up with the railway network of the Donetz basin. Gomel therefore provided a base for thrusts following the axis of the railways—either towards Moscow, a move which might cooperate with an advance from the Smolensk salient, or southwards, threatening Kiev with encirclement. Heavy fighting continued for over ten days to the north and east of Gomel, indicating an advance in the Moscow direction, but it was stopped by Russian counter-attacks before reaching Bryansk. The advance had the effect of making the Moscow salient less pronounced, while about the same time the capture of Velikiye Luki, on the Riga–Moscow railway to the north of the salient, had the same result. Thus a starting line was established from which an attack towards Moscow could be delivered on a broad enough front to facilitate pincer tactics on a large scale.

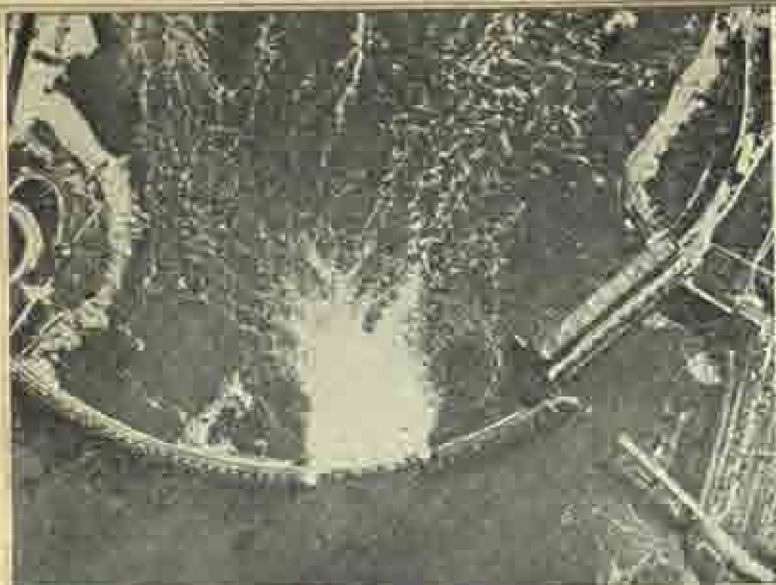
Later the second use which was made of Gomel will be explained, but now we must turn to Von Leeb's operations. He met with strong opposition and made

HOW THE INVADERS WERE FOILED AT NIKOLAYEV

On the southern front, in the Ukraine, Odessa was invested by the middle of August, and the naval base of Nikolayev with the port of Kherson had to be abandoned by Soviet troops. Before leaving Nikolayev, on the 17th, the Russians destroyed these submarines which were under construction, so that the enemy could not make use of them.

Photo, Keystone







AFTER THE RUSSIANS DESTROYED THE DAM AT ZAPOROZHE

The great hydro-electric installation on the Dnieper was the first product of the initial Five Year Plan and was Russia's pride. Rather than let it fall into enemy hands the defenders blew up a wide segment of the impounding dam at Zaporozhe (left) and wrecked the mighty turbines and generators. Right, the head of a Nazi infantry column enters Dnepropetrovsk after its evacuation on August 28, 1941.

Photos, Associated Press

no marked progress during the third week of August, but towards the end of that week appears to have gained a footing across the Narva, for fierce fighting was reported about Kingisepp, a short distance to the east of the river.

This meant that contact with the outer defences of Leningrad had been made on the shores of the Gulf of Finland. About the same time a thrust of Von Leeb's right wing reached Novgorod, an important railway centre just north of Lake Ilmen, on the Volkov River, which flows from that lake to Lake Ladoga. Combined with the attack on Staraya-Russa, south of Lake Ilmen, this advance threatened to interrupt direct railway communication between Leningrad and the Moscow area. It represented an important success and, coupled with the success achieved against Budyonny in the south, may have led the Germans to hope that Russian reserves in the centre would be drawn towards the flanks, tending to open the way for decisive movement on Moscow.

Von Leeb Reaches Novgorod

The threat to Leningrad was becoming very real, especially as the pressure of the Finns on the Karelian front was increasing. Russian resistance was very strong and heavy fighting continued, the end of August showing little further change in the situation of Von Leeb's main armies. Heavy rainfall may have limited the scope of his operations.

Operations were developing in Estonia, where from bases probably in the Island of Oesel, at the entrance to the Gulf of Riga, bombing attacks on Berlin, Stettin and other German centres were still made and where part of the Russian Navy still remained at Tallinn. By the end of the month the Russian naval forces had withdrawn from Tallinn and the neighbouring base of Baltiski. Germany claimed the capture of both places, the Russians admitting that they were evacuated on September 2. The island of Oesel still held out, though now deprived of naval support, and until it was captured the Estonian front could not be looked upon as closed. The clearance of Estonia had provided the Germans with a valuable and comparatively short line of railway communication from Riga to the Narva front, and it was not harassed by guerilla activities.

During the first week of September it became clear that Von Leeb was attempting to encircle Leningrad, pressure being particularly heavy to the south and towards the east. On September 8 it was claimed that he had reached the Neva on a broad front east of the city, and had captured by storm the fortress town of Schlüsselburg at the S.W. corner of Lake Ladoga—as the result apparently of a rapid Panzer thrust, because full possession of Schlüsselburg was not immediately gained. This enemy success was very important, for it meant the complete encirclement of Leningrad—an investment which was made all the more secure by the advance of the Finns to the River Svir, connecting the southern ends of Lakes Ladoga and Onega. Pressing their advantage, the Germans redoubled their efforts to reach a quick decision, closing in on the city from all directions and trying to reduce the morale of its defenders by bombing attacks. The fighting became fiercer than ever as the Germans approached the inner defences; but the civil population, by assisting the defenders in every way, showed that their morale was unimpaired. German losses were very heavy, and progress soon practically ceased. Voroshilov about this time attempted a counter-attack from the Valdai hills south of Lake Ilmen, in order to relieve pressure on Leningrad, but had no marked success, though his thrust probably did not meet with the disastrous defeat the Germans claimed. It certainly failed to imperil the German communications running through the opening between Lakes Ilmen and Paipus, which presumably were its objectives.

The first snow fell on September 12, marking the approach of the northern winter and indicating that the attempts to get quick results might have to be replaced by deliberate siege operations designed to starve out the city. Such a change of tactics would entail many preparations to provide the investing forces with adequate shelter. Leningrad had large reserves of supplies, including raw material to keep its munition factories in operation, and was in a position to stand a prolonged siege, which the temper of its garrison showed it was ready to face. The change in enemy policy was not clearly defined, and was made less definite by the active defence of the garrison, marked by frequent counter-attacks. Meanwhile in Estonia operations to capture Oesel had been in progress, and after initial failures achieved their object about September 20.

There was constant fighting in the Smolensk salient during the first three weeks of September, due mainly to the initiative of Timoshenko, who made many counter-attacks. No doubt this was partly to upset German preparations for renewal of an advance towards Moscow, and partly in hopes of relieving pressure on Voroshilov and Budyonny. In the second week of the month Timoshenko scored a notable success by the capture of the German positions at Yelnia, 45 miles east of Smolensk.

This brought about a withdrawal of the head of the salient, almost to Smolensk itself, with the loss to the enemy of much equipment. Farther south the Russian commander not only stopped a German drive towards Briansk, but administered a heavy defeat on Guderian, one of the most able commanders of Panzer forces. These were perhaps the first occasions on which the Germans had suffered definite defeats. Timoshenko proved himself a general of great ability, with the offensive spirit highly developed. There was perhaps a danger that he might exhaust his reserves before a decisive German attack was made, but he

Timoshenko Hits Back at Guderian





STAGES IN THE INVESTMENT OF LENINGRAD

Marshal von Leeb's right wing reached Novgorod (left) on August 21; this town on the Volkov stands at an important rail junction, 100 miles S.E. of Leningrad. Right, Finns launch boats for the attack on Viipuri, which they took on August 30. Finnish pressure along the Karelian front menaced Leningrad from the north-west

Photos, Keystone; Associated Press

GERMAN TROOPS CROSS THE BROAD DNIEPER

After Marshal Budyonny retreated to the Dnieper towards the end of August the invaders paused to capture bridgeheads for the main crossing; meanwhile advance German parties ferried across in rubber boats (left). Roads had been blocked and mined by the defenders, and the right-hand photograph shows a string of mines dug out and rendered harmless by Nazi pioneers.

Photos, Associated Press; "Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung"





NAZI THRUST ALONG THE GULF OF FINLAND

The Russians had to abandon bases on Oesel Island about September 20, and three weeks earlier had lost the port of Tallinn (Reval). Left-hand photograph shows the wrecked docks. Towards the end of August Von Leeb's forces crossed the Narva river and captured the town of the same name. Right, German guns covering a broken bridge on the west of Narva; the eastern side was still in Soviet hands.

Photos, Keystone





appears to have exercised a sufficient measure of caution in this respect.

We return now to the Ukraine. The Germans in the third week of August were still some way from Kiev, but were in contact with Budyonny's army farther south along the Dnieper, to which it had fallen back after experiencing heavy losses during its retreat. Odessa had been by-passed, but a Rumanian force had been left to attempt its capture and the city was besieged.

After their rapid pursuit of Budyonny to the Dnieper the Germans probably needed some days in which to organize their communications, and to bring up bridging equipment. They had first to capture the Russian bridgeheads established to block the chief approaches to the river, for the main crossings would have to be made in the neighbourhood of good approach roads or railways. The bridgehead at Cherkasy, where the Odessa-Gomel railway crossed the river, was captured on August 23, and two days later a footing was claimed in the great industrial centre of Dnepropetrovsk. But it was not till August 28 that the Russians evacuated this city and blew up, at Zaporozhe, the great Dnieper Dam which fed the Dnepropetrovsk power plant. This act of demolition provided the surest proof of Russia's "no surrender" determination, for the Dnieper hydro-electric scheme was one of the proudest achievements of the Soviet regime. Fortunately, though it was the main source of power in the industrial Donetz basin, other sources were in operation. Its destruction was a blow to the Germans, who realized that the scorched earth policy would allow little of the industrial machinery of the Donetz to fall into their hands.

A Pause on the Dnieper

It was not until the second week of September that a new danger to Budyonny began to develop, and during the interval his troops on the Dnieper evinced signs of recovery from their retreat and made raids across the river to harass German preparations.

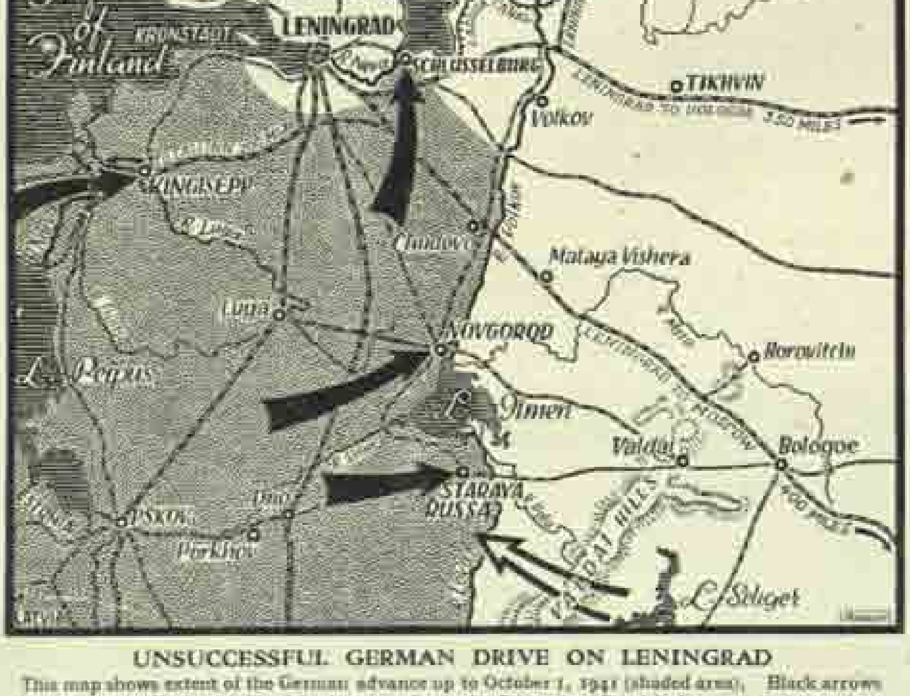
West of Kiev, too, the enemy advance made no progress; but it must have become evident to the Germans that an attempt to cross the Dnieper would be dangerous while Kiev held out and Budyonny had reserves with which to counter-attack. They had therefore evolved a plan for taking Kiev by a cooperative use of Von Bock's and Von Rundstedt's armies. The first sign was given by the capture on Sept. 12 of Chernigov, a town some 80 miles north-east of Kiev and situated on the river Desna, a tributary which joins the Dnieper at Kiev. This thrust was made by part of Von Bock's group operating south from the Gomel region, and indicated an attempt to encircle Kiev from the north, while the direct attack, from N.W. and W., was pressed with increased energy by Rundstedt. On September 14 the enemy captured Kremenchug, on the east bank of the Dnieper half-way between Dnepropetrovsk and Cherkasy and on the railway to Kharkov. By the 18th these successes had been exploited rapidly and both the Desna and Dnieper had been crossed on wide fronts; the claws of the pincers were closing round Kiev, while a thrust from Kremenchug to Poltava interrupted communication with Kharkov. The Russians admitted the evacuation of Kiev on September 21, and the enemy claimed that large



AFTER THE LOSS OF OESEL

Important Soviet bases were lost when Oesel was taken about September 20. The Russians dynamited the causeway connecting Oesel to the neighbouring small island of Mohn, and here German pioneers are trying to repair the damage.

Photo, Planet News



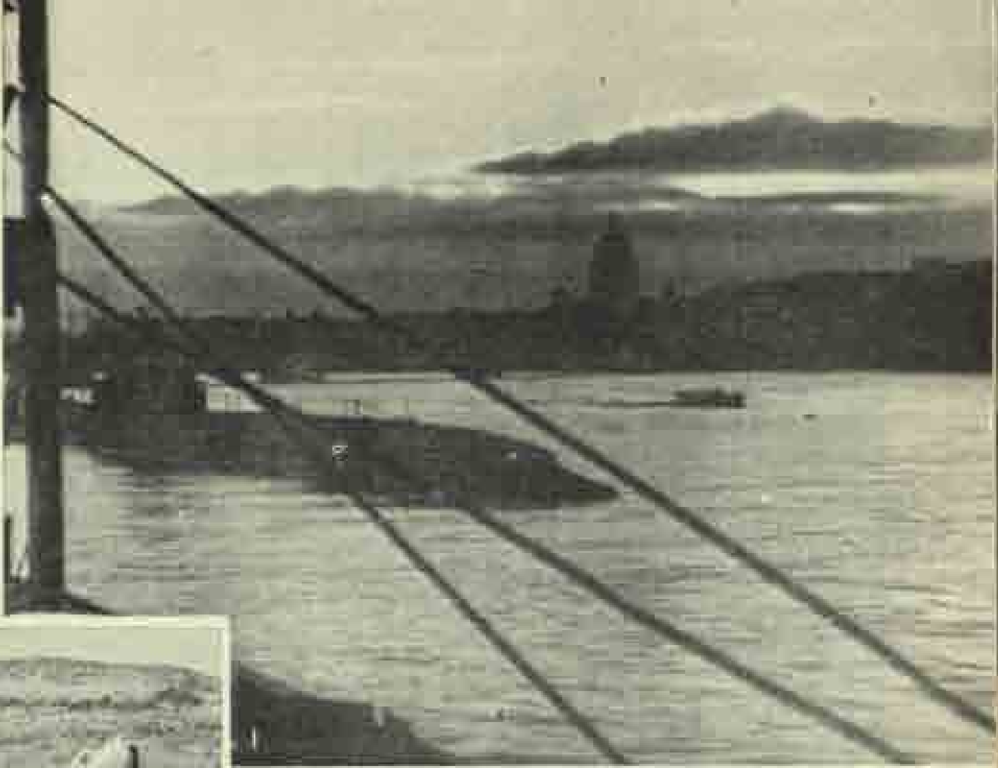
UNSUCCESSFUL GERMAN DRIVE ON LENINGRAD

This map shows extent of the German advance up to October 1, 1941 (shaded area). Black arrows indicate main Nazi and Finnish thrusts. Early in September Finnish forces pressed on into Karelia and a formation advanced to the Svir. Von Leeb reached the Neva at Schlüsselburg. By the end of August his right wing had got as far as Novgorod and other forces threatened Staraya-Russa. Crossing the Narva, the Germans drove on towards Kingisepp. Tallinn fell on August 28. But despite virtual encirclement Leningrad remained unconquered. White arrow shows Voroshilov's counter-attack. *Specially drawn for* THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Harrop*

DEFENCE OF LENINGRAD

As early as July 12, 1941, the Germans claimed that Leningrad was immediately threatened, and soon thereafter the invaders pressed on to the great Russian city and manufacturing centre from many directions—but Leningrad held fast. 1, Soviet submarine in a reach of the Neva near the city; 2, A.A. observers in camouflaged capes at work with range-finder and binoculars at look-out post; 3, sappers working on the fortifications; 4, inspector at a Leningrad armament works examines a self-propelled assault gun ready for the front; 5, Germans in a captured Russian trench outside Leningrad.

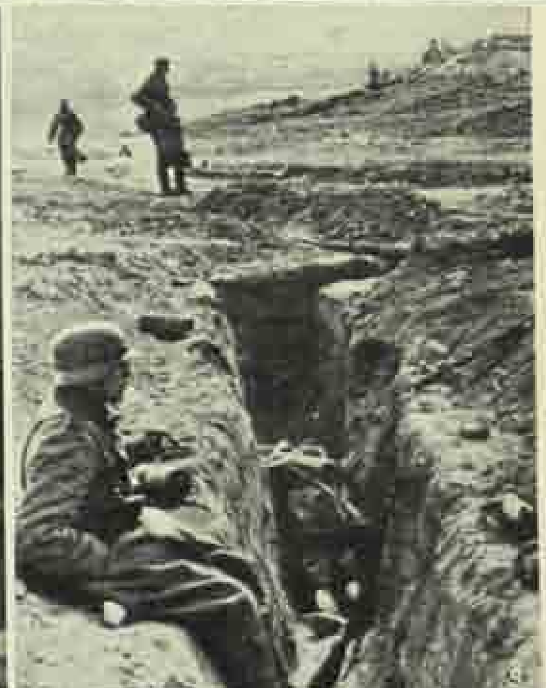
Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone













YELNIA WAS RECAPTURED AFTER 26 DAYS OF FIGHTING

From July 25 until September 5 the enemy held Yelnia, 45 miles E.S.E. of Smolensk (see map p. 1840). In the end Timoshenko's men routed eight German divisions and recaptured the town, a ruined church in which is seen above. Below, the scene of desolation at Ushakovo, 10 miles N. of Yelnia.

Photos, Margaret Bourke-White



Russian forces had been surrounded and annihilated east of the city.

The loss of Kiev was a heavy blow, for it gave the Germans possession of the first of the politically important centres they had aimed at, besides involving heavy Russian losses. It was clear, too, that the great city of Kharkov was threatened by the advance to Poltava. It would seem that the evacuation of Kiev had been too long delayed when the encircling movements indicated imminent danger. Budyonny was in consequence left without sufficient reserves immediately available to meet the threat to Kharkov and the Donetz basin, which was also menaced by a German advance to the coast of the Sea of Azov. The Germans did not at once press on towards Poltava and Kharkov, nor towards Rostov; but there were indications that they would attempt the capture of the Crimea. It seems probable that at this time they paused in order to develop their full strength for final decisive blows on as wide a front as possible. With their ever-lengthening line of communications such a pause was probably necessary, especially in the south, where the continued resistance of Odessa made the problem of communications acute. For there is a marked absence of railways running west to east along the Black Sea coastal region, and such lines as do exist either start from Odessa and Sevastopol or from Rumania, passing through Odessa.

Threat to Kharkov

The siege of Odessa went through three phases. At first the Germans by-passed the city, merely isolating it and leaving a force to safeguard their own communications. Then later the Rumanian army was given the task of taking Odessa. When it advanced it was met with fierce counter-attacks, which checked its progress and finally brought it to a standstill. Then followed a period in which the city was invested, with the Rumanians attempting to secure more advantageous positions prior to an attack from close quarters. In this period the Russians made numerous counter-attacks and inflicted very heavy losses on their opponents. When at last the city was in danger of capture it was evacuated, an event which is recorded later in its proper chronological sequence.

The Black Sea Fleet played such an important part in prolonging the siege of Odessa that the contribution which the Russian Navy as a whole was making in the war may well be mentioned here. In European waters it was, of course, geographically divided into three separate parts—the Black Sea and

Baltic Fleets and the Fleet in the Arctic. There was also a naval force at Vladivostok in Siberia, which in view of Japan's immensely superior naval strength consisted mainly of submarines and river flotillas.

After the evacuation of Nikolaev the Black Sea Fleet had its main bases at Sevastopol in the Crimea and at Novorossisk in Caucasia. In view of its dominating control of the Black Sea, which practically denied to the Axis the use of sea transport except in the neighbourhood of the coast of Balkan countries, the Russian ports were certain to be objectives for German land operations; and not until they could be captured or their use denied to the Russians could the Germans attempt an amphibious operation to secure the oil ports of Caucasia. On the other hand, the Black Sea Fleet, in addition to controlling sea communications, was in a position to land forces in rear of the advancing German armies—a disturbing factor.

The Baltic Fleet included most of Russia's capital ships and numerous submarines. Until its recently acquired advanced naval bases in Estonia and at Hangö in Finland were lost or rendered unusable it constituted a serious danger to Germany's sea communications in the Baltic, causing the retention there of considerable German naval forces. But the main base of the Baltic Fleet was at Kronstadt, at the head of the Gulf of Finland. As the Gulf is closed by ice from December to May operations are then brought to a standstill. In any case the advance of her invading armies gave Germany air control over the Baltic and facilitated the closing of the entrance to the Gulf by minefields. The Baltic Fleet, with the exception of submarine activities, thus lost its operational potentialities and its main function afterwards was to act as floating batteries in the defence of the approaches to Leningrad.

Russia's Baltic Fleet

The Arctic Fleet, based on the ice-free port of Murmansk, was able to play a much more active role. It constantly and successfully attacked German transports and supply ships attempting to serve the army attacking Murmansk, which was largely dependent on sea communications.

The Russian Navy's air component was most efficient. Russian sailors, too, played a most effective and gallant part on land in the sieges of coastal towns. As in the Red Army, a very high standard of training had been reached.

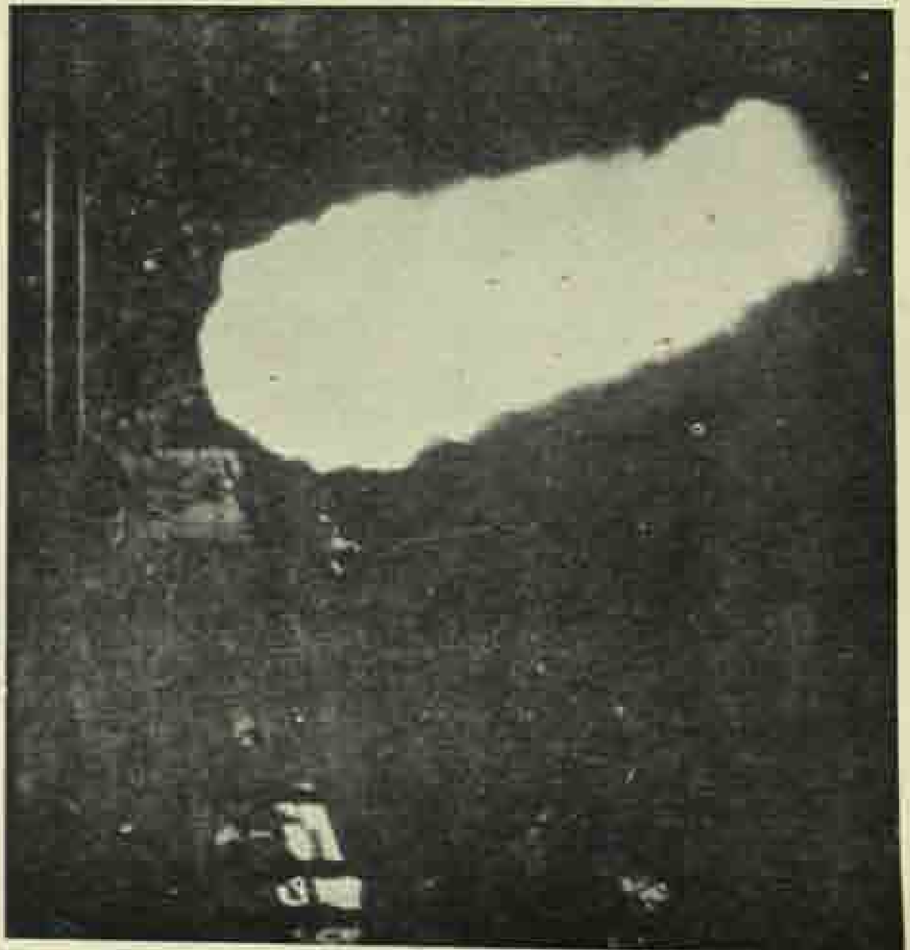
As the war went on it was not merely the gallantry, tactical efficiency and strategic ability of the Russian fighting



DEFENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN PORT OF ODESSA

A German communiqué of August 12, 1941, claimed that Nazi forces had reached the Black Sea coast on both sides of Odessa, and a later claim was that the great port was encircled. Actually, the main enemy forces by-passed Odessa, and it was left to Rumanians to besiege the place. Top, barricades in the streets; below, units of the Black Sea Fleet of the Red Navy bombard Rumanian-German positions from off Odessa. The port was held by Soviet forces until Oct. 16.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press





WHEN NAZI VICTORY WAS ALREADY TWO MONTHS OVERDUE

On this map the solid line at the right marks the eastern limit of the German advance at the end of September 1941—fourteen weeks after the opening of the campaign which Germany apparently hoped would bring a victorious decision by early August at least. The shaded line left of it indicates the front on August 14 (see map in page 1822). Notable features are the salients at Dnepropetrovsk and Smolensk, and the virtual encirclement of Leningrad.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Félix Gardon*

forces and their leaders that impressed the world. The administrative capacity shown both in military affairs and industry, and the very high standard of mechanical skill of vast numbers of operatives in the ranks of the fighting Services and in the factories proved that Russia had made immense strides to eliminate former military weaknesses.

Before closing this chapter it may be well to summarize briefly the situation at the end of September, when there was something that nearly amounted to a lull in the fighting while the Germans were preparing for a great effort to reach a decision before winter. In the south Von Rundstedt had badly shaken Budyonny's armies, and in crossing the Dnieper had passed the main natural line of defence of the great industrial and coal-producing Donetz basin. The occupation of this area would in itself seriously cripple Russia's war effort, while farther to the east the rivers Donetz and Don would remain the only physical barriers to stop a German advance that would cut off Russia from her main oil supplies. It was as important to the Germans to deprive Russia of oil as to obtain new sources for themselves; the Russian war machine, like that of Germany, lives on oil, most of which came from the Caucasus. The situation in the south was thus critical, and the German halt at Poltava could only be in preparation for far-reaching continuous efforts. There were ominous signs of an attack on the Crimea also.

Improvement on Central Front

In the centre the situation appeared more favourable, for Timoshenko's counter-attacks had had encouraging success, even recovering an appreciable amount of ground. It could not be supposed, however, that the Germans would long accept such a rebuff, and Moscow was a lure ahead. Its capture promised the disruption of Russian communications from north to south, the elimination of the centre of military and civil control and of a great industrial region; and it would afford shelter for the army of occupation in the approaching winter. To defend such an objective the best of the Red Army and its reserves would certainly be mustered and might be defeated—that was the chief military incentive, while Hitler no doubt looked forward to showing at Moscow that in him a greater Napoleon had appeared.

In the north Von Leeb had closed in around Leningrad, which if it proved too costly to capture by force, might be starved into submission. But Leningrad showed little signs of yielding, and Voroshilov's army outside the ring was a factor to be taken into account. The situation of the great city was undoubtedly critical, but there were no signs of immediate collapse. In Finland the failure to take Murmansk had been a definite disappointment to the Germans, and the Finns, having recovered much of their lost territory, were showing little enthusiasm for what appeared to be turning into a war of aggression.

The Russian Air Force and anti-aircraft defences continued to have the best of the argument with the Luftwaffe. Guerilla bands, Stalin's scorched earth policy, and the great length of lines of communications all caused difficulties which tended to break the continuity of the German advance and compel it to become a series of bounds of gradually diminishing length, separated by pronounced pauses which the enemy needed to accumulate reserves of supplies in forward areas.







CAPTURE OF KIEV

Kiev unconquered was a menace to the Germans ready to cross the Dnieper, so a great pincer movement by Rundstedt and Bock was set in operation. Some of Bock's formations took Chernigov on Sept. 12, while Rundstedt took Kremenchug two days later. By the 18th the Dnieper and Desna had been crossed on wide fronts, and three days later the Russians evacuated Kiev. Left, above, a street scene in the city; right, wrecked bridge near Kiev, with German pontoon structure.

Left, wrecked Russian weapons on a road leading from Gomel—an important railway centre, with lines running (1) through Bryansk to Moscow, (2) southwards to Odessa; and (3) south-eastward to connect with the lines serving the Donetz basin. Gomel fell to Von Bock's forces on August 21.

Photos, Associated Press; Sport & General

Diary of the War

JULY and AUGUST, 1941

July 1, 1941. Germans capture Riga and announce capture of Luck. Day attacks by R.A.F. on Oldenburg, Borkum and N. France. Gen. Wavell, C.-in-C. Middle East, and Gen. Auchinleck, C.-in-C. India, exchange posts. Mr. O. Lyttelton appointed Minister of State in Middle East.

July 2. Daylight raids on N. France; 17 enemy aircraft destroyed for five British. Night raids on Bremen, Cologne, Duisburg, Cherbourg, and Rotterdam.

July 3. Palmyra (Syria) surrenders. German advance towards Leningrad developing. Day raids on Hazebrouck-St. Omer area. Night raids on Ruhr.

July 4. Germans claim to have crossed R. Beresina. Day raids on Béthune, Bremen and Norderney. Heavy night attacks on Brest and Lorient.

July 5. Germans claim to have reached R. Dnieper. Day attack on steel works at Lille. Night raids on W. Germany.

July 6. Soviet counter-attacks in White Russia. Continued resistance at Murmansk. Heavy raid on Palermo. Steels works at Lille hit; 11 enemy fighters destroyed. Night attacks on Ruhr, Rhineland, and Brest.

July 7. U.S. naval forces now in Iceland. Very heavy night raids on Cologne, Osnabrück, Frankfurt and Münster. Germans attack Southampton, causing casualties and destruction.

July 8. Germans being held or counter-attacked along whole front. Day raids on Lille and Béthune. Night attacks on Ruhr area. Germans bomb Midlands.

July 9. Gen. Dentz sues for armistice in Syria. Imperial forces occupy Damour. Night raid on Naples.

July 10. Australians enter Beirut. R.A.F. destroy six ships at Cherbourg and Le Havre. Night raids on Cologne. Naples again raided.

July 11. Vichy rejects Syrian armistice terms, but Gen. Dentz accepts. Night raid on Wilhelmshaven.

July 12. Anglo-Soviet Agreement for mutual aid against Germany.

July 14. Three enemy troop and supply ships reported sunk in Mediterranean. Night attacks on Bremen and Hanover. Air raid on Hull.

July 15. Allied troops occupy Beirut (formal entry). Heavy fighting in Russian northern and central zones.

July 16. Daylight raid on Rotterdam docks; 17 ships, totalling 100,000 tons, put out of action. Heavy night raid on Hamburg. Japanese Cabinet resigns.

July 17. Violent battles at Pskov and Porkhov against German drive on Leningrad. Night attacks on Cologne and elsewhere in Rhineland. Sharp enemy raid on Hull. R.A.F. make night raid on warships at Palermo.

July 18. New Japanese Government formed under Prince Konoye; Mr. Matsuoka dropped. Stubborn fighting round Smolensk.

July 19. Fierce fighting in Polotsk-Nevel, Smolensk and Bobruisk sectors. Night raid on Hanover.

July 20. Violent fighting in areas of German thrusts towards Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev. Sustained night attack on Cologne. Heavy raid on Naples.

July 21. First German air raid on Moscow. Russian withdrawal from Bessarabia announced. R.A.F. attack Frankfurt and Mannheim.

July 22. Our aircraft sink three ships in convoy off Pantellaria Is., Mediterranean. Day attack on shipyards near Rouen. Night raids on Rhineland.

July 23. Vichy announces granting of bases in Indo-China to Japan. Day and night attacks on "Scharnhorst," now at La Pallice, and on "Gneisenau" at Brest. Night offensive against Frankfurt and Mannheim.

July 24. Daylight attacks on "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau." Night raids on Kiel and Emden.

July 25. Vital British convoy arrives at Mediterranean destination after 2-day battle; destroyer "Fearless" sunk. Russians claim to have destroyed German 5th infantry division in counter-attack near Smolensk. Night R.A.F. raids on Hanover, Hamburg, and Berlin.

July 26. Attack by E-boats on Valetta harbour; nine sunk. Fierce battles in Smolensk and Zhitomir sectors.

July 27. London has 2-hour night raid, first since May 10.

July 28. Japanese troops land in Indo-China. R.A.F. raid Sicilian aerodromes; 30 enemy aircraft destroyed.

July 30. Fleet Air Arm, acting with Russians, attack Kirkenes and Petsamo.

August 1. German advance slows down at all points. Naval raid on seaplane bases in Sardinia. Heavy night raid on enemy aerodromes in Crete.

August 2. Day attacks on docks at Kiel and targets on Dutch coast. Very heavy night raids on Berlin, Hamburg, and Kiel.

August 3. Admiralty announce torpedoing of Italian cruiser and sinking of two supply ships in Mediterranean. Germans attempting pincer movement to capture Kiev. Night raids on Hanover and Frankfurt.

August 4. Battles still raging for Smolensk and for Sortavala, north of Lake Ladoga. Night raid on Suez area.

August 5. Fighting near Kholm, new point in attack on Leningrad. Large force of bombers raid Mannheim, Frankfurt and Karlsruhe.

August 6. Germans claim capture of Kholm. Further raids on Mannheim, Frankfurt and Karlsruhe. Fleet Air Arm bomb submarine base at Augusta, Sicily.

August 7. Fighting intensified in the Ukraine. Heavy R.A.F. raids on Essen, Dortmund and Hamm. First night attack on Berlin by Russian aircraft.

August 8. Heavy night raids on Kiel and Hamburg. Fierce fighting in Lake Ladoga, Smolensk and Ukraine sectors.

August 9. R.A.F. destroy 18 fighters during sweep over N. France. Eight German bombers shot down over Moscow.

August 10. Destroyer "Defender" reported sunk. Germans advancing nearer Kiev. Russians make night raid on Berlin and Luftwaffe bomb Moscow.

August 11. R.A.F. raid Cotrone and Cariati, S. Italy. Very heavy bombing attack on Benghazi. Night raids on Ruhr industrial towns.

August 12. Heavy daylight attack on Cologne. Widespread night raids on Berlin, Magdeburg, Hanover, Essen, etc. Main German effort concentrated in Ukraine. Darlan appointed head of new Ministry of National and Empire Defence. Smolensk now evacuated.

August 14. Mr. Attlee announces news of Churchill-Roosevelt conference at sea. Day raid on Boulogne docks; 14 fighters destroyed.

August 15. Heavy R.A.F. raids on Sicilian aerodromes and harbours.

August 16. R.A.F. destroy 19 fighters during sweeps over N. France. Main night targets are Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Duisburg. Finns claim capture of Sortavala.

August 17. Mr. Churchill visits Iceland on return journey from Atlantic meeting. Night raids on Bremen and Duisburg.

August 18. Russians withdrawing east of R. Dnieper. Germans capture Kingisepp, 70 m. south-west of Leningrad. Day attack on Lille; night raids on Cologne and Duisburg.

August 20. Leningrad seriously threatened. Fierce fighting near Gomel. R.A.F. attack Syracuse harbour.

August 21. Russians evacuate Gomel. Finnish forces capture Kexholm. Day raids on Ymuiden, St. Omer and Béthune.

August 23. Germans now 60 miles east of Gomel. Cherkasy, south-east of Kiev, captured.

August 24. Russians counter-attack in region of Gomel. Heavy Rumanian losses reported round Odessa. Great tank battle in progress south of Leningrad. Sharp night attack on Düsseldorf.

August 25. British and Russian forces enter Persia from south and north respectively. Abadan occupied. Fierce battle near Dnepropetrovsk. Heavy night raids on Mannheim and Karlsruhe.

August 26. British and Russian troops continue advance in Persia. Large-scale night raid on Cologne.

August 27. Persian Government resigns. Germans cross Dnieper below Gomel. Heavy night attack on Mannheim. Attempt to assassinate Laval.

August 28. Russians announce withdrawal from Dnepropetrovsk and destruction of giant dam. Powerful R.A.F. night raids on aerodromes in Greece and Crete. Mr. Menzies, Australian Premier, resigns; Mr. A. W. Fadden succeeds.

August 29. Hostilities in Persia cease. Germans announce capture of Tallinn.

August 30. Russians abandon Karelian isthmus. Stubborn fighting along entire front. R.A.F. bomb Cherbourg.

August 31. British and Russian forces meet at Kazvin. Night raids on Ruhr and Rhineland. Enemy attack on Hull.

TWO GREAT OFFENSIVES AGAINST MOSCOW, OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1941

Hitler's 'New and Decisive Offensive'—Southern Area: Drive Along Sea of Azov—Nazis in the Crimea—Fall of Odessa—Main Thrust Against Moscow—Two-pronged Advance—Women and Children Leave the Capital—Enemy Brought to a Standstill—Russian Command Reorganized—Hitler Orders Another Assault Against Moscow, but it is Abandoned After Three Weeks—Events in the Leningrad Sector

Except on the southern front, where Budyonny's armies had been heavily punished and where the attack on the Perekop isthmus had begun, the general situation seemed to have improved at the end of September 1941. The opening of the Three Power Conference at Moscow on the 29th, to discuss ways and means by which Britain and the U.S.A. might render assistance to Russia, was encouraging, especially when it reached its conclusions with commendable and business-like speed. Nevertheless, it was only too clear that the German effort was not exhausted and that the temporary relaxation of offensive action indicated only preparation for its renewal, on perhaps a greater scale than ever. The pause was ominous; and Timoshenko in the centre, though he continued his counter-attacking policy with some success, showed signs of caution, limiting his operations to local engagements.

In the first week of October the storm broke. News of it first reached the outside world when Hitler on October 3 announced that a new and decisive offensive had begun. He assured his listeners that Russia was already defeated and gave them a fresh statement of the number of prisoners captured, and of the guns, tanks and aircraft captured or destroyed. The accuracy of his figures was disputed by the Russians, who published a few days later their estimate of Russian and German losses. No doubt losses on both sides had been stupendous.

In one point at least Hitler spoke the truth. The offensive had actually started on October 2. It was directed in the main towards Moscow, though in the south the attacks on Perekop and across the lower Dnieper, along the shores of the Sea of Azov, were also developing in strength.

Before following the course of the main offensive let us see what happened in the southern area (see relief map in page 1844). The attack on Perekop indicated, of course, an intention to invade the Crimea, presumably with the object of capturing Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, and as a preliminary step towards the invasion of Caucasia. The capture of Odessa (still holding out) and Sevastopol, with the railways leading from them, would greatly facilitate the supply of German armies operating with that objective. The Crimea presented special difficulties, since it could be approached only by the narrow Perekop isthmus, which would have to be forced by sheer weight of metal because there was no room for manoeuvre. The operation might therefore take time, and the force making the attempt required protection against Russian counter-attacks from the east. That the Germans were fully alive to the danger and had taken adequate measures to meet it was soon to be proved. They thrust eastward along the shores of the Sea of Azov and met a counter-thrust which Budyonny had launched with the evident intention of relieving the threat to Perekop—a dangerous attempt, for he had probably insufficient reserves to make it in adequate strength. Furthermore, Budyonny's northern flank was exposed to encirclement by Panzer attacks. Details of the encounter are lacking, but on October 6 the Germans announced a decisive victory at Melitopol. The Russians must have suffered a severe defeat, for on the 14th they admitted the evacuation of Mariupol, and on the 22nd of Taganrog. Their losses during this retreat presumably were heavy, though certainly not on the annihilating scale claimed by the Germans; for resistance stiffened in front of Rostov (on the Don), and it was not till November 22 that the capture of this city by shock troops under Von Kleist was announced. Even then it is doubtful whether the Germans gained full possession of Rostov, and they were certainly unable to cross the Don.



HUNGARIANS IN SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE
General Ewald von Kleist (right) is here being greeted by General von Miklos, commander of a Hungarian mechanized force operating with the Germans in the southern offensive. Colonel von Szedeny, Hungarian chief of staff, is saluting.
Photo, Associated Press

The success of the German drive along the Sea of Azov had two effects. It ensured the isolation of the defenders of the Crimea and greatly facilitated the advance of the German armies towards the industrial Donetz basin and in the eastern Ukraine which, since the beginning of October, had been steadily proceeding on a wide front stretching as far north as Kharkov. Russian resistance to this advance seems to have been in the nature of a gradual retirement, making no attempt to hold any particular line but making use of the many towns in the area to check German progress. The object was to gain time for the removal



GERMAN SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE, OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1941

Shaded area shows the region occupied by the enemy up to December 1, 1941. The attack on Perekop was to secure a way into the Crimea and protect the flank of the advance along the Sea of Azov. Odessa was evacuated on October 16; the enemy broke through to the Crimean plains on October 29, while the Kerch peninsula was relinquished by Soviet troops on November 20. On the Azov coast Mariupol fell on October 14 (below, a mobile unit of the military S.S. enters the town), and Taganrog on the 22nd.

Map specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Félix Gardon · Photo, Associated Press*

of all industrial machinery and the evacuation of skilled workers. Kharkov itself had been stripped of all industrial plant before it was evacuated in the last week of October (capture claimed by Germany, October 24).

If the Russians deliberately adopted a delaying policy on the mainland they undoubtedly intended to prevent the invasion of the Crimea. Unfortunately the Perekop isthmus had not been permanently fortified, and its defences consisted of hastily constructed field-works. The position, narrow and with flanks protected by water, was naturally strong, but against it the Germans were able to bring up masses of artillery. By a deliberate advance they gained a footing in the isthmus, but it seemed that they might find it harder to emerge from its southern end, where their guns would be deployed on a restricted front and would be opposed by the converging fire of the defence. Opportunities for the defenders to counter-attack from a flank would also probably occur.

Such would have been the tactical problem in former days, but air power and armour have altered the conditions. Concentrating a great force of bombers to add to the effect of their artillery, and employing tanks to lead the assault, the Germans crashed through the last defences and on October 29 emerged into the Crimean plains. The defenders fell back fighting, part by Simferopol (the capital, lost on November 1) to Sevastopol and part to the Kerch peninsula, the Germans pursuing in both directions. After hard fighting the last of the Kerch force was evacuated on November 20, but the Germans could make no impression on the defences of Sevastopol.

Odessa Evacuated

While the attack on Perekop was in progress the situation at Odessa had become more serious, for the enemy had gradually closed in on the city and a decisive assault seemed imminent. The Russians decided not to attempt to hold out to the last but to evacuate the garrison after having destroyed the port installations and everything that would be of value to the enemy. Spread over a period of eight days, the evacuation was carried out with great skill and apparently without the enemy's knowledge, for the Russians say there was no interference, and the Axis claim to have sunk transports is not convincing since no attack by land was launched. Probably air attacks, if they were made, took place only when the evacuation was in its final stage. The Rumanians claimed to have taken the town on





NAZIS THRUST SOUTH: THEY ENTER TAGANROG

The great Nazi offensive which began on October 2, 1941, was aimed in the south at Perekop and along the Azov shore towards Taganrog, about 20 miles from the Don mouth. (See map in previous page.) Melitopol fell on October 6 and Mariupol a week later. By October 22 the Germans captured Taganrog, and are seen above cautiously entering the town.

Photo, Associated Press

October 16, and the Russians announced its evacuation next day.

The decision to evacuate Odessa was undoubtedly wise, for to have held out to the last could only have meant the loss of good troops needed elsewhere and would also probably have entailed heavy naval losses in attempting last-minute rescues. Odessa had done its duty well and the Rumanian Army had paid a heavy price for their victory march into the city, a price increased by the delay-action mines which the Russians had left in large numbers, and which for a long time made conditions precarious for the garrison. No longer concerned with Odessa, the Black Sea Fleet was now able to devote its whole energies to cooperation in the defence of the Crimea and Sevastopol.

The main German offensive on the central front was begun on October 2.

On the Central Front

The initial action was apparently directed to recovering ground lost to Timoshenko's counter-attacks, which were still being made (see relief map in page 1852). Not till the 6th did the Germans claim to have "encircled several Soviet armies" at Vyazma, the important railway centre some 80 miles east of Smolensk on the direct road to Moscow. On the following day a claim that three Soviet armies were faced with annihilation at Bryansk, 150 miles south of Vyazma on the Gomel–Moscow railway, gave evidence of the scope of the German plans. (The Soviet admitted the evacuation of Bryansk on the 12th and of Vyazma next day.) These plans were further elucidated by an announcement on the 9th that a breach made in the centre of the front, 300 miles wide, had been extended eastward and that Orel, 70 miles east of Bryansk, had been in German hands since October 3 (evacuation announced by Soviet on the 8th). The main German armies were making a convergent advance towards Moscow, following the lines of the two railways running through Vyazma and Bryansk respectively, and even wider encircling movements might be expected.

Presumably Panzer spearheads, supported by motorized infantry and followed by slower moving bodies, had penetrated the Russian positions. The capture of Orel suggested a wider and deeper enveloping movement, carried out by a purely mechanized force and designed to sever Moscow's railway communications with the east and south. Heavy fighting was in progress in the Vyazma and Bryansk areas, but the German view was that by standing to fight for these places Timoshenko had "sacrificed the last army capable of giving battle." Orel, it is to be supposed, had not been strongly held, for the Russians admitted withdrawal.

In spite of German claims to continuous advance and to the capture of great numbers of prisoners, resistance remained fierce on the main lines of advance and German casualties were heavy. Bryansk was not evacuated by the Russians till after three days' fighting, and Vyazma was held much longer. No doubt large groups of the defenders were encircled and were either captured or had eventually to make good their escape in small parties. Fighting certainly went on in both





ONLY FOR SEVEN DAYS DID THE GERMANS HOLD ROSTOV

Von Kleist's drive along the Azov coast brought him to Rostov on Don by November 22. But on November 28 Timoshenko's men made a surprise crossing of the Don and retook Rostov, pursuing the enemy right to Taganrog. Top, people of Rostov welcome their liberators; below, Soviet soldiers hunt down German stragglers in the town.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press

regions till after the middle of October, and German complaints of the difficulties of fighting in the forest regions east of the towns was a sign of the extravagance of their own claims.

It is obvious that the battle area was again a zone of great depth, and that the points reached by enemy advanced groups or Panzer penetrations gave little indication of true progress. The Germans, for example, claimed on October 15 that they were within 60 miles from Moscow and that Kaluga, half-way between Bryansk and Moscow, had been captured. Yet there was certainly heavy fighting going on much farther to the westward: some of it may have been due to guerilla activities which had flared up, particularly in the Smolensk sector.

The threat to Moscow had become so real that evacuation of women and children had begun on October 12. Foreign diplomatic staffs and probably some Government offices were also on the move. The threat was all the more serious because on the 15th the capture of Kalinin, on the upper Volga, 100 miles north-west of Moscow, showed that there was a danger of encirclement from the north as well as the south. Yet, though their progress was undeniable, all was not going smoothly for the Germans. Their communiqués had refused to admit the existence of efficient Russian reserves but as Moscow was approached reserve formations appeared, not only blocking the way but proving their efficiency by the delivery of shrewd counter-blows. The forest area guarding Moscow from the west gave little scope for tank manoeuvre and much for active infantry defence and the persistent operations of Russian guerilla bands.

But there was a more serious difficulty. The Russian winter was approaching, heralded by rain and sleet storms.

Enemy Brought to Standstill

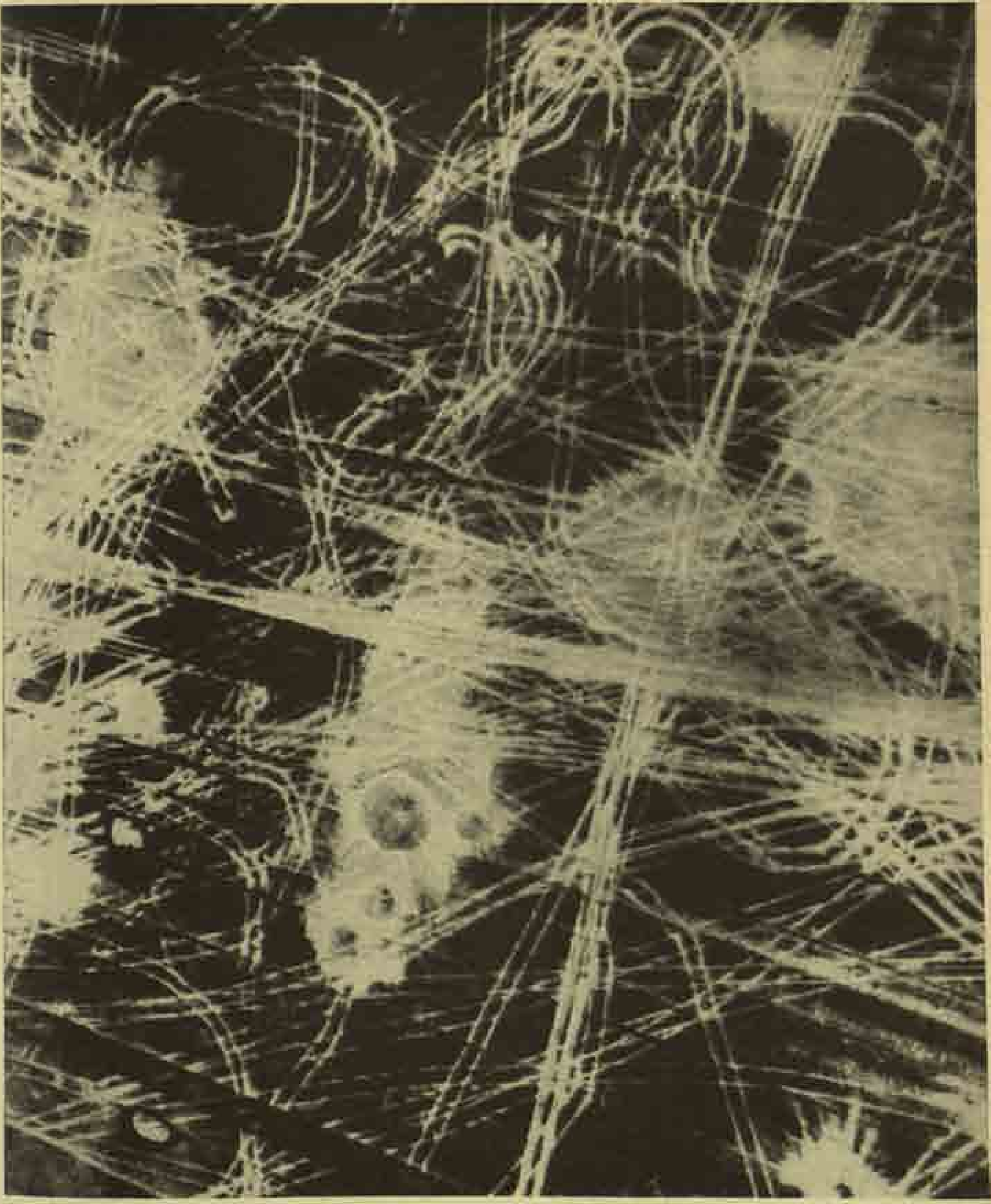
Movement of vehicles except on the few main roads was becoming slow and difficult, and troops in the open were feeling the cold for which they were ill prepared. By October 19 under these conditions the great offensive had lost its momentum and was no nearer than 60 miles from Moscow. At about that distance fierce fighting continued on the main approaches to the city—at Malo-Yaroslavets, on the Bryansk line; at Mozhaisk, on the Smolensk–Vyazma line; and a few days later at Volokolamsk, north-west of Moscow on the Moscow–Riga railway, along which a

GERMANS IN THE CRIMEA

Early in November 1941 the enemy gained control of the Crimea; Simferopol (the capital) was taken on the 1st and the Kerch peninsula on the 20th. This photograph shows an enemy mortar unit in the region between the hills and the Black Sea.

Photo, Associated Press

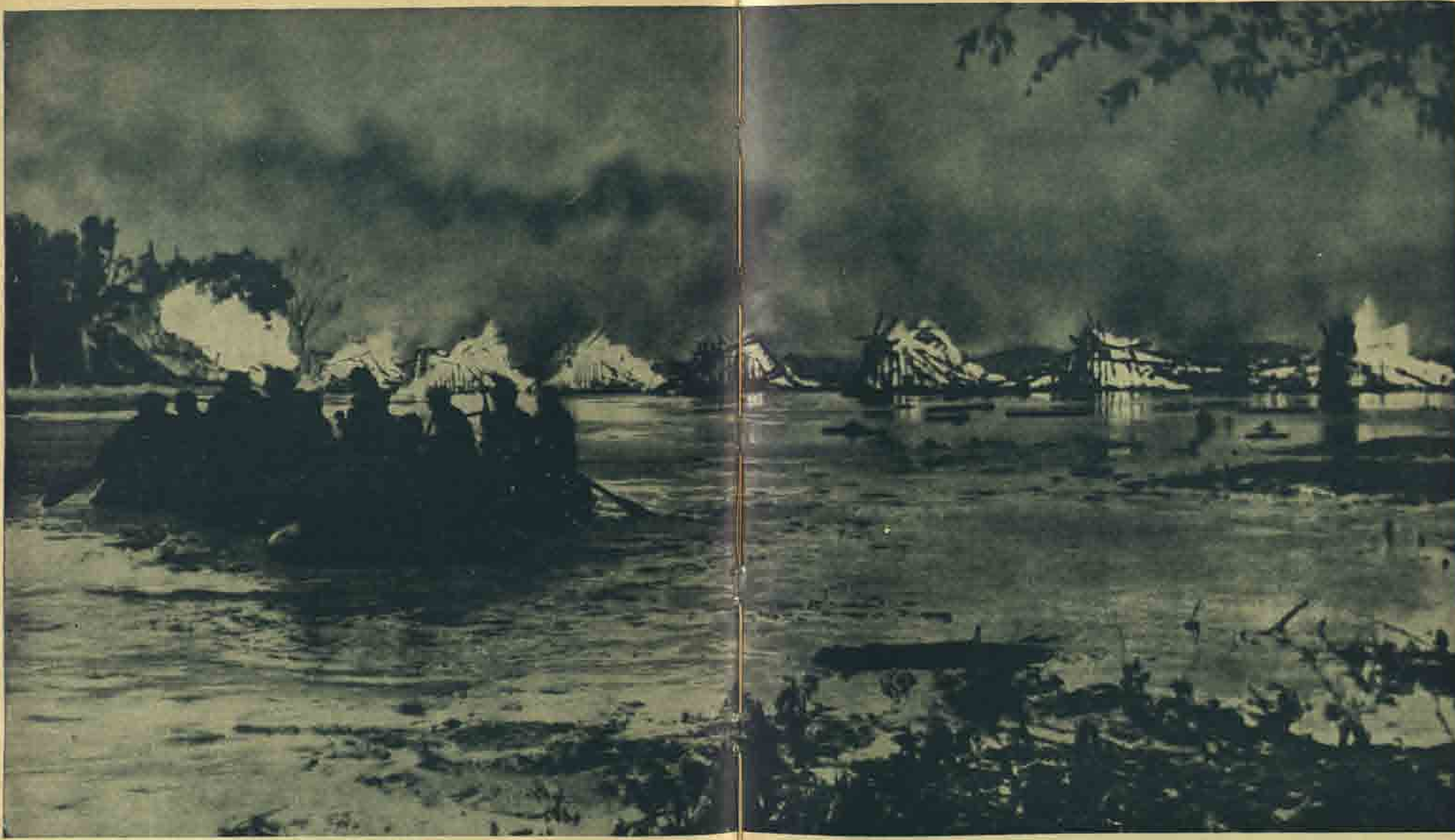




A TANK BATTLE PLOTTED BY TRACKS IN THE CHALKY SOIL

The scene is the Russian town of Induta, 40 miles north-east of Bialystok in Poland (see map, page 1846). An aerial view before the engagement showed a stretch of green meadow broken only by a cart track—still visible running right to left near centre. All the other tracks were made as the opposing tanks swept on, clashed, swerved, or circled round in jockeying for position. Deep craters show where aerial bombs fell. Some of the fiercer mêlées are indicated by whitened areas.

Photo, G.P.U.



MODERN THREE-DIMENSIONAL WARFARE MAKES SHORT WORK OF RIVER BARRIERS

In this photograph an advance party of the enemy is seen crossing the Styr (a tributary of the Pripet—see map, page 1840) after the wooden bridge had been burned down by the Russians. Such parties soon built temporary bridges on pontoons for the armoured units which followed. Although the Nazis had to force the rivers Berezina, Pripet, Dvina and Dnieper in their drive from Poland into Russia proper, their spearhead on the central sector had reached the outskirts of Smolensk, 230 miles from Moscow, by the middle of July, and many important cities were within the great salient stretching from Lake Peipus to Bobruisk on the Berezina. Mechanized and armoured forces with enormous fire-power made this swift advance possible, while aircraft went on ahead and paralysed the defences on the farther side of the great rivers. The Germans had for long trained their troops to cross rivers in special rubber boats. *Photo, "News Chronicle"*



Photo, Margaret Bourke-White

WHEN MOSCOW AND OTHER RUSSIAN CITIES SUFFERED MASS AIR RAIDS

On the night of July 21-22 more than 200 German bombers attacked Moscow and 22 were destroyed. On the two following nights there were other attacks, but few enemy bombers got through. Air raid protection had been well organized: here is a scene in a shelter beneath an apartment house in Moscow during a night raid, one of many experienced during the late summer and autumn of 1941.



PLANT AND MACHINERY WERE SAVED FROM KHARKOV

Little of use to the enemy was left when Soviet troops and a huge army of workers evacuated the great engineering city of Kharkov (October 28). Above is the scene after the Germans entered: factory buildings are mere burnt-out shells; plant and machinery had been transported to factories farther east.
Photo, Associated Press

new thrust had developed. These three places marked the limits reached by the direct thrusts towards Moscow. The outer encircling movements were also held up and strongly opposed in the regions of Orel in the south and Kalinin in the north.

Since the check to the German advance might prove to be only a pause preparatory to renewed effort on October 19 it was considered advisable to declare a state of siege in Moscow, and to transfer the seat of Government to Kuibyshev, a move which had already begun. Stalin stayed in Moscow, which remained the capital, in supreme direction of military operations.

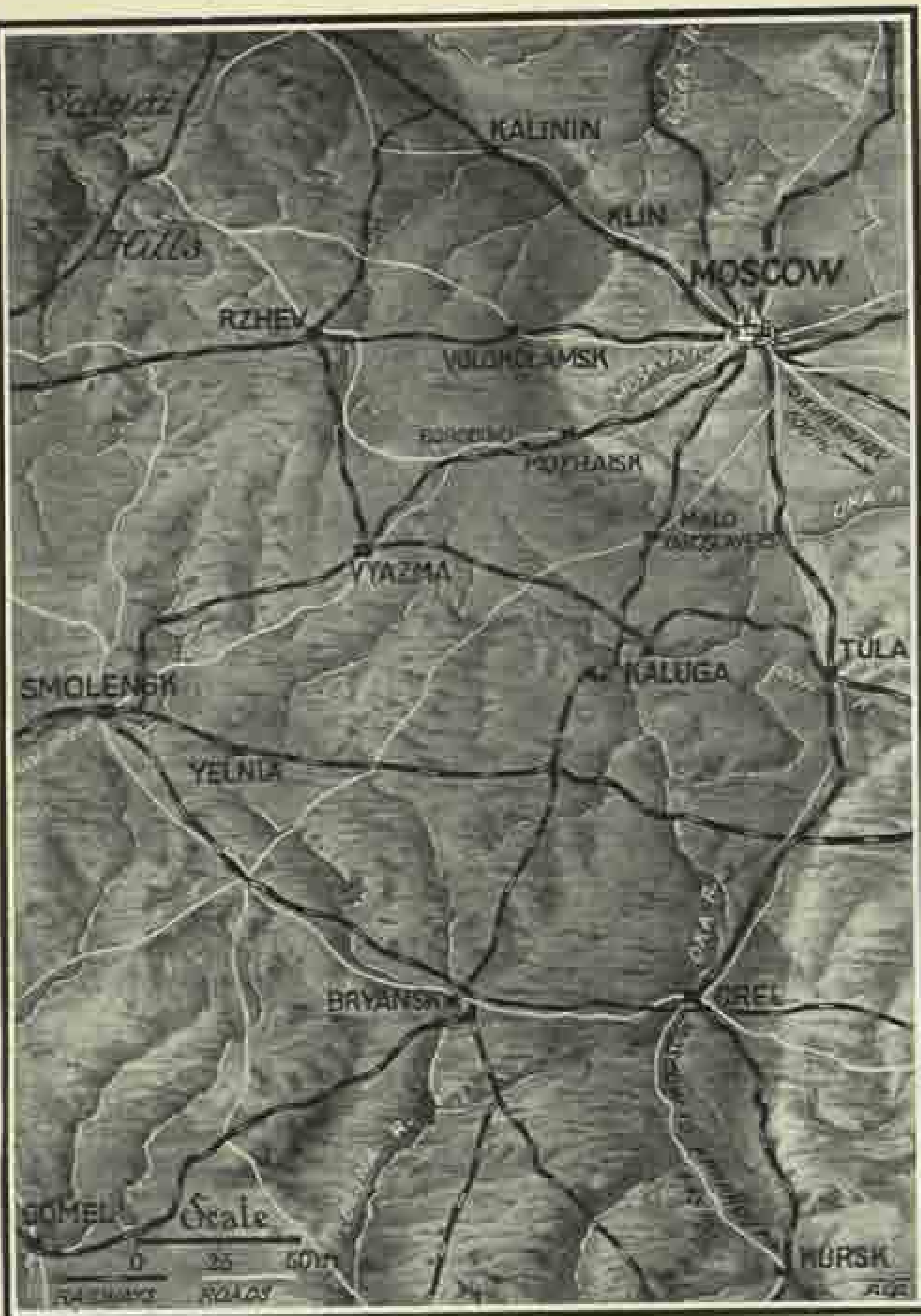


ON THE WAY TO VYAZMA

These Soviet tanks are moving forward to the defence of Vyazma, a highly important railway junction (see map in page 1852). The Germans claimed to have entered the town on October 6, 1941, but fighting went on for a week or more afterwards.
Photo, Associated Press

It will be recalled that at this time the situation on the southern front had become desperately critical, and it seems probable that Stalin may have lost some of his confidence in Budyonny. The latter was certainly a fine, determined, fighting soldier, capable of directing operations; but his judgement in making decisions seemed to outside opinion to be less reliable. For instance, he probably held on too long at Kiev when it was threatened, and his attempted counter-move in the Azov region verged on rashness.

Whatever the reasons were, on October 24 a reorganization of the Russian Command was announced. Timoshenko relieved Budyonny on the southern front, and Zhukov, Stalin's Chief of Staff, assumed command of both northern and central fronts, relieving Timoshenko and Voroshilov. The latter and Budyonny were given the task of organizing and training the reserve armies in process of



TWO MAIN ATTACKS ON MOSCOW

Shaded area shows territory occupied by the enemy up to December 1, 1941. The first big offensive opened in October. Germany claimed the capture of Orel on October 3, of Bryansk on the 6th and of Vyazma next day. By the 9th a 300-mile-wide breach in the Russian lines had been opened. On the 13th Kaluga and Kalinin fell; the enemy was near Malo-Yaroslavets, Mozhaisk and Volokolamsk. Improving weather enabled another German attack to be made in mid-November; Klin was reached, and at places the Germans were only 15 miles from Moscow. But by December 7 the assault was abandoned for the winter.

Specially drawn for The Second Great War *by Félix Gardon*

formation. Timoshenko's arrival on the southern front was soon followed by a notable stiffening of Russian resistance, though German difficulties due to the wet weather may have accounted for the slower rate of progress.

During the last ten days of October, though there was no lull in the struggle, the Germans on the Moscow front were by degrees brought almost to a complete standstill, partly owing to Russian reserves coming into action in increased numbers, but even more because mud restricted movement. The only point at which the threat notably increased was at Tula, a great centre of the armament industry, 70 miles east of Kaluga and half-way between Orel and Moscow. The capture of Tula would have been of importance in itself, as well as further threatening the encirclement of Moscow. But Tula, though surrounded, resisted all attacks. On November 3 Kursk was captured, thus straightening the front between the central and southern offensives. By the beginning of November the Germans must have concluded that there was little hope of capturing Moscow in the late autumn, and were anxious to organize a winter position which could be lightly held, allowing troops to be withdrawn for rest and reorganization, and to obtain shelter. But Hitler's heart was set on Moscow, and he told the General Staff that it was there they must find winter quarters.

Renewed German Offensive

A change in the weather may have given his Staff some hope that his intuition might prove right. Early night frosts had up to now only formed a treacherous crust on the mud, but when rain stopped and frost increased the ground hardened, and such snow as fell did not impede mechanized traffic. In the third week of November to that extent conditions became more favourable, and it became apparent that Hitler was not daunted by the prospect of winter, but was determined to take Moscow at all costs. About November 18 fighting at Tula, Volokolamsk and Kalinin became intensified, indicating that a new phase in the offensive had begun with an attempt to close the pincers on Moscow. By the 22nd a thrust from the Kalinin region had reached Klin, though Kalinin itself may not have fallen completely into German hands. Progress was also made from Volokolamsk and a dangerous movement east of



GENERAL GEORGII ZHUKOV

General Zhukov took over command of the Russian forces on the Northern and Central Fronts on October 24, 1941. Previously he had been Stalin's Chief of Staff.

Photo, Planet News





DEFENCE OF MOSCOW, OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1941

As the map in page 1852 shows, Moscow stands at the focus of roads and railways of unparalleled strategic importance. In the vicinity are enormous manufacturing industries. From October 2 till mid-December the great German assault went on and Moscow mobilized all her resources. (1) Enemy bomber brought down. (2) Poster instructing fire-guards and household as how to deal with incendiaries. (3) Testing machine-guns in a Moscow small-arms factory. (4) Red Cross party at an A.R.P. exercise. (5) Members of Young Communist Party dig anti-tank defences outside the city.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; "Soviet War News"; Planet News



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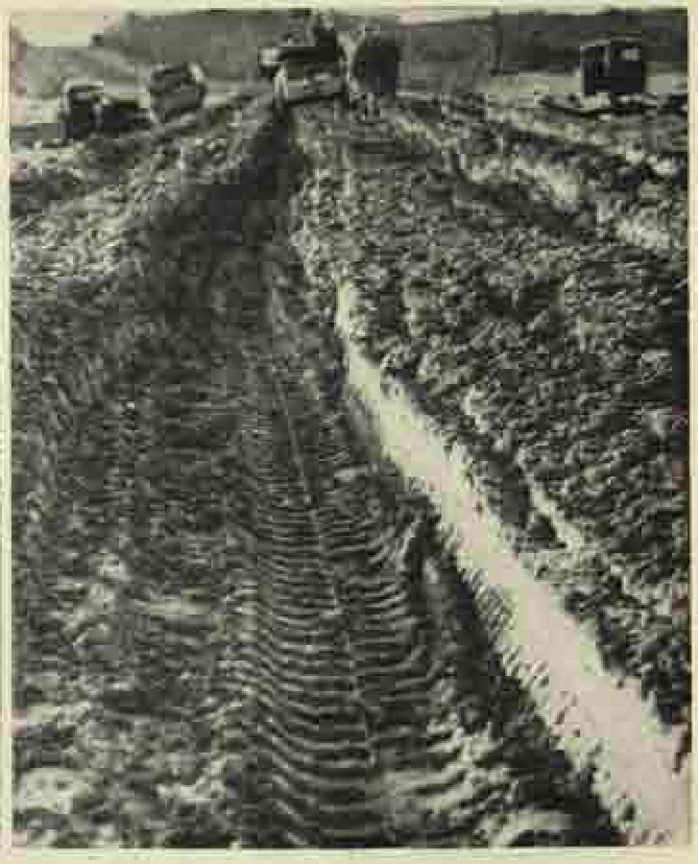


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NOVEMBER MUD SLOWED DOWN THE NAZI ADVANCE

Top, right, German lorries soon destroyed Russian roads, making deep ruts into which vehicles sank to the axles (Vyazma district). Off the roads (circle) progress was difficult on foot. Below, a German tank bogged in marshy ground beside a stream. Top left-hand photograph, German pioneers lifting rail tracks to re-lay them to the narrower standard gauge, a vast task carried out with great expedition.

Photos, Associated Press



Tula had developed, by-passing this town to the east.

While these wider turning movements were in progress direct attacks towards Moscow from Mozhaisk and Malo-Yaroslavets were renewed with fresh violence, and made some progress, though meeting the fiercest resistance. Forests, concrete pill boxes and other permanent works aided the defence, and the civilian population of Moscow toiled to construct new defences. The German attack was desperate, and by the first week of December the city was in great peril. If the defence had failed at any point the enemy, in a matter of hours, could have gained a footing in Moscow. At places fighting was within fifteen miles of it, and at few points on the fronts of attack at a greater distance than 25 miles.





TIKHVIN WAS NINE DAYS IN GERMAN HANDS

On the last day of November, 1941, the enemy took Tikhvin, 100 miles east of Leningrad (see map, page 1836). For nine days Soviet troops battled to expel the invaders, and at last regained the town on December 8. Top, cleaning off a German billeting sign on a Tikhvin door; below, German machine-gun post on the outskirts of Tikhvin.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Sport & General

But again winter came to the aid of the Russians. Frosts had become bitter and snow was falling heavily. The German troops—thinly clad, were perished with cold and often unable to use their weapons. On December 8, in the face of disaster, it was officially announced by the enemy that the attempt on Moscow could not be continued under winter conditions. It was evident that the course the General Staff had wished to take a month earlier must now be adopted. The great offensive of 1941 had ended.

On the Leningrad sector of the front winter had set in much earlier and siege conditions had for long prevailed, marked only by local raids, long-range artillery bombardments and bombing. It was learned later that the inhabitants of the city suffered terrible hardships. With houses destroyed and windows of others broken, lack of fuel and food produced conditions which none but the most gallant and hardy people could have borne. The German troops no doubt suffered, too, but at least they had had time to provide themselves with shelter. The frozen ground had also given Von Leeb an opportunity to extend the area of encirclement east of the city, where marshes had previously offered little scope for mechanized movement.

On the Leningrad Sector

Towards the end of November Tikhvin, an important town some 100 miles east of Leningrad on the Vologda railway (*see* map, page 1836), was captured—apparently by a Panzer thrust. (Its evacuation was admitted on November 30.) This was a serious blow, for the Vologda railway was the main avenue by which supplies for Leningrad could be brought to the S.E. corner of Lake Ladoga, whence, in small quantities, they could go by boat to the Karelian shore. Furthermore, Tikhvin was a step on the way to Vologda through which all Allied munitions landed at Murmansk or Archangel must pass on their way to Moscow. Russian reaction was prompt, and the place was recaptured by December 8, a heavy defeat being inflicted on the German force and important results (recorded in a later chapter) ensued.

At the other end of the front the Germans, a few days before their offensive had been officially called off, had suffered an even more serious reverse. It will be recalled that Von Kleist's drive along the Azov coast had culminated in the capture of Rostov on November 22. The success was short-lived. On the 28th, by a daring and skilful counter-attack, involving a surprise crossing of the Don, Timoshenko drove Von Kleist out of the city and pursued him relentlessly to Taganrog before the enemy could organize a rearguard position to check the pursuit.

The great offensive from which the German people had been promised so much and which at one time seemed so irresistible had therefore not only failed to fulfil its object, but had been marked at its close with the first definite defeats the Reichswehr had suffered in the war. There could be no illusions either as to the hardships the winter had still to bring.

ALLIED NATIONS COME TO RUSSIA'S AID

Less than three weeks after Germany invaded the U.S.S.R., Britain and Russia signed an agreement of mutual assistance, the text of which is given below. British aid was immediate and practical and, with the later cooperation of the United States, arranged at a specially convened conference at Moscow, supplies of all kinds were promised to M. Stalin and their dispatch planned and expedited.

Text of Anglo-Russian Agreement, Signed at Moscow, July 12, 1941:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of U.S.S.R. have concluded the present agreement and declare as follows:

1. The two Governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

2. They further undertake that during the war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

The contracting parties have agreed that this agreement enters into force as from the moment of signature and is not subject to ratification.

President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in a Joint Message to M. Stalin during the Atlantic Conference, August, 1941:

We have taken the opportunity afforded by consideration of the report of Mr. Harry Hopkins on his return from Moscow to consult together as to how best our two countries can help your country in the splendid defence that you are making against Nazi attack. We are at the moment cooperating to provide you with the very maximum supplies that you most urgently need. Already many shiploads have left our shores and more will leave in the immediate future.

The needs and demands of your and our armed services can only be determined in the light of the full knowledge of the many factors which must be taken into consideration in conjectures that we make. In order that all of us may be in a position to arrive at speedy decisions as to the apportionment of our joint resources, we suggest that we prepare a meeting to be held at Moscow to which we would send high representatives who could discuss these matters directly with you. If this conference appeals to you, we want you to know that, pending decisions of that conference, we shall continue to send supplies and material as rapidly as possible.

We must now turn our minds to the consideration of a more long-term policy, since there is still a long and hard path to traverse before there can be won that complete victory without which our efforts and sacrifices would be wasted.

The war goes on upon many fronts, and before it is over there may be yet further fighting on fronts that will be developed. Our resources, though immense, are limited, and it must become a question as to where and when those resources can best be used to further to the principal extent our common effort. This applies equally to manufactured war supplies and to war materials.

We realize fully how vitally important to the defeat of Hitlerism is the brave and steadfast resistance of the Soviet Union, and we feel therefore that we must not in any circumstances fail to act quickly and immediately in this matter of planning the programme for the future allocation of our joint resources.

Mr. Churchill, in a Review of the War in the House of Commons, September 30, 1941:

The British and United States Missions are now in conference with the chiefs of the Soviet at Moscow. The interval which has passed since President Roosevelt and I sent our message from the Atlantic to Premier Stalin has been used in ceaseless activity on both sides of the ocean. The whole ground has been surveyed in the light of the new events, and many important supplies have already been dispatched.

Our representatives and their American colleagues have gone to Moscow with clear and full knowledge of what they are able to give to Russia month by month from now onward. The Soviet Government have a right to know what monthly quotas of weapons and supplies we can send and they can count upon. It is only when they know what we can guarantee to send, subject of course to the hazards of war, that they themselves can use their vast resources and reserves to the best possible advantage. It is only thus that they can best fill the gap between the very heavy losses sustained and the diminution of munitions-making power which they have suffered on the one hand and the arrival of really effective quantities of British and American supplies on the other. I may say at once, however, that in order to enable Russia's armies to remain indefinitely in the field as a first-class war-making power, sacrifices of the most serious kind and the most extreme efforts will have to be made by the British people, and enormous new installations or conversions from existing plants will have to be set up in the United States. . . .

All this is now being discussed and planned with full authority and full knowledge by our representatives and the American representatives in conclave in Moscow with Premier Stalin and his principal commanders. . . . The veriest simpleton can see how great is our interest, to put it no higher, in sustaining Russia by every possible means.

Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Supply, in a Speech in the House of Lords, October 23, 1941:

Immediately after the Prime Minister's speech when Germany invaded Russia, our help began to flow to Russia. There was a continuous export of valuable munitions of war from then and up to the very day the Mission arrived in Moscow. When the Mission presented themselves at the Kremlin they asked at once what losses the Russian Government had suffered in tanks and aircraft output. Stalin gave us what that output was before the invasion, what had been lost, and a statement of the existing production. Forthwith, after some consultation together, the American and our Mission promised to Russia that we would at once restore to them, from the supplies in this country and in America, everything—everything that they had lost up to that moment. There was no hesitation, no reserve. We simply gave what Stalin asked, and in full measure.

Mr. Harriman, my colleague, was a grand leader. He opened the first meeting with Stalin by declaring that American assistance to Russia would only become possible if Britain would give up American production already earmarked for this country. At once I said I was authorized by the Prime Minister to say that we would give up such production. . . .

Stalin told us he believed the war would eventually be decided by tanks. I asked, "Is it not an aeroplane war, too?" but he replied that it was essentially a tank war. . . .

We were able to promise him practically all he asked for of raw materials—aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, tin, jute, cobalt, brass, rubber, phosphorus, shellac and diamonds. . . . The Americans promised oil and petrol from the United States. They promised him everything he required to keep his reserves up to a given figure. . . .

We have forwarded a considerable quantity of wheat. That wheat has come out of our own stocks in the Dominion of Canada. We have also shipped or are in the process of shipping large quantities of sugar taken from our stocks here in Great Britain. . . .

Within the powers of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States every effort is being made and every purpose carried through in order to bring aid, assistance and relief to the Russians in their battle. It would be wrong to conceal from you that the burden on our production is very heavy indeed. We have promised to the fullest extent. We have given tanks to such an extent that we must have an immense increase in output. I expect to be able to carry through a tank programme which will not leave us entirely bare here, although the burden is great.

Historic Documents. CCXXIX—CCXXXI

PERSIA SAFEGUARDED BY ALLIED ACTION

Long the hunting-ground of German intrigue, Persia was occupied by Britain and Russia at the end of August, 1941, and the menace of Nazi control thus removed. We give here passages from statements made by the British and Soviet Governments in explanation of their action, and by the new Persian Prime Minister.

TEXT OF THE RUSSIAN NOTE TO PERSIA, BROADCAST BY MOSCOW RADIO, AUGUST 25, 1941:

THE Soviet Government, guided by feelings of friendship for the Iranian people and by respect for the sovereignty of Iran, has always invariably conducted a policy of cementing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Iran and encouraging in every possible way the prosperous development of Iran. . . .

However, of late and particularly since the beginning of the perfidious attack on the Soviet by Hitlerite Germany, the activities of the Fascist-German conspiratorial group hostile to the Soviet Union in Iran have taken on a more menacing character. German agents who penetrated into important and official positions in more than 50 Iranian institutions were trying in every way to start disorders and disturbances in Iran, to incite the peaceful Iranian people against the Soviet Union and to bring them into war. . . .

German agents have arms and munition dumps at their disposal at different places in Iran, particularly in the neighbourhood of Migani. Under cover of hunting they have created near Teheran a military training course for their accomplices, who come from all ranks of German subjects in Iran. Camouflaged as technicians and engineers, 56 German spies penetrated the Iranian war industry. . . . In their criminal activities these Germans grossly disregarded the elementary demand for respect of the territorial sovereignty of Iran by transforming Iranian territory into an arena for preparations for a military invasion.

This state of affairs demanded the immediate adoption by the Soviet Union of all measures which she was not only entitled to take in full accord with Article Six of the Treaty of 1921, but which she was also obliged to take in the interests of defence.

Since the invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany the Soviet Government has three times, on June 26, July 19 and August 16, drawn the attention of the Iran Government to the danger threatening her from the espionage activity of the German agents in Iran. . . . Unfortunately, the Iran Government declined to take appropriate measures and, in consequence, the Soviet Government has itself been forced to take the necessary measures and to avail itself of the right granted to it to march troops temporarily into Iranian territory for the purposes of self-defence.

These measures are in no way directed against the people of Iran. The Soviet Government has no intentions whatever against the territorial integrity or national independence of Iran. The military measures taken are solely against the danger created by the hostile activities of Germans in Iran.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, AUGUST 25, 1941, ON THE BRITISH ACTION IN PERSIA:

DURING the past months his Majesty's Government have repeatedly warned the Iranian Government of the potential dangers arising from the presence in Iran of an excessively large German colony. Germans resident in Iran, as in other countries, have long been subjected to the organized discipline of the German Nazi party. As in other neutral countries, the German authorities have endeavoured to pursue in Iran a policy of infiltration by sending their agents to mingle with and to replace the resident German community. The attention of the Iranian Government has, therefore, frequently been called to the desirability, in the interests of Iran herself, of taking effective steps to check this process of infiltration. . . .

There can be no doubt that, as in other neutral countries, the German resident community would be employed, whenever it seemed to the German Government that the appropriate moment had arrived, to create disorders with a view to assist the execution of German military plans.

It has also been made clear to the Iranian Government that his Majesty's Government regard this as a matter of grave concern to themselves. The underground measures taken by the German Government to spread German influence in Iran and to establish eventually German control and domination in that country obviously constitute a serious danger for the Iranian Government themselves, as well as for the British interests in Iran, but they are also a danger to neighbouring countries. India clearly cannot disinterest herself from such developments in an adjacent territory. Iraq is also closely concerned, especially since the Germans in Iran are known to have played a part in the revolt of last April against the legal Government at Baghdad and in the subsequent events, when the rebels were induced to take up arms against Iraq's British allies.

Towards the middle of July his Majesty's Government, realizing that the representations made at Teheran for many months past had remained without effect, instructed his Majesty's Minister again to impress upon the Iranian Government, as a matter of the utmost gravity and urgency, the need for taking immediate action. The German invasion of Soviet Russia, by extending the zone of hostilities to include one of the countries adjacent to Iran, had obviously greatly increased the necessity for an early settlement of this problem. . . .

No doubt, however, because they were reluctant to offend the German Government, even in defence of their own vital interests, the proportion of Germans whom the Iranian authorities actually removed from the country was very small, and on August 16 Sir Reader Bullard and the Soviet Ambassador accordingly repeated to the Iranian Government in the most formal and emphatic manner the view of their two Governments that the German community in Iran should be required to leave the country without further delay. . . .

The Iranian Government's reply shows that they are not prepared to give adequate satisfaction to the recommendations of his Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government in this important matter. It is now clear that further friendly representations to the Iranian Government on the same lines would serve no useful purpose, and that his Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government must have recourse to other measures to safeguard their essential interests. These will in no way be directed against the Iranian people. His Majesty's Government have no designs against the independence and territorial integrity of Iran, and any measures they may take will be directed solely against the attempts of the Axis Powers to establish their control of Iran.

ALI FURANGHI, HEAD OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PERSIA, IN A STATEMENT TO THE IRANIAN PARLIAMENT, AUGUST 28, 1941:

IN accordance with the wishes of his Majesty I have been entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet. Members of Parliament are well aware of the intentions of his Majesty in connexion with the reform and progress of the country. . . . The Government and people of Iran have always been, and continue to be, partisans of peace and peaceful relations with the rest of the world.

In order that these intentions should be made clear to the world at large, we declare at this moment, when the Governments of Soviet Russia and Great Britain have ordered certain actions to be taken, that the Government of Iran, in pursuance of the peace-loving policy of his Majesty, is issuing orders to all the armed forces of the country to refrain from any resistance, so that the causes for bloodshed and the disturbance of security shall be removed, and public peace and security assured. . . .

Chapter 184

BRITAIN AND RUSSIA TAKE CONTROL IN PERSIA

Axis Intrigues and Infiltration—Key Position of Persia—Ineffectual Allied Protests—Soviet and British Armies Enter Persia (August 25, 1941)—Brief Resistance—Fall of Ali Mansur's Government—Iranians Ask for Armistice—Hostilities Cease on August 29—Terms of Peace Settlement—The Shah Abdicates: His Successor—Vital Supply Routes to Russia

When in the late summer of 1941 Britain and the Soviet Union took military action against Persia—or Iran as the country of the Shahs came to be generally called after 1935—they were inspired by the same necessity as that which had led to the occupation of Iraq and Syria earlier in the year: the necessity, that is, to counteract Axis intrigues and to forestall Axis activities in a vitally important area of the Middle East.

It was no hasty move; rather the trouble that gave rise to it had long been simmering. For many months Nazi influence in Iran had been visibly on the increase. The number of "technicians" had grown to unreasonable proportions and they held key places in railways, on the air routes and in the chief industries. Then there were hundreds of "tourists" who were undoubtedly Nazi agents or were advance units of one of the German armed forces. Many of these people had come from Iraq after the British occupation. Neither Britain nor Russia could allow this enemy penetration of a country occupying a key position between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus to go unchecked. The presence of so many Germans in Persia constituted a direct menace to the Russian oil-fields in the Caucasus and to the Anglo-Iranian oil-fields and the security of the Indian Empire.

A British official statement on August 25 (see Historic Document, p. 1857) pointed out that representations made at Teheran for months past had remained without effect; towards the middle of July the matter had again been brought to the notice of the Persian Government, as a matter of the utmost gravity. Further representations were made jointly by the British and Soviet envoys on August 16, urging the repatriation of the German emigrants. A few Germans were sent out of the country as a result, but many more were allowed to remain. For the most part the representations had been allowed to pass unheeded, until at length the two Powers were compelled to take drastic action. At 4 a.m. on August 25 Sir Reader Bullard, British Minister in Teheran, and Mr. Smirnov, his Soviet colleague, presented to the Persian Prime Minister Notes from their respective Governments (see page 1857).



COMMANDER OF BRITISH AND INDIAN TROOPS IN PERSIA

British and Indian troops engaged in the preventive operations in Persia were drawn from General Sir Archibald Wavell's command in India, and were under the immediate direction of Lieut.-General Edward Pellew Quinan, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., previously General Officer Commanding Waziristan District. Here, Lieut.-Gen. Quinan (left) chats with General Wavell.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

From their replies to the communications previously addressed to them, said the British statement, it was obvious that the Persian Government were not prepared to give adequate satisfaction to the recommendations of Britain and Russia. Since it was now clear that further friendly representations would serve no useful purpose, the two Governments were obliged to take other measures to safeguard their essential interests. But these measures would in no way be directed against the Persian people, or the independence and territorial integrity of the country; they would be directed solely against attempts of Axis Powers to gain control.

Strong Measures Needed

The Russian Note referred to anti-Soviet and anti-Persian activities engaged in by "the Fascist-German conspiratorial groups" on Persian territory, particularly since the attack on the Soviet by Germany. Agents of German Fascism, it alleged, had attempted to introduce into the Soviet province of Azerbaijan and the Baku oil region groups of saboteurs and terrorists whose activities were also directed at engineering a military coup in Persia itself. German agents had established dumps of arms and ammunition at various points on Persian territory; German residents in the Teheran district had been given military instructions to further their criminal intentions; and German secret service agents were using Persian territory as a base for aggression against the U.S.S.R. Thrice since the Nazi invasion of Russia the Soviet had warned Persia of these subversive activities by German agents and spies, and it was regrettable that the Persian Government, by refusing to take the necessary counter-measures, had encouraged the German agents to continue their criminal work. This being so, the Soviet Government found itself compelled, in accordance with the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1921, to dispatch troops into Persia with a view to safe-



GURKHAS ENTER QASR-I-SHIRIN, AUGUST 25, 1941

Entering Persian territory from Iraq at Khanaqin, General Quinan's forces occupied the border town of Qasr-i-Shirin on August 25. This photograph shows some of the Gurkhas who formed part of the mixed British and Indian column advancing through the town. Little opposition was encountered here.

Photo, Sport & General

guarding the security of the U.S.S.R. In conclusion, it was emphasized that Russia had no designs on the territory or independence of Persia.

On the night of August 25-26 Moscow announced that Soviet troops had crossed the frontier into Persia early the previous morning and were moving in the direction of Ardebil and Tabriz. Simultaneously British and Indian troops had entered Persia from the south.

Britain and Russia Take Action

The British troops engaged in the invasion were drawn from General Wavell's command in India, and were under the immediate direction of Lieut.-General E. P. Quinan. The first communiqué describing their progress was issued from Simla on August 26.

> British and Indian troops (it read) entered Iran at three points early on Monday morning (August 25). Naval and air co-operation enabled the landing of a force at Abadan, and a small detachment of Indian troops also secured Bandar Shapur (Persian Gulf), where there were two damaged German ships and three Italian ships only slightly damaged. British and Indian troops, including infantry and armoured units, advanced simultaneously into Iran from Khanaqin (Iraq). The oil installation at Naft-i-Shah and the small town of Qasr-i-Shirin were occupied without serious opposition. Leaflets were dropped by R.A.F. bombers on Teheran and other towns explaining the reasons for the operations, and stressing that we have no quarrel with the Iranian people and no designs on their independence or territory.

The forces attacking in the Persian Gulf area were under the command of Lieut.-General Harvey, of the Indian Army. Starting from Basra in the early hours of Monday morning, he pushed in three lines of attack. One made a surprise landing at the great oil refinery town and centre of Abadan; the second made an all-night march across the sandy desert and captured Khorramshahr from the north; the third had for its objective Ahwaz, an important town on the pipeline, some hundred miles to the north.

At Abadan there was considerable opposition. For seven hours hand-to-hand fighting continued between the Persian soldiers and Indian troops, who, after sailing down the Tigris in tugs and sloops, had been landed direct at the waterfront. Before dusk, however, the town was captured and the Persian forces retired northwards.

Bandar Shapur was also occupied by Indian troops, while Naval units put out of action two Persian gun-boats which had opened fire, set on fire the Persian escort vessel "Babr," and captured two damaged German and three only slightly damaged Italian ships lying in the harbour. Two further German ships that had been beached were captured with their crews. Steps were taken by air-borne troops to give protec-



JOINT ANGLO-RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF PERSIA

After Riza Shah Pahlevi became ruler of Persia the ancient name of Iran was officially adopted, and this usage was generally followed in the West also. On August 25, 1941, British and Indian troops entered Persian territory at Khanaqin on the Iraq border, while others were landed in the Persian Gulf at Abadan and Bandar Shapur. Soviet troops advanced from Trans-Caucasia towards Tabriz and Ardebil; others entered from the Caspian. British and Soviet forces met at Kazvin and Sehneh on August 31.

tion to British families in the employ of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The head of the Persian Navy, Admiral Beyendor, was killed during the first hours of the attack when organizing resistance near Khorramshahr.

As for the third column, the Indian detachments composing it had come within 8 miles of Ahwaz when Persian resistance ceased and General Mohamed Shahbakhti surrendered the town.

While these actions were being decided in the south General Quinan's men, operating from Khanaqin on the Iraq-Iran border some hundred miles north-





SOVIET INFANTRY AND TANKS IN TABRIZ (AUGUST 26, 1941)

Russian columns advanced from Trans-Caucasia towards Ardebil and Tabriz ; the top photograph shows infantry and a light tank in the latter town. When a few days later a British flying column met the first Soviet mobile detachments both sides evinced much interest in the other's weapons and equipment (lower photograph, a British soldier examines a Russian armoured fighting vehicle).

Photos, British Official : Crown Copyright ; Sport & General

east of Baghdad, had crossed into Iraq near Qasr-i-Shirin and were advancing rapidly along the road to Kermanshah. The spearhead of the attack was constituted by a British Hussar regiment, part of an Indian armoured brigade. When astride the main road between Qasr-i-Shirin and Kermanshah, they met a detachment of Gurkhas and led them in the direction of the Paitak Pass. Another column headed towards Gilan, so as to take in the rear any Persian force which might attempt to hold the strong defensive position of the Paitak Pass where the road crosses the Zagros range. After very slight resistance Gilan was occupied, and within forty-eight hours of leaving Iraq British troops entered Shahabad. Then patrols sent out to reconnoitre the approaches to the Paitak Pass encountered not Persian troops but men of the Indian Army approaching from the opposite direction; to avoid encirclement the enemy had retired. East of Shahabad there was some fighting when the Warwickshire Yeomanry, who had been sent out to take up a position on the Zibiri ridge about seven miles to the east, were caught in an ambush; but when artillery and the Wiltshires had come up in support the enemy made a request for the cessation of hostilities. This being agreed, the British and Indian troops completed their march to Kermanshah which they entered on August 30.

Meanwhile the Russians were making rapid progress in their invasion from the north. On the first day the Soviet troops advancing from Trans-Caucasia progressed to a depth of twenty-five miles in the directions of Tabriz and Ardebil; these towns, together with Dilman and Lissar, were occupied by the Red Army on the next day (August 26). An attack was also launched from the Caspian Sea. On Sunday, August 31, British and Russian forces met at Kazvin, 95 miles N.W. of Teheran, and Indian forces advancing from Iraq made contact with the Red Army at Sehneh.

Writing from Kazvin a few days later, Reuter's Special Correspondent described Russian infantry and mechanized units.

Sentries with fixed bayonets stand guarding strategic points, such as the oil pumps, power plant and general headquarters of the army of occupation. Well-ordered formations of infantry, also with fixed bayonets, march through the streets, while other soldiers . . . rumble by in lorries.

It is significant that Russia has been able to spare so many men and so much fine equipment for her operations in Iran. The Soviet forces here have tanks which have been carefully preserved from prying eyes; heavily-armed six-wheeler armoured cars; field guns and howitzers drawn by tractors and trucks; and anti-aircraft lorries mounting heavy triple-barrelled pom-poms. . .

Our party . . . met the General in command at the Russian headquarters. Immediately a dozen bottles of vodka were produced, and we sat down to lunch with his staff of senior commanders. As the meal progressed we drank toasts—to the Russian Army, the British Army; to Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill; to "the damnation of Hitler" (with great enthusiasm) and finally to "our next meeting in Berlin."

By this time there had been a change of Government in Persia. On August 27 Ali Mansur had resigned, and a new cabinet was formed under Ali Furughi, who told the Persian Parliament that it had been decided to cease fighting.

On August 29 British H.Q. at Simla

announced that envoys of the Shah had met British forward forces and officially notified them that resistance was at an end; a similar message had been conveyed to the Russians. By the end of the week the war was at an end; conditions in the occupied areas were rapidly returning to normal, and the population were everywhere manifesting a friendly attitude. No doubt the British action in importing 650 tons of wheat from Iraq for distribution among destitute Persians in the British-occupied area had much to do with the change of feeling.

On September 10 the new Persian Premier announced in the Majlis that his Government had accepted the British and Russian demands; these included (1) the closing of the German, Italian, Hungarian and Rumanian Legations; (2) the handing over to the Allies of enemy nationals; (3) the withdrawal of Persian troops from certain areas in the occupation of the Allies; and (4) the granting of rail and road facilities for transport of war supplies to the U.S.S.R. For their part, the Allies agreed to pay the costs of their occupation and to continue the payment of royalties in respect of British oil rights in the south and the Russian fishery rights in the north.



Next day the Axis Legations were deprived of their diplomatic status, but the German Minister showed such ingenuity and pertinacity in obstruction that the Allies found it necessary to present a further note to the Persian Government demanding the immediate internment of enemy nationals. On September 14 the first batch of Germans left Teheran for internment at Ahwaz, but there were only 80 instead of 240. Two days later a second batch of 241 Germans left for internment in India and the U.S.S.R., but the attitude of the Shah's Government still left much to be desired. On September 16 the Moscow radio accused the Persian Government of "insincerity" and "unforgivable slowness" in carrying out the terms of the armistice. Within the last few days, it was declared, there had been several indications that the demands made by the British and Soviet Governments were meeting with opposition from Germanophile elements which included highly placed personages. Then on September 10 a Persian newspaper had published a leading article expressing regret at the closing of the Axis diplomatic missions. At the same time, the Shah's Government were postponing from day to day the departure of the Axis diplomatic missions; as a result, several German agents had been enabled to go into hiding and continue their nefarious activities in Persia.

No longer, it was clear, was the Shah persona grata to the Russian and the British Governments, and that there were many Persian dissentients from his rule was made clear when on September 15 the Majlis met in secret session for the purpose of making demands for a number of badly-needed internal reforms. It was understood that a delegation of members would wait upon the Shah the next day, but on that day (September 16) the announcement was made of the Shah's abdication "on account of failing health." In his place ruled his son, the twenty-one-year-old Crown Prince, Mohamed Riza Khan. The new Shah took the oath the same day to reign "according to the law of the Constitution and in accordance with constitutional government." On the same day British and Russian troops advanced to the outskirts of Teheran so as to be the better able to supervise the rounding-up of the enemy nationals who had still managed to escape internment. By September 20 the last of the Germans who had been sheltering in their Legation had been deported, while the diplomatic staffs of the closed Legations had been given facilities to proceed to Turkey. As for the ex-Shah, on September 28 it was reported that he had embarked from Bandar Abbas—on October 18 he arrived at Mauritius, the British island in the Indian Ocean which had been chosen by the Allies for his wartime home.

Thus the Allies had succeeded in two of the aims which led to the invasion of Persia; they had extirpated German influence in the country, and had provided proper protection for the oil-fields. Now it was the turn of their third aim: the development of Persia as a corridor for the supply of war material to hard-pressed Russia.

The former Shah, Riza Shah Pahlevi, had done much to improve the communications of his country; under his rule more than 10,000 miles of road had been repaired or constructed, and the

ALLIED ARMY COMMANDERS MEET AT TEHERAN

On September 28, 1941, General Sir Archibald Wavell (small photograph) met Major-General Vassili Vassilevich Novikov, Soviet Commander in North Iran, for a talk on Allied war aims. In large photograph Russian infantry are marching past British troops after a parade which preceded the withdrawal of Allied forces from Teheran.

Photos, Associated Press





A BRITISH LIGHT TANK IN KERMANSHAH

Kermanshah was occupied by General Quinan's forces on the morning of August 30. Two days earlier the new Iranian Government had ordered its troops to cease fire, and a request for an armistice was made. British terms were handed to the authorities on the 30th, and were accepted on September 2. Final peace terms were settled on September 9.

Photo, Sport & General

Trans-Iranian railway—the apple of his eye—had been built. But these developments had been along purely national lines: the chief network of communications centred about Teheran and was hardly linked with Russia, while by deliberate act the communications with India were neglected. As for the Trans-Iranian railway, it was a masterpiece of engineering—in its 892 miles there were 225 tunnels and 852 bridges—but for the most part it was single track with sidings only at the stations (about 10 miles apart). Moreover, it ran from the Persian Gulf not to the Caucasus but to the Caspian Sea; while as for its terminal ports, Bandar Shah was being left high and dry by the gradual lowering of the waters of the Caspian, and Bandar Shapur was nothing but a small jetty built over mud flats in a tidal creek.

Trans-Iranian Railway

Yet another drawback was the fact that the railway gauge was the standard 4 ft. 8½ in., while the Russian gauge was 5 ft. and the Indian 5 ft. 6 in. For 50 miles the railway ran through tunnels; gradients were steep, and the zigzag course enforced by mountainous stretches cut down the average speed to 20 m.p.h. It could carry only about 300 tons of goods per day. These were some of the difficulties that British and Russian military engineers swiftly tackled. They set about improving the railway and the terminal ports. Large numbers of British technical personnel, including engine-crews, brakesmen, signalmen and fitters for the railway shops, were sent out from Britain, and before Christmas two cargoes of British locomotives and goods-wagons had arrived in the Persian Gulf. More rolling-stock was sent from Australia. Railway sidings were lengthened, additional telegraph and telephone lines installed, and the water supply improved. The Russians began operations at Bandar Shah, while harbour works were undertaken at Bandar Shapur by Indian engineering firms. A new railway line from Khorramshahr (formerly Mohammerah) on the Shatt-al-Arab to the main line at Ahwaz was constructed; the Russian and the Persian systems were linked by a railway between Tabriz and Kazvin; and the extension of the Indian railway from Quetta across Baluchistan to Duzdab—built in the last war but since taken up—was again laid down. At the same time the roads, particularly those connecting with India, were greatly improved and extended. A Transportation Directorate was set up in Teheran to organize the dispatch of war material to Russia, under Brig. Sir Godfrey Rhodes, a former manager of the East African railways; and a Russian organization—Iransovtrans—was set up to take delivery at a number of places in northern Persia. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation assembled a fleet of nearly 1,000 lorries to maintain the flow of road traffic.

In all this work the United States joined with Britain and Russia. American engineers supervised the erection of mechanical plant; American lorries, shipped in bulk to ports on the Persian Gulf, were assembled by skilled American mechanics, and were soon speeding along the Persian roads with Russian drivers at the wheel. American locomotives as well as British were shortly hauling their freight through the tunnels and gorges of the Trans-Iranian. American planes were there, too, since Persia became the last stage on the road by which U.S. bombers were flown to the Caucasus. Thus in many a direction before the end of the year Persia was proving of inestimable value to the United Nations.





MOHAMED RIZA KHAN RULES IN HIS FATHER'S STEAD

Riza Shah Pahlevi abdicated on September 16, and his son Mohamed Riza Khan, twenty-one years old, succeeded to the throne of Iran. Inset, the new Shah. Large photograph shows him signing the oath of obedience to the Constitution in the presence of the Majlis (Parliament) at Teheran. In 1939 he married a sister of King Farouk of Egypt.

Photos, British Official, Crown Copyright; Sport & General







TRANS-IRANIAN ROUTE TO RUSSIA

Allied supplies for Russia are landed at Bandar Shapur or Bushire on the Persian Gulf (see map in page 1859). At Ahwaz, on the Trans-Iranian railway, road convoys and trains are made up. The railway to Bandar Shah on the Caspian goes through Teheran, from where there is a branch also to Kazvin (probably now connected to a line that formerly ended at Tabriz, linking up with Trans-Caucasia). Photographs show scenes at Ahwaz: (1) A Soviet officer directing lorry drivers; (2) unloading grain and stores; (3) locomotives and rolling stock from Britain ready to move off northwards; (4) lorry convoy on the eight-day trip to the Caspian; (5) a lorry of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





TURKEY'S POLICY DURING 1941: RELATIONS WITH ALLIES AND AXIS

Pact With Bulgaria—Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill at Ankara: A Disappointing Conference—Basic Principles of Turkey's Foreign Policy—Effect of Allied Setbacks—Papen's Machinations—Repercussions of the Yugoslav Coup—Germany Strikes in the Balkans—German-Turkish Pact of Friendship—Russia Invaded—Iraq and Syria—Allied Action in Persia—Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement

The year 1941 opened for Turkey with grave anxieties regarding the potential dangers of the Balkan situation. For already it was clear to the Government at Ankara that storm clouds were gathering and that Germany was preparing to use the Balkans as a stepping-stone towards the realization of larger military plans. Germany assured the Turks that she did not intend to embark upon a campaign in the Balkans, but added that the Greek-Italian War could give rise to complications, and that if a British or Allied landing were to take place at Salonika to forestall a German attack on Greece, Germany would regard it as a "provocation." In the meantime Anglo-Turkish staff talks—under the provisions of the Anglo-Turkish Alliance—were taking place, and on February 1 Colonel Donovan, who was on a mission of inquiry in the Near East for President Roosevelt, arrived at Ankara.

The Turkish newspaper "Yeni Sabah," commenting on the situation at the time, declared that "any Power which penetrates into the Turkish zone of security is giving notice of her intention not to respect Turkey's frontiers. Turkey will take all the necessary measures before the enemy is already at her gate." This statement, inspired by the Turkish Foreign Office, was clearly meant as a warning to Germany. Turkey was alarmed at German military infiltration into Bulgaria which was already taking place. But as time went on Turkey's attitude underwent a modification, becoming less definite as the German threat increased, as Bulgarian resistance appeared more doubtful, and as the prospect of Russian support of a Turkish stand against Germany seemed less probable. By February 8 it was clear that Turkish action would be influenced by the form of the impending German invasion of Greece and the extent to which it threatened vital Turkish interests.

Thus it was that Turkey now tried to restrain Bulgaria. On February 11 she called upon Bulgaria to define her policy before it was too late, and the Turkish press alluded to Bulgaria's acquiescence in the presence of German troops in Bulgaria as a "crime against Balkan neighbours." Next day the Ankara wireless warned Germany that a Balkan campaign would bring her bad luck. The Turkish attempt to hold Bulgaria back from connivance in a German Balkan campaign took the form of the Turco-Bulgarian Pact of February 17. The preamble stated that the agreement was without prejudice to engagements already entered into by the two parties. This meant, on the Turkish side, that the Pact would not in any way invalidate Turkey's obligations to either her British or her Greek Allies. (There was in existence a Turco-Greek Pact signed in 1933.) Bulgaria had no formal pact with other Powers, but she had a secret understanding with Germany. The Pact, it was hoped, might stave off Bulgarian action, and perhaps Yugoslavia would make a similar pact.

Turco-Bulgarian Pact

Article I of the Pact declared that Turkey and Bulgaria considered that the staple basis of their foreign policy was to abstain from any aggression. In Article II it was stated that the two Governments, inspired by confidence in each other, were determined to maintain and develop this confidence still further in good neighbourly relations. Article III said that the two Governments declared themselves ready to seek appropriate means to develop trade between the two countries. The Turkish press put the best face on it, asserting that it would bring peace to the Balkans and prevent the war spreading. "Yeni Sabah" said that "the heroism of our ally Greece will prove sufficient to dislodge the Italians from the Balkans, because the other way for the aggressor, through Bulgaria, is now closed."

On February 18 Mr. Anthony Eden and Sir John Dill arrived in Turkey, and on the 26th they received a popular welcome in Ankara. Mr. Eden had talks with the President, M. Inönü, and M. Sarajoglu, the Foreign



TESTING TIME FOR ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS

When Mr. Anthony Eden (centre) and Sir John Dill (left) arrived in Turkey on February 18, 1941, Turkey had overnight signed the Pact with Bulgaria which it was hoped would moderate the latter country's pro-Axis trend. But the British representatives' discussions with M. Sarajoglu (right) and other leaders could not fail to be disappointing to the British Government.

Photo, Associated Press



BRITISH ACTION IN SYRIA PREVENTED TURKEY'S ISOLATION

After the collapse of France the presence of French forces in Syria constituted a threat to Turkey's flank. The freeing of Syria from Axis control in July 1941 averted the danger that Turkey might be cut off from her ally Britain. This photograph shows the arrival of a British armoured car on the Turkish-Syrian border and the meeting between British and Turkish soldiers.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Minister, while Sir John Dill saw Marshal Chakmak. In the meantime Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador at Moscow, arrived in Ankara. He was able to give Mr. Eden the latest information regarding the Soviet Government's attitude towards the situation in the Balkans. An official communiqué was issued on February 28 affirming the fidelity of the British and Turkish Governments to the Anglo-Turkish Alliance and their agreement on all the current problems in the Balkans. Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill then departed for Athens (photo in page 1575).

Behind the formal words of mutual agreement in the official communiqué was a situation not without its disappointment for Britain. For it had become clear that there was not much likelihood of the Turks joining with their British and Greek allies to stem the Axis invasion of Greece. A German attack on Greece was imminent. It would in all probability take place through Bulgaria, and perhaps Hitler would succeed by mingled bullying and bribery in inducing the Yugoslav Government to allow passage of his troops through Yugoslavia as well. In the view of the British Government the cooperation of the Turkish Army would have made a great deal of difference to the chances of a successful defence of Greece.

The Turkish argument was that their Army should be reserved against the day when it could be employed to more useful effect—meaning that, in the event of a German attempt to go through Turkey to attack the British in the Middle East, the Turks would resist. Moreover, the Turks said they were then lacking in sufficient war material to be able to make a stand against the Germans. On this point Britain was sympathetic, for the Anglo-Turkish Alliance involved the supply of war material from both Britain and France, and also presupposed the presence of an active French army in Syria to cover Turkey's flank. The fall of France had radically altered the situation. The presence of the French in Syria had now become an embarrassment. Turkey could not now obtain any war material from France, and Britain had been unable to spare very much. It was arranged, however, that Britain would do all that she could, and also that approaches should be made to the U.S.A. with a view to American war material going to Turkey under the provisions of the Lease-Lend arrangement.

Apart from Turkey's manifest inability to wage an offensive against the Axis in view of her shortage of arms and munitions, she was of course influenced by the changing fortunes of the great belligerents. General Wavell's success in turning Graziani out of Cyrenaica early in the year had

encouraged Turkey to take a firm line in official declarations as regards German intentions in the Balkans. But when, in April, the British and Imperial forces sent to Greece proved inadequate to prevent the overrunning of the Peninsula, Turkish policy became less decided. Then followed the disaster to the British and Imperial forces in Crete after their retreat from the Greek mainland; and also there had been a complete reversal of fortune in Libya as a result of the transfer of the bulk of the British forces to Greece, a situation which had enabled the German-Italian forces to retake Cyrenaica.

These Axis successes encouraged the Nazis to bring pressure to bear upon Turkey, and from now onwards there were to be many German proposals to the Turks with a view to inducing them to give up their alliance with Britain. But Turkey never wavered on this main issue. The view held was, generally speaking, that in the long run Britain would win the war, but that on short term the Germans were likely to have big successes. Hence Turkish disinclination to take immediate military risks on behalf of the Allied cause, but hence also Turkish refusal to give up the alliance. This was the key to Turkey's attitude throughout 1941.

As early as March 4 the Germans showed that they were already alive to the potentialities of the situation. It was then, just after the departure of Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill for Athens, that Von Papen called upon President Inönü and presented him with a personal message from Hitler—the first of several such communications. On March 4 Bulgaria had signed the Tripartite Pact, and on February 27 Yugoslavia had signed a pact with Hungary, who was herself tied to the Axis. On March 7 articles appeared in the Turkish press urging the Yugoslavs not to give the Germans passage through Yugoslavia to take Greece in the rear. But already things were moving too quickly. The regime of Prince Paul was already committed, through fear, to acquiescence in the Balkan policy of the Germans. Turkey's attitude at this time was explained in an interview given to the American press by a high Turkish political personality, who said:

"Turkey would take action at the moment when, in collaboration with Britain, she could make the most effective use of her army and geographical position. She would not waste her strength by trying to swing behind the German forces, should they attack Greece. Russia would be glad to see Turkey put up a fight, but Turkey did not expect help. Russia would not do more than protest if the Germans reached the Dardanelles."

By March 13 Turkish mobilization was completed. On the 16th President Inönü replied to Hitler in friendly but non-committal terms. From Russia Turkey received assurances on March 24 that the Soviet Government would do nothing to embarrass Turkey should her relations with a third Power (meaning Germany) grow rapidly worse.

In Yugoslavia there had been the anti-Axis coup d'état which resulted, on March 27, in the expulsion of the chief Regent and the ministers who had engineered the country's adherence to the Tripartite Pact. On April 6 Germany attacked Yugoslavia (see Chapter 157). A week later the Yugoslav Government informed Turkey that Bulgaria was cooperating with Germany in the fighting against Yugoslavia. The Turkish Government then passed a law extending the term of military reserve service, and proclaimed at the same time the continuance of the policy of non-belligerency. These two actions were, indeed, symbolical of Turkish policy at the time.

German diplomatic attentions were not abated, for on April 17 Von Papen went to Berlin again to consult with Hitler on further steps. Berlin considered the moment propitious. The Balkans were about to be overrun by the Axis forces, and trouble for the British was being fomented in the Middle East—in Iraq and in Syria. Thus a situation of increasing difficulty for Turkey was being created, and this, in the view of the Axis politicians, should make it easier to win over the Turks.

Von Papen Consults Hitler

All through these troubled months Turkey was subject also to the influence of Russia—whose own position *vis-à-vis* the Axis was ambiguous, to say the least of it. On April 18 it was stated in Ankara that the Soviet Government had informed the Turkish Government that Russia hoped Turkey would not make any concessions to Germany. The Turks did not make any political concessions, but they felt that it was expedient to keep on friendly terms with Germany in the economic sphere, so long as this did not imply giving way on any vital questions. Thus on the 29th there was signed a commercial agreement between Germany and Turkey providing for Turkish supply of tobacco in exchange for German machinery and arms. More Turkish reservists were called up on May 1.

By now events in the Middle East were rapidly moving towards a serious crisis for the Allies, with potential dangers for Turkey. The revolt of the Iraqi quisling Rashid Ali on April 3 (see Chapter 165) was alarming, for a



DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS FOR VON PAPEN

The signing of the Turkish Pact of Friendship with Germany on June 18, 1941, must be reckoned a notable achievement for Franz von Papen (right, being congratulated by the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Saracoglu). He had had a narrow escape in the purge of 1934, and later, as Ambassador to Vienna, had betrayed Austria to Hitler. From 1938 he was Ambassador to Turkey, continually involved in tortuous intrigues. *Photo, E.N.A.*





WHILE AN AERIAL BATTLE RAGED ABOVE THE KREMLIN

The remarkable photograph at top was taken while a German raid on Moscow was in progress. Raiders had just dropped flares; the tracks of tracer shells and the explosions of others fired by the ground defences are seen. Below, a group of Soviet fighter pilots operating near Moscow; Colonel Grinev (seated, second from left) by the end of August had shot down 27 enemy aircraft.

Photos, Margaret Bourke-White



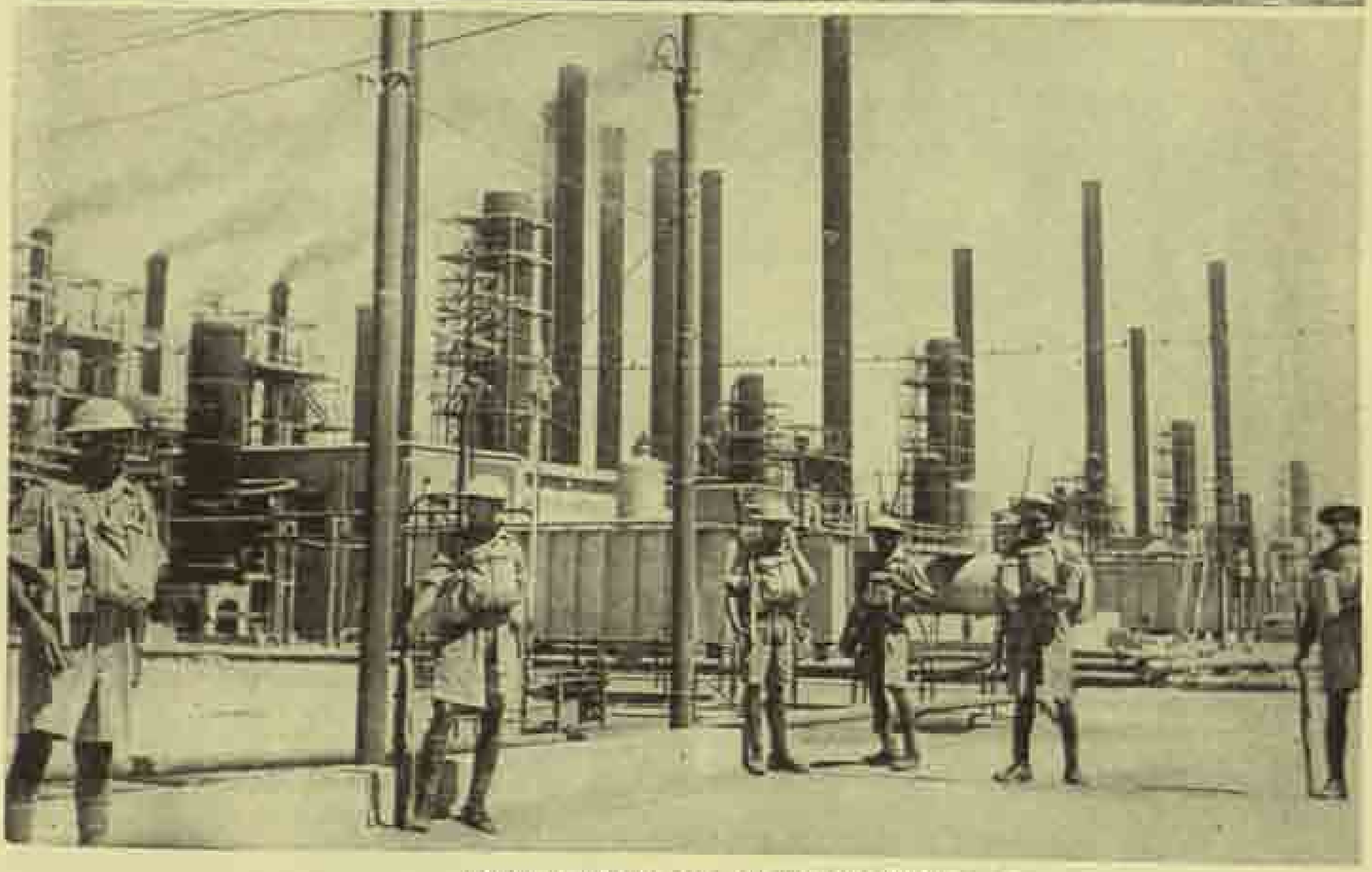


IN THE MOSCOW SECTOR OF THE RUSSIAN BATTLE LINE

Kalinin, 100 miles N.W. of Moscow, was captured by the enemy on October 15, 1941: lower photograph shows German soldiers searching for isolated Russians. Intense opposition was met in this region, and by mid-November the enemy was being thrust back. On December 15 Kalinin was again in Russian hands. Top, all that was left of a wooden school building at Shalikovo, near Mozhaisk, was the brick stoves and chimney stacks.

Photos, Planet News; Associated Press





SAFEGUARDING THE WORLD'S LARGEST OIL REFINERY

The island of Abadan, on the Shatt-al-Arab at the head of the Persian Gulf, was captured by Imperial forces on the morning of August 25, 1941; the lower photograph shows British soldiers guarding the oil refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (formerly the Anglo-Persian). Top, the Iranian flagship 'Babr,' sunk at Khorramshahr on August 25, during the British attack.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



NEW ZEALANDERS MEET TANKS FROM TOBRUK GARRISON AT EL DUDA

After driving out the enemy from Sidi Rezegh on the night of November 25-26, 1941, the New Zealanders pushed on next day to El Duda on the Axis highway. There they made contact with a force from Tobruk which had sallied out to close the 'corridor' till then existing between the opposing armies. In the words of a Press observer with the troops, the New Zealanders had the offensive spirit in excelsis!

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

German success in the Middle East would have meant the eventual cutting off of Turkey from her British ally in Egypt. Turkey offered to mediate in the Iraq dispute, but such intervention was not required, since Britain soon succeeded in bringing the revolt to an end. Eight days after an armistice had been signed (May 31) in Iraq the British and Free French forces were marching into Syria to free the territory from the Axis-controlled Vichy administration (see Chapter 166). This was effected by July 11, and the British and Allied position became firm again. The danger of Turkey's isolation from her allies passed.

Germany (with the coming invasion of Russia in the last stages of preparation) had been taking steps to safeguard herself in the Balkans, and Von Papen reappeared at Ankara at the beginning of June with fresh schemes. He presented President Inönü with a personal letter of friendship from Hitler. On June 5 a number of German business men and industrialists arrived in Turkey to seek an extension of German-Turkish trading relations. The Turks were pressed to conclude both a political and a trade agreement. Turkey expressed herself willing to enter into a pact of friendship, on condition that it did not mean anything prejudicial to the Anglo-Turkish Alliance. The outcome was the German-Turkish Pact of Friendship of June 18; its text is printed in Historic Document No. 235 (page 1873).

Von Papen's New Schemes

Towards the end of June, a few days after Germany attacked Russia, Turkey declared her neutrality towards the new conflict and the Turkish Foreign Office informed the British, Russian and German Ambassadors that Turkey would keep the Montreux Convention regarding the Dardanelles. On June 29 the official Turkish news agency—Agence Anatolie—denied that Von Papen had made peace overtures to Britain via Turkey. This followed upon the circulation of a report that the German Ambassador had made such suggestions and that Turkey had been promised by Germany part of the Caucasus. At the same time Turkey published a Russian denial of Hitler's allegations to the effect that Russia had demanded bases on the Dardanelles.

For some time there had been a German-inspired whispering campaign to the effect that Britain and Russia had agreed to territorial rearrangements in favour of Russia and at the expense of Turkey. In this the Germans were playing upon long-standing Turkish suspicions of Russia, which still remained strong. During the early stages of the European war there had been many rumours of German-Russian accommodations at the expense of Turkey. Now that Germany was attacking Russia the German propaganda machine attributed similar anti-Turkish designs to Britain.



CLEARING THE WAY FOR ACTIVE DEFENCE

In May 1941 Turkey set in motion a large scheme for the evacuation of women and aged persons from Istanbul and other cities in the European danger area. Here are some of the first group of 2,000 evacuees at the pier, on the right bank of the Golden Horn.

Photo, Associated Press

In order to counter such lies the British and Russian Governments, on August 10, made a declaration to the Turkish Government that the two Governments remained faithful to the Montreux Convention and had no aggressive intentions regarding the Straits; and that, while Britain and Russia appreciated Turkey's desire to keep out of the war, they would render her help if she should be attacked by a European Power.

To add to the political complications there now came the crisis in Iran, where the Nazis, foiled in Iraq and Syria, were stirring up strife and disaffection. Shortsightedly the reigning Shah played into Axis hands and encouraged Nazi intrigues. This obliged London and Moscow to take action. On August 25 the British and Russian Ambassadors notified M. Sarajoglu, the Turkish Prime Minister, of the Anglo-Russian move into Iran (see Chapter 184). At first certain sections of the Turkish press were not too friendly towards the Anglo-Russian occupation, but later, when it was seen that Britain and Russia were adhering strictly to their promises not to infringe Persian independence, the tone became more friendly. Hitler, in an interview with the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin, had stated that Germany had no intention of attacking Turkey, but could not remain indifferent if Britain and Russia took action in Iran.

Von Papen made another of his frequent visits to headquarters, reaching Berlin on September 2. When the full story of these days is able to be told it may well appear that this man—capable, experienced and unscrupulous—played a major part in such success as his Fuehrer's schemes achieved in the Middle East. Expelled from the U.S.A. for complicity in bomb plots in 1916, he had emerged from obscurity in 1932 as German Chancellor under Hindenburg, and had then helped Hitler to power. In 1934 he narrowly escaped the purge that killed some of his friends.

Early in September Clodius, the German trade negotiator, reached Ankara at the head of a German Trade Delegation. (Clodius had been to Ankara in July and had unsuccessfully tried to obtain contracts for road and railway construction.) On the 23rd Von Papen returned from Berlin, and this was the signal for propaganda to the effect that the German advance towards the Caucasus would be irresistible; that Germany had no designs against Turkey; but that a new situation would be created—by the arrival of the German forces on Turkey's Russian border—to which Turkey would have to adapt herself. In effect the Nazis threatened that Turkey would have to come to terms with the "New Order" Hitler would set up in the Middle East—following a victory over Russia. In return

Rebuff to Clodius





TURKEY BARRED THE ROUTE FROM EUROPE TO ASIA

The German invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece in April 1941 called forth strong measures in Turkey, where the term of military service was at once extended. It was made clear to Germany that the short route to the Middle East would be defended whole-heartedly. Top, Turkish reinforcements cross the Bosporus to the European shore. Lower photograph, a machine-gun crew alert for hostile aircraft on an Istanbul rooftop.

Photos, Wide World

Turkey was offered territories which had once formed part of the Ottoman Empire.

Towards the end of September there was concluded an Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement covering foodstuffs to the value of £T.4,000,000. Immediately the Germans renewed their own pressure for a trade agreement. What they wanted especially were supplies of chrome ore, but M. Sarajoglu told Von Papen and Clodius that such supplies would not be possible. (Certain quantities of this mineral had been set aside in repayment of British credits granted in 1938.) Early in October Clodius renewed his demands and asked that Turkey should supply chrome ore during 1943–44 to the extent of 150,000 tons. The Turks countered by suggesting a supply of 90,000 tons during these years, provided that war material previously ordered from Germany by Turkey, to the value of £T.18,000,000, was delivered before 1943, and also that the chrome deliveries should be against equivalent German deliveries of war material for the two years in question. (British purchases of chrome from Turkey had previously been arranged up to 1941.) Clodius accepted the Turkish terms. The value of the goods to be exported from Turkey was £T.100,000,000, including raw materials, tobacco, cereals, cotton and minerals.

During November the Germans made a strong effort to damp down the expression of pro-British sympathies in Turkey. Appeals were made to the "Turkish-German military comradeship of the last war." On the 17th this campaign took a more concrete form in the arrival in Ankara of the German Press Chief Schmidt, who tried to induce the Turkish Government to muzzle the pro-British section of the Turkish press. But Schmidt failed in his mission and departed in due course.

Throughout the period under review Turkey maintained her role of armed neutrality. It may be said that she interpreted the alliance statically rather than dynamically. Turkey's refusal to help Germany politically or militarily constituted an obstacle to the Nazi Middle Eastern plans.

Turkey was not deflected from her chosen course during the difficult days of the Iraqi and Syrian crises. Likewise, although the swift German advances in Russia and the threat to the Caucasus gave reason for grave anxiety, the Government at Ankara did not change its policy. The measure of the energy displayed by Germany in her attempts to win over Turkey—sometimes by bribes, sometimes by threats, and sometimes by a combination of the two—was the measure of Turkey's value as an ally to Britain. In this sense, then, Turkey rendered good service to the Allied cause during 1941.

Historic Documents. CCXXXII—CCXXXVII

TURKEY'S ATTITUDE TO THE WARRING NATIONS

Firmly resolved to preserve a policy of strict neutrality for as long as possible, Turkey backed her decision both by strengthening her defences as a reply to Germany's mingled threats and intrigues and by arranging or renewing trade agreements and pacts of friendship with her nearest Balkan neighbour, Bulgaria, and with Britain, Russia and Germany. Some of the relevant documents are given below.

JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE BULGARIAN AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS, FEBRUARY 17, 1941:

THE Turkish and Bulgarian Governments, having noted the happy results obtained during the exchanges of views which they have undertaken on several occasions in order to define the meaning of their foreign policy in relation to their mutual interests and their common objectives, with the aim of maintaining intact the confidence and friendship between the two countries;

Faithful to their Pact of Friendship, establishing peace and perpetual friendship between the Turkish Republic and the Kingdom of Bulgaria;

Desirous of continuing towards each other this policy of confidence, which has served to assure in the most difficult moments peace and calm through mutual respect for their security;

Decided to initiate a new exchange of views in the light of events, and have reached agreement on the following points without prejudice to their contracted agreements with regard to other countries:

1. Turkey and Bulgaria consider it an unchanging basis of their foreign policy to abstain from any aggression.

2. The two Governments are inspired by the most friendly intentions towards each other and are determined to maintain and develop their confidence still further in good neighbourly relations.

3. The two Governments declare themselves ready to seek appropriate means to develop relations between the two countries to the greatest extent compatible with their economic structure.

4. The two Governments express the hope that the Press of their two countries will be inspired in its writings by the mutual friendship and confidence which today has been newly affirmed in this Declaration.

COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED IN ANKARA, FEBRUARY 28, 1941:

HIS Excellency Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, and General Sir John Dill, Chief of the British Imperial Staff, who arrived at Ankara on February 26 on an official visit, were received by Ismet Inönü, President of the Turkish Republic, and have had interviews with Dr. Refik Saydam, the Turkish Prime Minister, M. Sarajoglu, Foreign Minister, and Marshal Chakmak, Turkish Chief of Staff.

The two Governments have once more asserted their complete attachment to the Turco-British Alliance.

The present international situation was subjected to review from every angle, and conditions in the Balkans and the mutual interests of Turkey and Great Britain were the subject of special attention.

Complete agreement was again reached on the policy of the two Governments regarding all these problems.

COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED IN ISTANBUL, MARCH 24, 1941:

AFTER news had appeared in the foreign Press to the effect that, if Turkey were involved in war, the Soviets would profit by the difficulties she would have to face by attacking her in turn, the Soviet Government informed Turkey in this connexion:

Firstly, that such news does not in any way coincide with the attitude of the Soviet Government;

Secondly, that in case Turkey should resist aggression and should find herself forced into war for the defence of her territory, Turkey could then, in accordance with the non-aggression pact [of 1925] existing between her and the Soviets, count on the complete understanding and neutrality of Russia.

The Turkish Government has expressed to the Soviet Government its most sincere thanks for that declaration and has let it be known that, should Russia find herself in a similar situation, she could count on the complete understanding and neutrality of Turkey.

TEXT OF A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND GERMANY, SIGNED IN ANKARA, JUNE 18, 1941:

THE German Reich and the Republic of Turkey, inspired by the desire to place the relations between their two countries on the basis of mutual trust and sincere friendship, have agreed, within the limits of the present commitments of both countries, to conclude a Treaty.

For this purpose the appointed plenipotentiary of the Reich Chancellor, Franz von Papen, and the Foreign Minister of the President of the Turkish Republic, Sarajoglu, have, on the basis of the power vested in them, agreed:

Article 1. Germany and Turkey bind themselves mutually to respect the integrity and inviolability of their national territory, and not to resort to any measures, direct or indirect, aimed at their Treaty partner.

Article 2. Germany and Turkey bind themselves in future in all questions touching their common interests to meet in friendly contact to reach an understanding on the treatment of such questions.

Article 3. The above Treaty will be ratified and the documents of ratification will be exchanged in Berlin. The Treaty comes into force from the day of signature and will be valid for 10 years. The parties will at the time specified come to an understanding on the prolongation of the Treaty.

M. SARAJOGLU, IN A STATEMENT MADE TO THE PRESS, JUNE 18, 1941:

TURKEY and Germany, who had not for centuries been opposed to one another in the course of the vicissitudes of world events and whose mutual relations have always been clear and correct, have in the Treaty, the text of which was published today, placed the foundation of their friendship on the most solid basis and confirmed for the future that the two countries will not oppose one another in any way.

Thus the Turkish and German nations have once again held out the hand of friendship in a new atmosphere of absolute security.

As it has been pointed out, other actual and existing obligations of the two parties are unaffected, and it is confirmed that these obligations do not affect the conception of the Treaty.

It is with great pleasure that I notify the signature of this Treaty, which constitutes an important historical document of friendship.

TEXT OF ANGLO-RUSSIAN PLEDGE OF ASSISTANCE AGAINST AGGRESSION, ISSUED BY THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, AUGUST 12, 1941:

ON August 10 the British and Soviet Ambassadors called at the Turkish Foreign Office and presented Declarations in identical terms. The text of the British Declaration is as follows:

H.M. Government in the United Kingdom confirm their fidelity to the Montreux Convention, and assure the Turkish Government that they have no aggressive intentions or claims whatever with regard to the Straits. H.M. Government, as also the Soviet Government, are prepared scrupulously to observe the territorial integrity of the Turkish Republic. While fully appreciating the desire of the Turkish Government not to be involved in war, H.M. Government, as also the Soviet Government, would nevertheless be prepared to render Turkey every assistance in the event of her being attacked by a European Power.

GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA AFTER THE NAZI CONQUEST OF APRIL 1941

Quisling Government in Athens—Italians Occupy Greek Capital—Bulgarization of Thrace—Grave Food Shortage—Neutrals Send Aid—Reprisals in Crete—Partition of Yugoslavia—Pavelich and Kvaternik in Croatia: An Italian "King" Appointed—Rise of the Chetnik Bands under Mihailovich—Mass Execution of Hostages

The immediate effect of Axis occupation of Greece was easily discernible in the rapid lowering of economic and social conditions throughout the country. Food stocks, tobacco, oil and other essential commodities were plundered wholesale; supplies of food dwindled so rapidly that only half a pound of bread daily was allowed each person. Matters were further aggravated by the lack of houses, due mainly to enemy bombing and requisitioning.

Following the defeat of the Greek and Allied armies and his Government's escape to Crete, M. Tsouderos (Greek Premier and Foreign Minister), announcing changes in the Cabinet, vowed on April 28, 1941, that the fight for liberty would be continued from overseas, and that in the end Greece would again be free and the greater for her struggle. Two days later the Germans announced the setting-up of a quisling regime under General Tsolakoglu, notorious for his disgrace in the Greco-Turkish war of 1920. Professors who had studied in Germany and were imbued with German "Kultur" were given the chief portfolios, this new regime being described by the German authorities as a "Greek orientation of the Axis programme for a new European order." Instant opposition was offered by influential sections of the people, and by the Church, including Archbishop Chrysostomos.

Axis aims, while following the familiar plan so drastically applied to other occupied countries, differed in Greece only in the manner of their application.

German attempts to undermine confidence in the Greek Government now in Crete were energetically countered by a decree which dismissed General Tsolakoglu, the quisling Premier, and Generals Demesticha, Bakos, Tetsis, Harcou, and Katsimitros for having "violated their oaths and failed in their duty to their King and country, signed an armistice with the enemy without the authorization of the Government, and for having, to the detriment of the nation at war, agreed to become the instruments of the enemy." Axis retaliation was swift. General Papagos, former Commander-in-Chief, who had resigned when the Hellenic Government went to Crete, was arrested with several State Secretaries. The German conquest of Crete compelled the Government to move again, this time to Egypt, where one of its first acts was the reconstitution of the Cabinet, accomplished by June 2.

Quisling Government Denounced



KING GEORGE OF THE HELLENES

This autographed portrait by Captain Peter McIntyre was sketched while the King was in Crete and finished later in Cairo, where His Majesty and some of the Greek Ministers went to avoid persistent German attempts at capture.

By courtesy of the New Zealand Government

On June 25, 1941, Italian troops, in agreement with the Germans, entered Athens, whereupon the departing Nazis seized the opportunity of pillage. Meanwhile, evidence began to accumulate of the existence of a strong and growing guerilla movement. At first it had only a nuisance value, but this changed almost overnight following the brutal and ruthless Bulgarisation of Greek Thrace. This act, the partial accomplishment of which was announced on August 20, and under which all Greek immigrants from Anatolia were turned out of their homes (involving 140 villages with a population of 60,000), was designed to destroy every vestige of Greek culture and influence, and, by supplanting Greeks by Bulgarians, to render the district permanently Bulgarian. The derailment by Greek guerillas of an Italian troop train on its way to the Turkish frontier, when 120 soldiers were killed or seriously injured (August 28), was probably connected with Bulgarian terrorism.

On September 22 the King and the Prime Minister, M. Tsouderos, arrived in London, and on the following day the King made a special broadcast to Greece in which he announced that the Greek Navy and Air Force were already assisting the Allies, and that the Army would soon be able to place a full division in the field. On September 29 the Greek Cabinet was further reconstituted, as follows:

In London.—Prime Minister and Foreign Minister: M. Tsouderos; Minister of Finance: M. Varvaressos; Minister of Labour: M. Dimitratos; Permanent Foreign Under-Secretary: M. Simopoulos.

In the Middle East.—Vice-President of the Council and Minister of Marine: Admiral Sakellariou; Minister of War: M. Dimitrakakis; Minister of Air: General Nicolaides.

In the United States.—Under-Secretary of State for Shipping: M. Theophanides.

In Greece itself Axis measures designed to suppress the people continued apace; in September and October there were wholesale massacres of Greeks in Western Thrace and Greek Macedonia. In early October reports reaching the Greek Government in London indicated that many uprisings were taking place in the Drama and Kavalla districts, despite strong Bulgarian measures to suppress them. The revolts became so serious that five German regiments had to be called in to restore order. By mid-November 921 civilians had been shot or hanged in Greece, excluding massacres, and about 3,000 persons deported to Germany for forced labour.

During October new and significant evidence was forthcoming of dissensions





ATHENS IN THE FIRST WEEKS OF NAZI OCCUPATION

In the first flush of conquest the Nazi soldiers were inclined to fraternize with the Greek people, and the photograph at top, left, shows Athenians inspecting a Nazi armoured car. At lower right a German soldier stands beside a kilted Evzone at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior. All foodstuffs and many other commodities quickly became scarce: top, right, a queue waiting to buy vegetables; lower left, horsed vehicles (note the horse's condition) were the only conveyances for civilians. *Photos, Keystone; Pictorial Press*







LEADERS OF ROYAL GREEK ARMY IN MIDDLE EAST

Greek soldiers evacuated from Crete and the mainland formed the quickly growing nucleus of an army which cooperated with British forces in the Middle East. Here, seated, is their C.-in.-C., Lieut.-Gen. Tzanakakis. Standing, left to right, are Lieut.-Col. Kitsos, Lieut.-Col. Karavitis, and Prince Peter of Greece. *Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright*

and friction between both pro-German and Pro-Italian quislings and Germans and Italians. The Italians were allowed to occupy only the interior of the country, all Greek coastal areas, ports and strategic points being under German control.

On October 27, 1941, the eve of the anniversary of the Italian invasion, Mr. Churchill sent a message of encouragement to M. Tsouderos in which he expressed Britain's thanks for the Greek people's remarkable assistance to the Allied cause. In his reply, after thanking Mr. Churchill and the British people, M. Tsouderos went on:

"The aim of the war is to rid the world of tyrants belonging to a bygone age. Our country is at present subjected to the truculence of three of these tyrants, who are tearing it apart like vultures, and drinking the blood of its youth with unspeakable brutality. . . ."

The food situation in Greece progressively deteriorated, despite the efforts of neutral and other nations to alleviate it. On September 10 arrangements begun some weeks earlier had been completed, with the approval of Britain, for 50,000 tons of foodstuffs and medical supplies to be dispatched to Greece from Turkey, the first shipload being scheduled to leave on September 20, 1941.

Neutrals Send Food Supplies

At that time an average of 330 people were dying of starvation every day. The systematic German looting of foodstuffs was further implemented by a decree imposing severe penalties, including even death, for failure to declare all stocks of food in private possession. Combined with the enormous rise in prices (in September a loaf of bread cost the equivalent of five shillings), this created appalling conditions, especially among the young; it was common to see children raking in dustbins and rubbish heaps for scraps of food. The dangers of malnutrition were worsened by the lack of medical supplies. Whooping-cough and diphtheria began to take a heavy toll of young lives; an authoritative report at that time (September 1941) stated that the lives of 2,000,000 children would be jeopardized with the coming of winter.

Germany, it was clear, had made famine an instrument of her policy. Despite great difficulties the Allied nations, as well as neutral countries, rallied nobly to the assistance of the stricken people; a second shipload of food from Turkey arrived on November 14, and further cargoes continued to reach Greece at irregular intervals.

In Crete, too, during this period (April–December 1941), guerilla warfare was making itself felt, even women taking part. Here also "reprisals" were savage. On July 27 the Greek Legation in London announced that 500 Cretan women had been deported to Germany for helping in the defence of the island. Later, on October 12, M. Tsouderos gave details of some of the terrible atrocities perpetrated on the island.

Yugoslavia, of course, came under the Nazi heel immediately German occupation was completed. A Berlin statement on April 18 indicated Axis aims for the territorial organization of the country: (1) the return of territory to former owners on the basis of nation-



HOW THE AXIS POWERS CARVED UP YUGOSLAVIA

This map and the table below indicate the 14 sections into which conquered Yugoslavia was divided for distribution among Axis and satellite Powers, determined to put an end to the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Map Index		Area sq. km.	Population
1	Annexed by Germany	10,757	905,000
2	Annexed by Italy	4,490	245,000
3	Occupied by Hungary	950	96,000
4	Annexed by Italy	3,043	510,000
5	Occupied by Hungary	775	116,000
6	"Independent" Croatia	97,564	6,665,000
6a	Parts of Croatia occupied by Italy	24,813	1,213,000
7	Occupied by Hungary	10,023	707,000
8	Serbia (Neditch's Govt.)	67,034	4,849,000
9	Occupied by Bulgaria	27,312	1,158,000
10	Annexed by Italian Albania	8,459	852,000
11	Italian Montenegro	13,975	360,000
12	Croats and Slovenes annexed by Italy (1919)	—	600,000
13	Slovenes incorporated in Austria (1919)	—	120,000

ality; (2) the demarcation of natural frontiers to eliminate possible friction; (3) the recognition of the requirements of the "general economic order"; (4) the establishment of a strategical structure "aimed at eliminating interference by alien powers." On the previous day the constitution of a puppet government to rule Croatia had already been announced, with the Fascist leader Anton Pavelich as Premier and Foreign Minister. Croatia's future role was defined on May 14 with the announcement that she would assume the character of a "totalitarian State within the orbit of the Axis Powers," with one party organization, the Ustacha, Pavelich being recognized as the "leader of the Croats."

The partition of Yugoslavia was not long delayed, and events during April, May and June indicated that Axis policy was the complete dismemberment of this kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Yugoslavia Dismembered

The Italian annexation of Dalmatia and Slovenia, the reoccupation of Albania and the Hungarian annexation of the Banat, among other significant events, were pointers which indicated that the Axis was determined to prevent the resurrection of a united Yugoslavia. At later periods these annexations were followed by others, until the entire country, apart from "independent states," had been divided between Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria (see map and table in page 1876).



ANTI-SEMITISM IN CROATIA

Under the quisling Pavelich the Jews in Croatia were persecuted in the familiar Nazi fashion. The six-pointed star of Judah had to be worn on back and breast, with an initial denoting 'Jew.' This photo shows a Jew of Agram wearing the badge, which was of yellow cloth.

Photo, Associated Press

On the diplomatic front the Axis followed familiar lines: age-old differences and prejudices between Croats, Slovenes and Serbs were resurrected, embellished and blazoned forth by every conceivable wile and political subterfuge.

Berlin, enraged beyond measure by the *coup d'état* of March 27, had already announced that the Serbs had "forfeited any right to active cooperation." The brutal suppression of the Serbs, the arrest of Patriarch Gavrilo (head of the Yugoslav Orthodox Church and one of General Simovich's closest supporters), the establishment of Gestapo rule, the ruthless requisitioning of foodstuffs and housing, and the wrecking of national monuments were inter-related events such as other conquered peoples had to endure as the price of resistance to Hitler.

Occupied Greece and Yugoslavia
(April—December 1941)
German 'Reprisal' Measures

Date	*Pretext*	*Reprisal*
July	Wrecking communications and killing German soldiers	80 people executed at Veliki Bechkerek, N. Yugoslavia
August	Bomb-throwing	10 civilians executed at Sarajevo
August	Guerilla attacks on German military lorry and killing a soldier	Town of Gola burned to the ground
August	Guerilla activities near Belgrade	216 prominent citizens of Belgrade held as hostages hanged
August	Throwing of bombs at a procession of Ustachis (Croat Fascists) and wounding 29	100 people executed in Croatia
Sept.	Sabotage in three towns, ... Melenci, Kumane and Mokrin	10 Serbian "Communists" publicly shot in each town
Sept.	Guerilla attacks on railways	Town of Uzice destroyed by German dive-bombers
Nov.	Killing 3 German officers	1,300 people arrested in Zagreb; 200 shot
Nov.	Killing 26 German soldiers	4,276 people, including intellectuals and youths, executed at Kragujevac
Nov.–Dec.	Participation of parents in guerilla warfare and sabotage	All children under 16 in German-occupied district of [illegible] deported to unknown destinations

From Bulletin of Roy. Inst. of International Affairs and Keesing's Contemporary Archives

The Yugoslav Government, in exile, had associated itself with the Allies' pledge to destroy Nazism. King Peter, in a proclamation issued before leaving Yugoslavia, pledged himself and the Government to continue the fight for national freedom. This Government was constituted of General Simovich as Premier, Dr. Yovanovich as Second Vice-Premier, and M. Ninchich as Foreign Minister. Dr. Machek, First Vice-Premier and Croat Leader, had remained in Zagreb; later, in June, he had been taken to Berlin, but German efforts to induce him to join the puppet Croat government were unsuccessful.

The outlook in Yugoslavia was gloomy, but soon there was to be a radical



'THIRD FRONT' IN YUGOSLAVIA

In the mountains of Serbia and Montenegro an army of 'chetniks' or guerillas assembled. Their flag and badge are seen below: the motto on the flag reads 'For the Honour and Freedom of the Fatherland'; the emblem above flag represents a hand bomb, detonated by striking against a rifle butt. Top, the leader and organizer of this army of brave patriots, General Draza Mihailovich.

Photos, P.N.A.; G.P.U.





NAZI REVENGE FOR YUGOSLAV RESISTANCE

The German attack on Yugoslavia was prefaced by a proclamation in even more frenzied terms than usual, revealing Hitler's rage that his plans had been checked. No mercy was shown to the victims. The lower photograph shows Yugoslav priests forced to do physical exercises under Nazi guards; it is clear they are at the point of collapse. Top, hostages shot at Chabats in reprisal for a swoop on the town by Mihailovich's chetnik bands.

Photos, by courtesy of Royal Yugoslav Government; "Daily Mirror"



change. This was brought about by the formation and growth, from a nucleus of the original Yugoslav forces, of a guerilla movement in the impenetrable mountain fastnesses of Serbia and Montenegro. Serbs, as well as some Croats and Slovenes, flocked to join this new army of loyal patriots who, under the distinguished leadership of General Mihailovich, were known as "chetniks," or guerillas. They harassed the German and Italian forces with great vigour, and their operations quickly assumed the proportions of open revolt, in which pitched battles were fought over widely separated areas. The success of this movement could be gauged by the reactions of the enemy, who resorted to large-scale reprisals. There were mass executions, generally involving a high percentage of so-called "Jews and Communists." Curfews were imposed and towns fined. But more and more loyal patriots joined the chetniks; sabotage became rife, and by the end of August large areas of Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Sanjak, Dalmatia and Montenegro (but excluding the larger towns) were under guerilla control, administratively and militarily. Reprisals, with mass hangings and shootings, became more savage. In Belgrade during July over 1,200 people were executed following widespread disturbances, and a collective fine of 10,000,000 dinars (about £70,000) was imposed on the city.

During the summer months Axis and Quislingist political aims had achieved some success. In May a Croat delegation went to Rome to petition for inclusion in the Italian empire. The Duke of Spoleto was appointed King of Croatia, though he never took up residence at Zagreb, the titular capital. On June 14 Croatia announced her adhesion to the Axis Pact. Later (July 20) the Vice-Premier and Minister of War and Police, General Kvaternik, declared that Croatia would henceforth be an "Army State," in which no position of responsibility would be held except by individuals who had undergone rigorous military training.

There was further empire-building on July 11, when the so-called Montenegrin "National Assembly" petitioned Count Mazzolini, Italian High Commissioner, to re-establish Montenegrin independence within the framework of the Italian empire, and to appoint a Regent pending the choice of a monarch.

Nedich Government in Serbia

In Serbia General Milan Nedich, former War Minister in the Tsvetkovich Government, set up on August 29 a "Government of National Salvation"; this administration was later repudiated in London by the Yugoslav Government. Systematic Axis pillage went on apace. Jewish shops were taken over by "commissioners," and the owners and shareholders of all Yugoslav enterprises were forced to sell out their interests for sums representing a fraction of their value.

August and September were marked by the rapid and continued growth of patriot opposition. Also, inevitably, there was a surge of cruel reprisals, not only by Germans and Italians, but also by Croat Fascists and Serb quislings. In Serbia the Pavelich regime's futile efforts to deal with patriot activities led to Italian forces occupying the coastal areas from Fiume to Montenegro, with consequent anti-Italian demonstrations. The following report gives an admirable picture of the position in early autumn:

"In September there was heavy fighting S.W. of Belgrade, in which both the enemy and the patriots suffered heavy casualties, particularly in the towns of Sabac and Uzice; both these towns were razed by dive-bombers and artillery in German punitive expeditions and hundreds of civilians shot. Heavy fighting also occurred in Old Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, necessitating the rushing of German and Italian infantry, tanks and aircraft to deal with the situation. Among particular patriot successes were the capture of a large quantity of arms and munitions in a surprise raid at Kragujevac, the biggest arsenal in the country (September), and the wiping out in mid-November of a German column of 320 men by the 1st Serbian Alpine Guards."

Serbs, "Jews and Communists," and the clergy were singled out for systematic persecution. In Banjaluka (Bosnia) 12,000 Serbs were virtually exterminated by the Ustachis (Croat Fascists) in a pogrom, while hundreds of Serbian





YUGOSLAV AIR AND LAND FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Learning over the radio that Belgrade had fallen, the commander of a Yugoslav Naval air squadron led his seaplanes in a flight first to Greece and then to a base in the Middle East. Top, beaching a Yugoslav seaplane of the Dornier type. Below, swearing in recruits for a battalion of the Royal Yugoslav Guards raised to fight alongside the Allies in the Middle East.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



BARBARITIES WHICH WILL PROVOKE A DREADFUL REVENGE

As in all the countries they overran, the Nazis tried to crush and cow the population of Yugoslavia by atrocious cruelties and mass executions. But despite all this, brave patriots rallied to the chetnik forces under General Draza Mihailovich. This photograph, taken in the main square at Belgrade, shows a victim of the Gestapo

Photo, Central Press

clergy were tortured and killed. The Serbian Orthodox Church, in a report published in London in January 1942, gave details of terrible atrocities against Serb clergy and civilians in Croatia.

A similar policy was followed in Slovenia, concrete evidence being given in a statement in London by Dr. Krek, the Yugoslav Vice-Premier, on October 1. "The Slovenes," he said, "are dying and calling for help." He declared that the Germans, unable to carry out the Germanization of Slovenia (incorporated into the Reich as "Sud-Steiermark"), were pursuing a policy of systematic extermination of the Slovenes as a nation.

In early October the vast scale of guerilla activities in South Serbia compelled the Germans to send a Panzer division against them, while the Luftwaffe bombed the towns of Leskovatz and Nishunka. Hostages were killed in hundreds as reprisal measures.

In a report published in November 1941 by the Inter-Allied Information Committee, it was stated that, excluding German, Hungarian and Ustachi massacres, *over* 5,000 hostages had been killed to date; from a second source it became known that about 184,000 workers had been deported to Germany.

The growth and scope of General Mihailovich's military operations compelled General Nedich to begin negotiations for the cessation of hostilities. Mihailovich agreed to the suggestion, on condition that all German forces first left the country, a condition which Nedich could not fulfil. The resulting failure of the negotiations ushered in a new era of fighting more violent, more intensive and more widespread than any yet experienced. The Germans reacted by authorizing Nedich to levy 40,000 men to cope with the situation, and when this failed they had perforce to intervene themselves, and sent three divisions into the country. General Mihailovich had under his command by December some 80,000 trained men, organized on a military basis, with a G.H.Q., a general staff, and radio communications. Financial and other assistance was freely rendered by loyal citizens, while men and even women of all classes rallied to his flag.

In a statement issued in London on November 26 General Simovich said that the execution of hostages had nowhere reached such proportions as in Serbia. "Our Allies," he said, "in their growing air power have a means of restraint which is well known to the Germans."

On December 2 German and Fascist forces of three divisions launched a determined attack against the Yugoslav position in the Western Morava valley, but apart from one slight withdrawal Mihailovich's patriots resisted successfully. The end of the year saw Mihailovich (who was in constant touch with the Yugoslav Government in London) in control of vast areas of the country and with a powerful, well-armed military force at his back.

Chapter 187

WAR DRAWS CLOSER TO OUR DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

Second Half of 1941: Japanese Menace Becomes Obvious—South Africans in East Africa and the Western Desert—Australians in Syrian Clean-up—Political Changes: Menzies, Fadden and Curtin—Losses of the R.A.N.—Japanese Threat to Northern Territory—Curtin's Call for Aid—New Zealand Fully Mobilized—Canada's Entire Resources in the Conflict

During the second half of 1941, so far as the Dominions and Crown Colonies were concerned, the dominant factor was Japan's entry into active hostilities on December 7. Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand all faced a menace which was different in kind from any threat to their liberties suggested by the previous 18 months of hostilities.

The Union of South Africa, thanks to the vision of Field-Marshal Smuts, was alive somewhat earlier to the fact of war at its threshold. Italy's declaration of war on June 11, 1940 made it plain then that the African continent was directly threatened, and South African troops at once began that struggle with the Italians which led to the complete collapse of Mussolini's African empire. The story of the South African army's fight in Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia is told in Chapter 170, up to the point where the Duke of Aosta surrendered at Amba Alagi in May 1941. The remaining Italian forces in Abyssinia retired to the mountainous country north of Lake Tana. On September 28 the garrison of Wolchefit surrendered, and when Gondar surrendered on November 28 and 10,000 more prisoners were taken, the campaign was at an end.

The official communiqués gave the prime credit for the concluding battles to East African troops. In the second half of 1941 practically 100,000 mid-African troops were serving against the German and Italian armies—Kenya being responsible for about 42,000, Uganda for 21,000, Tanganyika for 18,000, Northern Rhodesia for 7,000, and Nyasaland for 9,000—apart from the defence force raised in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The services rendered by the African natives were multifarious, and there were some remarkable instances of self-sacrifice; for example, a native living in South Nyeri, Kenya Colony, gave the colony three pigs, being his entire possessions. Native troops crossed the continent to take part in the East African fighting—in particular, regiments from the Gold Coast and Nigeria. A force of Somalis and Arabs from Aden helped in the recapture of British Somaliland. Perhaps the most valuable service rendered by the native protectorates in West Africa was opening up and keeping open the trans-continental motor-road connecting such a port as Lagos with the fighting forces in the East. Free French forces operating from Brazzaville assisted in this work. Under Sir George Giffard a small army based upon the Gold Coast came into being in the first two years of the war. From the important airports at Lagos and Takoradi a vital air line stretched out to Cairo, whence communication with India was possible if the need for supplies justified a special effort.

The jungle airfields, which were in daily use during the later months of 1941, served British, American and Belgian pilots and suggested aerial developments which would have another and more acceptable significance when peace came and the interior of Africa was opened up more fully. Mails and



SOUTH AFRICANS IN CUNNINGHAM'S LIBYAN OFFENSIVE

Fresh from its victories in Abyssinia, the greater part of the South African force joined the Eighth Army in Libya, where General Cunningham opened his offensive on November 18, 1941. Below, advancing troops shelter from an enemy shell. On the right, a South African soldier looks at the tomb of Sidi Rezegh, around which was fought one of the fiercest battles in the Dominion's history

Photos, South African Official









TRANS-AFRICAN SUPPLY ROUTE TO MIDDLE EAST

From airfields on the British West African coast British, American and Belgian pilots flew supplies across Africa to the Middle East. Fighters, bombers and transport aircraft were shipped to the coast and there assembled, tested and flown to the battlefields. Top, left, loading a crated aircraft on to a trailer at a West African port; right, how fuselage and wings are packed. Below, left, Hurricanes being taken for assembly.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

ammunition were among the goods of war carried on the trans-African air route, and transport aircraft were flown to points where the need might arise.

After their exploits in Abyssinia the main part of the South African army joined the Eighth Army in Libya. Here the South Africans were engaged in Auchinleck's offensive which opened on November 18 and resulted in the relief of Tobruk on December 8, the recapture of Benghazi on the 24th, and the taking of Bardia on January 2, 1942. On the last day of 1941 South Africans stormed the southern defences of Bardia and captured 600 prisoners. The New Zealand contingent did brilliant service and after the capture of Bardia went on to take Gambut, a supply base about half-way between the Egyptian frontier and Tobruk. The share of the New Zealanders in the hard-fought tank fighting around Sidi Rezegh early in December was as valuable as any work done by Dominion troops during this phase of the Libyan fighting, and enabled the New Zealanders to link up with the defenders of Tobruk. South Africans were employed in the attacks upon Halfaya ("Hell Fire Pass") in company with a Free French force. Halfaya surrendered to the South Africans on January 18.

South Africans in Libya

At the end of the East African campaign Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary for Air, stated that the operations of the South African Air Force were a primary factor in winning the victory. As he said, the S.A.A.F. moved to the Western Desert to carry on operations with the same dash and verve they had displayed in the Eastern Desert. Apart from airmen in Africa about 700 South Africans were working with the Royal Air Force in Britain, and by the end of 1941 the list of decorations awarded to them was near the century mark. Before the present war began the force numbered 1,500 men. When it attained its twenty-first birthday, on August 20, 1941, its strength was 22,000.

For the rest, Field-Marshal Smuts was hampered throughout the period by the unpatriotic attitude of his parliamentary Opposition. General Hertzog, one-time Prime Minister of the Union, on October 23 declared in favour of National Socialism. The declaration was more than the Afrikaner Party as a whole could accept, and one section, led by Mr. Havenga, broke away from Hertzog.

The Australians, who had done such good work in earlier Libyan fighting, were now finishing the Syrian campaign. On June 24 a mixed Australian and English force occupied Merj Ayoun and then thrust forward against the Vichy position in the deep wadi near Damour. Another Anglo-Australian force was meanwhile making for Beirut. The Damour river was crossed on July 7 after fierce fighting. British patrols spent four nights groping along the banks of the river in search of a possible crossing, and one regiment had to force its way across a miniature Grand Canyon, with a gorge fully a 1,000 feet deep. Vichy troops stood their ground for a while, but the dash of the Anglo-Australian attackers was

EMPIRE CASUALTIES
September 3, 1939, to September 2, 1941.

Officers	United Kingdom	Dominions	India & Burma	Colonies	Total
Killed	4,607	554	108	29	5,298
Wounded	3,306	461	273	24	4,064
Prisoners	3,047	237	79	62	3,374
Missing	582	572	10	6	958
Totals	11,542	1,824	470	61	14,687
Other Ranks					
Killed	26,000	4,102	1,382	592	32,077
Wounded	28,597	6,818	6,101	782	42,299
Prisoners	50,567	2,847	1,644	6	55,064
Missing	14,625	8,433	24	4,691	28,905
Totals	122,468	22,200	9,132	6,062	160,862
Totals, all ranks	145,012	23,824	9,301	6,123	182,550

Deaths from natural causes excluded.









AUSTRALIA MAKES READY

(1) On December 9, 1941, Lord Gowrie (centre), Governor-General, signed Australia's declaration of war against Japan; with him are, left to right, Mr. Forde, Minister for the Army; Mr. Curtin, the Premier; Mr. Chifley, Treasurer; and Dr. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs. (2) Sandbagged buildings in Sydney. (3) Air Raid shelters in Brisbane street. (4) Barbed wire defences in coastal area near Victoria.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; By courtesy of Pathé Gazette



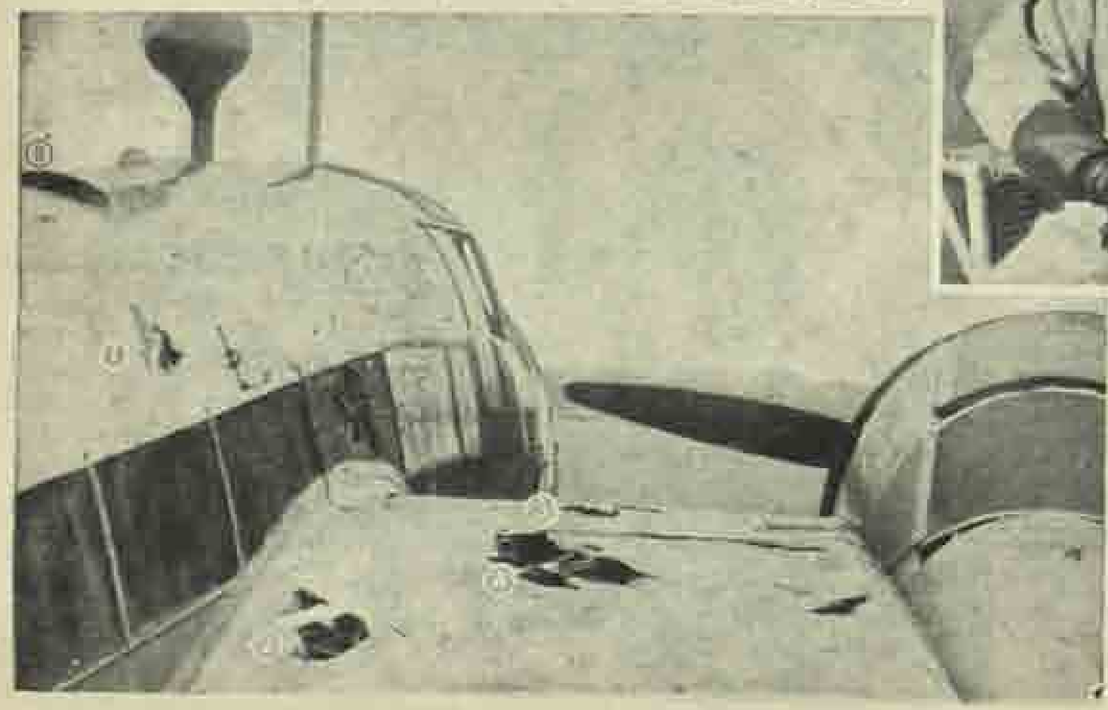


AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND PILOTS WHO WON THE V.C.

Wing Commander H. E. Edwards (top, left) and Sergeant J. A. Ward (right, portrait by Oswald Birley) gained the V.C. for operations during July 1941. The former led a daylight attack on Bremen (July 4) against intense opposition, flying at about 50 feet for miles inland and bombing the target (seen at right, above, just before the bombs fell) most successfully. Four of his formation were destroyed. Born in Australia, he had a disability due to a flying accident. Sergeant Ward, a New Zealander, was second pilot in a Wellington which was set on fire by cannon shells when returning from an attack on Münster during the night of July 7. He climbed out on to the wing, through the astro hatch (B, in lower photograph), kicked holes (1, 2, 3) in fabric and, lying prone on the wing, smothered the flames in the fabric. (A is a shell hole.) Helped by the navigator, he got back into the aircraft. His bomber failed to return from an attack made in September, shortly before he was to have been decorated by the King.



Photos, British Official; Topical. Portrait of Sergt. Ward reproduced by permission of the Artist.



too much for them. On July 12 "Cease Fire" was sounded in Syria.

When the Australian Premier, Mr. Menzies, arrived back in Sydney on May 26 after his British and American tour, 400,000 Australians were under arms in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, being one in four of the male population between 18 and 40. But Mr. Menzies felt that this was not enough. For a few weeks he worked for a coalition government which would unify Australia's war effort, but without success. First, a section of his own party deserted him, necessitating a new Cabinet led by Mr. Fadden, his second-in-command. This Government was short-lived and Mr. Fadden resigned on October 3. Then Lord Gowrie, the Governor-General, asked Mr. Curtin (Labour leader) to form a Cabinet. Mr. Curtin had led the Labour Party in the Commonwealth Parliament for six years and was 56 years of age when he assumed office. The Australian War Service League agitated strongly for conscription during the autumn of 1941, causing some anxiety to the new Premier. The first Labour Budget, introduced on October 26, showed that the cost of national defence in Australia had risen in three years from £14,000,000 to £217,000,000.

One in Four Australians Under Arms

The Australian Navy suffered a disaster when the cruiser "Sydney" was lost off the north-west coast of Australia on November 19, with all her officers and men, numbering 645. She engaged and sank the armed raider "Kormoran," ex-"Steiermark." About the same time the sloop "Parramatta," with 141 officers and men, was torpedoed. On July 5 the Australian destroyer "Waterhen" sank, after being bombed in the Mediterranean, but there were no casualties.

The first intimation to our Dominions and Colonies that Japan might soon make heavy calls upon their man power and production came on July 27, when Japanese forces landed in Indo-China and the authorities responsible to Vichy France accepted the situation with scarcely a murmur.

Japan's apparent reluctance to be drawn into actual combat had hitherto deceived many Australians, and even the advance into Indo-China was not accepted as decisive evidence. Real doubts about the possibility of continued peace arose when, on October 16, Japan established a 1,250-mile airline connecting Pelew Island and Portuguese Timor, the latter being only 450 miles from Port Darwin. As a counter-measure Australia mined a 1,000 miles of ocean-way in the neighbourhood of the Barrier Reef, New Guinea and Thursday Island.



CANADIAN REINFORCEMENTS FOR HONGKONG GARRISON

This photograph shows a newly arrived Canadian contingent entering its camp on the Hongkong hills. It was announced from Ottawa on November 16, 1941, that reinforcements had reached Hongkong, soon to meet the fury of the Japanese attack. Hongkong surrendered on Christmas Day, and some 2,000 Canadians were among the garrison.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Just before December 7 a squadron of Australian-built Bristol Beaufort bombers had reached Singapore, together with considerable reinforcements of Australian gunners and infantrymen. Britain's loss of Naval dominance owing to the sinking of the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" on December 10 brought about a rapid worsening of the situation. Penang was evacuated on December 19, and it became plain that the threat to Singapore was serious.

Australia's declaration of war upon Japan (December 9) was approved by the House of Representatives at Canberra on December 16, when Mr. Curtin announced that Mr. Duff Cooper, representing the British War Cabinet in the Far East, had been asked to include Mr. V. G. Bowden as Australian representative on the War Council charged with the conduct of the fighting in the Pacific. This was a step in the direction of a constitutional change which the Australian Government and people had strongly at heart—the creation of a truly Imperial War Cabinet, in which the Dominions would have equal voices with the United Kingdom. Soon after, Mr. Curtin in a newspaper article bluntly stated that "without inhibitions of any kind Australia was looking to America, free from any pangs about her traditional links in kinship with Britain." The pronouncement was sharply criticized by Mr. Menzies and other Australian leaders, with the result that Mr. Curtin explained that he desired to reaffirm the steadfast determination of Australians to hold Australia for the Empire, adding: "Australia, however, is no mere Colony and our voice must be heard." In the event Sir Earle Page came to London for a time and represented Australia on the War Cabinet.

In New Zealand a special secret session of Parliament was called to deal with the crisis arising from Japan's entry into the war and met at Wellington on December 11. Mr. Fraser, the Prime Minister, announced that the Air Force was fully mobilized and ready for action and the Navy was prepared for all eventualities. The calling up of Territorials and the National Reserve were other measures. Mr. Fraser was fresh from a visit to London, made in June, so he had personal knowledge of Britain's war effort and her reactions to Dominion needs. The loss of the cruiser "Dunedin" was announced on December 17; she had been sunk by a U-boat in the Atlantic.

New Zealand Meets the Challenge

In Canada, too, the Japanese move into Indo-China aroused apprehension and the Dominion at once speeded up certain measures. Canada decided to

send units to assist in the defence of Hongkong, and their arrival in that Colony was announced by the Canadian Prime Minister on November 15. The force numbered about 2,000 and included a battalion of the Royal Rifles of Canada and another of the Winnipeg Grenadiers. These troops, with British and Indian units, defended the island from December 7 (when Japan attacked by air) until Christmas Day, "which marked the end of one of the most gallant episodes in the history of Canadian arms," to use the words of Mr. Ralston, Defence Minister. The enemy main assault by sea and air began on December 8, and on the 25th the heroic garrison surrendered.

Canada's declaration of war upon Japan came on December 8. Like Mr. Fraser, Mr. Mackenzie King had been in contact with the British Government, as he visited London in August 1941, travelling by a bomber plane. Summing up the reaction of his countrymen to the attack upon Pearl Harbour and Hongkong, he said:



'WE IN CANADA ARE PROUD TO SHARE YOUR BURDENS'

These were the words of Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Premier, at the London Mansion House on September 4, 1941. He had flown to Britain on August 20 and attended a meeting of the War Cabinet. Mr. Churchill is seen welcoming him to No. 10, Downing Street on that occasion

Photo, Central Press

"It is now a war of hemispheres as well as continents. To the Battle of the Atlantic has been added the Battle of the Pacific. The world-encircling danger has grown into actual conflict in all quarters of the globe. This continent, through the action of the Axis powers, has been drawn into a world conflict to the extent of its entire resources."

By this time more than 387,000 Canadians had enlisted in the Army, Navy and Air Force, and more than 150,000 were already serving outside Canada. The Canadian Air Force, which numbered 4,000 before the war, was now more than 100,000. It included 21 Canadian squadrons organized overseas, of which 16 were fully operational. There were 120 aerodromes in the Dominion, and 2,000 buildings devoted to air training and equipment. In addition, 600,000 Canadians, of whom 75,000 were women, were producing and distributing weapons and supplies of war, including field guns of all sorts, Bren guns, ammunition, 15 types of aircraft, and tanks. Mr. Mackenzie King's statement that the "entire resources of the Dominion were in the conflict" was not an overstatement.

Imposing as were the preparations of the Dominions for meeting the crisis, the efforts of certain smaller units of our overseas Empire were also notable. Ceylon, for example, was manifestly threatened in the event of Singapore giving way. Speaking in December 1941, Sir Andrew Caldecott, the Governor, said: "It is up to us to make ourselves fit to play a front-line role, should events require." Considerable British forces were quickly sent to the aid of Ceylon, while the islanders did their part by calling up the Ceylon Planters Rifle Corps and by establishing local factories for war supplies. Flying training was also instituted.

The Seychelles, in the Indian Ocean, raised a defence force and sent airmen overseas. Mauritius, situated on a network of supply routes connecting India and China with Britain, established compulsory military service for its Home Guards, and also imposed a tax on sugar, all of which was used to help the war effort, the great part of the levy going to Britain direct.

On every hand our Dominions, and the Colonies both great and small, quickened the tempo of their war effort during these threatening months. When in December the Japanese menace became an open aggression all flung themselves without limit into the struggle. Men, machines, munitions, foodstuffs, raw materials were made available to the Motherland in a united drive to hasten ultimate victory.



CANADIAN WORKERS MADE ANTI-TANK GUNS

Besides many other kinds of weapons the Canadian factories turned out two-pounder anti-tank guns for Britain. This worker is gauging the outside measurements of a gun barrel. Though arms production was far from its peak, by the middle of 1941 Canada was able to equip an armoured division in six weeks.

Photo, Sport & General

COMMANDO RAIDS DURING 1941

New Principles in Combat Training—'Special Service Troops'—Sir Roger Keyes—Raid on Lofoten Islands: Its Objectives—A Landing at Bardia to Secure Information—Lieut.-Col. Keyes in Syrian Operation—The Attack on Rommel's H.Q. in Western Desert: Keyes Mortally Wounded—Combined Operation at Spitsbergen—Raid on Vaagso and Maaloy

FOLLOWING the evacuation of Dunkirk and the withdrawal of the B.E.F. from France in the summer of 1940, much thought and attention were given in British military circles to the whole question of Army training and tactical manoeuvres. Many a flaw had been revealed in the old system, in the methods which had come down from the days of the last war, even from the days of wars of an earlier period still. The Germans, it was clear, had made themselves masters of many novel features in the art of war; they were disciplined in a technique highly original in many ways, and one whose value, it had to be admitted, was amply demonstrated by its success in the rough-and-tumble of actual conflict.

Thus it came about that at the War Office, at the headquarters of the various Commands, and in the training centres throughout the country where the returned divisions of the B.E.F. were being reorganized and re-equipped and new drafts were being received in unceasing flow—at all these there were indications of a new outlook, of a new method of approach to the problem of mechanized warfare. One result was the devising of a new form of drill—battle drill as it came to be called—adapted to modern conditions. More novel still was battle training, executed under conditions of the most dangerous make-believe and with the use of live ammunition. Another was the formation of regiments of specialized troops equipped to deal with the manifold machinery of modern war. Yet another departure was the training of special bodies of servicemen drawn, in the first instance, from many units and called "commandos."

Battle Training Up to Date

The word "commando" first came into popular use during the war in South Africa (1899-1902), when it was applied to those swift-moving bodies of armed burghers whom the Boers used to such good effect against the less mobile Britons. Now the name was revived, and an interested public detected it embroidered on the sleeves of men in battledress. It was permitted to be known that Commando troops were in process of formation, and newspaper correspondents were allowed to see something of their training.

Commando-men were shock troops, drawn from many regiments. Their training was so rigorous that 95 per cent of the volunteers who had entered for some of the courses were returned to their units as being unable to attain the extraordinarily high standard of personal physique and military excellence that was demanded of them. They had to be crack shots with all the small arms of the modern army; they were expected to be expert in the handling of explosives, and to be deadly exponents with the bayonet and knife. They had to be capable of marching 25 to 30 miles a day across difficult country, and be able to put up a good fight at the end of it. They were trained to operate independently for long periods, living on the country, catching their own food and cooking it. They were also instructed in amphibious warfare—in the use of small craft, in rapid embarkation and disembarkation by day or by night, in all sorts of weather. And every Commando had to be able to swim a considerable distance with full equipment and with his rifle kept high above the water. Soon it was stated that the Commandos had given the word "tough" a new and fuller meaning.



LT.-COLONEL GEOFFREY KEYES, V.C., M.C.

An Acting Lieut.-Colonel at the early age of 24, he was awarded the M.C. for gallantry in storming a strong fortified line on the Litani river, Syria (June 11, 1941). On November 17 Colonel Keyes was posthumously awarded the V.C. for his part in an attack on the H.Q. of Rommel's Afrika Korps, 250 miles behind the enemy lines in Libya. He was mortally wounded after a most courageous entry into the principal building.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

But these details were not learnt for the most part until 1941 was drawing to its close. Indeed, it was not until November 15 of that year that the fact was disclosed that for the past fifteen months Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes had been acting as chief of the Commandos. He had been entrusted on July 17, 1940, with the responsibility of organizing and training "the special service troops known as Commandos." With this responsibility had gone the command of the force. But both responsibility and office had been terminated on October 19, 1941. In Parliament on November 25 the Admiral complained of frustration (by Whitehall) in every worthwhile offensive action he had tried to undertake.

Admiral Sir Roger Keyes

For his new task Sir Roger Keyes had been recalled from his retirement by Mr. Churchill, and among the first volunteers to be accepted for training were the Prime Minister's son, 2nd Lieut. Randolph Churchill, M.P., and Sir Roger's 24-year-old son, Lt.-Col. G. C. T. Keyes. No mention of Admiral Keyes' appointment was permitted to be made at the time; indeed, for many months the very existence of the Commandos was shrouded in official obscurity. Their achievements were not published, and in some cases months elapsed before the slightest mention of them was permitted to be made.

Seemingly the first action in which the British Commandos were employed—although at that early date they were styled guerilla bands—was in the course of the brief campaign in Norway in the late spring of 1940. The British paratroops who dropped from the skies upon certain points in Southern Italy





RAID ON LOFOTEN ISLANDS, MARCH 4, 1941

From fish-oil plants in Northern Norway the enemy was obtaining valuable oils and fats for his war industries, so a joint British and Norwegian force raided the Lofotens (see map in page 1891) and destroyed the installations, besides sinking enemy shipping there. (1) Captured German seamen, Norwegian quislings, and air ground staff (blindfolded for security reasons) being embarked. (2) Nazi flag captured by Commando-men. (3) British landing craft nearing the shore. (4) Oil tanks set on fire by our forces.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; J. Hall





in February 1941 may also be regarded as Commando-men. But the first Commando raid proper was that on the Lofoten Islands on March 4, 1941. Made in conjunction with Norwegian Marines, it had for its objectives the destruction of a plant used for the production of fish oil (a source of glycerin and hence of explosives), the destruction of any German ships or shipping under German control found in the locality, and the seizure of Germans concerned in the control of the fishing industry and of any local quislings who might be aiding and abetting the enemy.

"The raid developed early on Tuesday morning," stated a joint Admiralty and Norwegian Naval Communiqué, issued on March 6. "German shipping and shipping under German control were dealt with by our light forces. Meanwhile, Norwegian Marines and British troops were landed. All the objects of the raid were carried out with conspicuous success. Nine German merchant vessels and one Norwegian merchant ship under German control were sunk and also a German armed trawler. The losses inflicted upon enemy shipping totalled approximately 18,000 tons. The largest unit sunk was a German ship of about 10,000 tons, which was fully laden.

"Having achieved all their objects, the Allied forces withdrew, bringing with them 215 German prisoners and 10 quislings. Our forces also brought back to England a considerable number of Norwegian patriots who were anxious to join their countrymen fighting for the cause of freedom.

"The opportunity was taken to supply, for the benefit of the local population, consignments of foodstuffs, soap, cigarettes, clothing, and other comforts of which the Norwegian population has been robbed since the German occupation. The removal of the Germans and quislings made it possible to supply these stores to the Norwegian population without danger of their being diverted to enemy use. The raid was carried out with little opposition, but one German naval officer and six ratings were killed. No damage or casualties were sustained by our forces."

Bardia, in Libya, was the next scene of Commando activity. The description of this raid, released for publication some seven months after its occurrence, is interesting in that it would seem to have been the first official mention of a British Commando, and it was deemed necessary in the Ministry of Information's descriptive statement to add an explanation of the term: "a small body of picked and highly trained troops." "The raid," the statement went on, "was typical of the kind of thing for which the Commandos are trained, and was the more successful because it was in fact bloodless."

Raid on Bardia

Bardia had been recaptured by the Germans in April 1941, and shortly afterwards British G.H.Q. wanted to







SPITSBERGEN'S COAL DENIED TO THE ENEMY

On September 8, 1941, the War Office announced a raid by Canadian, British and Norwegian forces with Royal Naval support on the islands of Spitsbergen. Coal mines were wrecked, coal dumps destroyed, and the Norwegian population brought to Britain. Top, burning coal dumps; below, demolition of radio station. Inset shows Canadian R.E.s fixing explosive charges to wireless mast.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





COMBINED RAID ON VAAGSO, DECEMBER 27, 1941

The objective was enemy ships, plant and stores on Vaagso and the adjacent island at Maaloy (see map in page 1891). Above, Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Chief of Combined Operations, inspects Commandos before setting out for Vaagso. Inset, Brigadier J. C. Haydon, D.S.O., O.B.E., who commanded the military forces.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

know whether the town was actually occupied by Axis troops, whether coast defences had been organized there, and whether the harbour was being used to supply the enemy's forward troops. They were also anxious to create a diversion which would force the enemy to withdraw from the front some of the armoured forces which at that time were threatening our defence lines east of Sollum.

The task was entrusted to a single Commando led by Lt.-Col. Robert Laycock, and carried out by four independent groups; and not until the men were actually on board ship were they told precisely what was expected of them. Beaches had to be covered and roads held; a road bridge was marked for destruction, stores had to be located, and any garrison encountered had to be fought. To continue from the official account, issued on November 14:

"At 11 o'clock on an overcast night the ship stopped and the men climbed down into the landing boats, shallow-bottomed craft with armoured sides rising above the heads of the men, who sat in three lines, 30 to a boat. At the bows were ramps which let down and enabled the three lines to move out together, so that all could get ashore quickly. There were four miles to go, and the sea was rather rough, but at last the keels grated on the beach, the order was whispered, 'Stand by to land,' and the ramps went down.

"Through water knee-deep the men pushed ashore, collected under their section leaders, and disappeared into the darkness that lay under the escarpment, which they could dimly see silhouetted against the dark sky. The landing boats reversed their engines, put out to sea, and began their three hours' vigil. The beach was empty. After stumbling into an anti-tank ditch, unaccountably dug at the foot of the escarpment, the landing party began to climb the escarpment, an almost precipitous slope covered with loose scree. Although the men wore rubber-soled 'gym' shoes—the tops blacked so as not to show—it was impossible to make the ascent in absolute silence. One slip, and down came a little avalanche of rattling stones. Suddenly two or three shots rang out. It seemed as if the

BOMBING OF THE GERMAN AERODROME AT HERDLA

The nearest German airfield to Vaagso was at Herdla, about 100 miles south (see map in page 1891). Our Blenheims made a low-level attack, destroying runways and crippling enemy fighters on the ground. Arrow at left indicates a German aircraft, about to take off, which ran into a bomb crater; arrow near centre points to tail of another machine protruding from hangar

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



enemy were on the alert, and that the whole attempt would be a failure. But it was only one of our beach sentries shooting at a moving shadow, and the silence that followed proved that Bardia itself was undefended.

"By 12.45 our men were in Bardia. Again there was silence. Men scattered this way and that according to the carefully memorized plans. Suddenly there was an explosion; then a second and third. A red glare rose to the sky, lighting up the old Italian barrack building. The road bridge had been blown up, the coast defence battery on the top of the escarpment had been blown sky-high and a great dump of new tires brought across the desert for refitting the enemy's supply lorries was burning merrily. Part at least of the raid's object had been achieved.

"Then there was a roar, and along the road into Bardia came two motor-cycles bringing enemy scouts to see what was amiss. They learnt soon enough, for everyone let fly at them with grenades and tommy-guns. But they got through to report to the enemy's headquarters that this was no air raid, no casual shelling from the sea, but an invasion by British land troops. Tanks and armoured cars were hurriedly dispatched to repel the invaders, and with the lightening of the threat against our own defence lines the full purpose of the Commando's raid was secured. The men scrambled down the scree-covered slopes, leaving behind them a town lit by the flames of burning stores, and scrambled back into the boats which—punctual to the minute—put in again to the beaches, on which the surf raised by a high wind was now beating heavily.

"One boat missed the rendezvous in the darkness, but sailed safely into Tobruk next day, and another boatload took the wrong wadi and found no boat waiting: otherwise the whole operation went like clockwork."





HOW THE ENEMY FORTIFIED MAALOY

Some of our Commando units are examining a German field gun on Maaloy which had been adapted for coastal defence. The battery was silenced by covering warships. Behind are flames from burning buildings. Inset, Major J. M. Churchill, M.C., a bagpipes enthusiast, who piped his men ashore. He is also seen on the extreme left in the larger photograph.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; G.P.U.



RAIDS ON NORTHERN NORWAY

This map shows the Lofoten Islands (raided on March 4, 1941) and the Vaagso area (attacked by a combined force on December 27). Our operations at Vaagso and Maaloy were aided by the bombing of the nearest enemy airfield, at Herdla, S. of Vaagso along the coast (see illustration, page 1890).

Next the Commandos were in action in Syria. In the early morning of June 11, 1941, a force of British shock troops landed from the sea behind the Vichy French positions on the Litani river and wrought havoc amongst the French gun positions. Within 15 minutes of landing one of the Commandos had smashed his way into the French barracks, hauled down the flag from the masthead, and brought it back to his captain. Later it was learnt that the leader of this dashing episode was Lt.-Col. Keyes, who was awarded the M.C. for his gallantry.

Colonel Keyes was the hero of the next Commando incident to be recorded—one of the most daring episodes of the war. This was the raid on Rommel's headquarters in the Western Desert. On November 15, 1941, three days before General Auchinleck opened his offensive in Libya, 30 Commandos were landed on enemy territory some 250 miles behind the front. For two days they lay hidden in a wadi. Then on the night of November 17 they made their attack, their main objective being the administrative headquarters of the Afrika Korps. What followed is quoted from the citation of Colonel Keyes' posthumous V.C.

"At zero hour on the night of November 17-18, 1941, having dispatched the covering party to block the approaches to the house, he himself with the two others crawled forward past the guards, through the surrounding fence, and so up to the house itself. Without hesitation he boldly led his party up to the front door, beat on the door and demanded entrance. Unfortunately, when the door opened, it was found impossible to overcome the sentry silently, and it was necessary to shoot him. The noise of the shot naturally aroused the inmates of the house, and Colonel Keyes, appreciating that speed was now of the utmost importance, posted the n.c.o. at the foot of the stairs to prevent interference from the floor above.

"Colonel Keyes, who instinctively took the lead, emptied his revolver with great success into the first room and was followed by the other officer, who threw a grenade. Colonel Keyes, with great daring, then entered the second room on the ground floor, but was shot almost immediately on flinging open the door, and fell back into the passage mortally wounded. On being carried outside by his companions he died within a few minutes."

Bad weather frustrated the plan for evacuating the raiders and on November 19 a considerable force of Germans and Italians attacked the little party. The Commandos broke up as previously arranged into a number of small groups, who made for the Jebel Akhbar mountain area. Eventually, after many narrow escapes, the survivors rejoined our forces, forty-one days after being landed in enemy territory.

Before the end of 1941 there were two more Commando raids, both in northern



DESTRUCTION OF OIL WORKS AT VAAGSO

Kneeling on the snow-covered landing stage, British Commando troops guard against snipers or counter-attacks while the buildings go up in flames. At the left is one of the local fishing craft which bring raw materials to the factory for conversion into fats.

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright

waters. The first (in mid-August) was directed against the Norwegian island of Spitsbergen, lying well to the north of the Arctic Circle. A mixed Canadian, British, and Norwegian force under Canadian command was involved, and the main purpose of the landing (said an announcement made by the War Office on September 8) was to prevent the enemy from utilizing the rich coal stocks of Spitsbergen for fuelling their transports operating along the Norwegian coast.

Supported by a formidable flotilla of Royal Navy warships and Fleet Air Arm planes, the British Commando-men, with the Canadians and Norwegians, landed on the island, manned gun posts and constructed defence positions with a view to beating off any enemy air raids. But no raiders appeared; indeed, there was no indication that the Germans were aware of the invasion. The Norwegians on the island welcomed the invaders with open arms, and 700 of the miners and their families went back with them to England when the work of destroying the plant and coal dumps had been successfully completed.

Then two days after Christmas British soldiers, sailors, and airmen went into action for the first time in a "combined operation," their objective being German ships, plant, and stores on the German-occupied islands of Vaagso and Maaloy, off the Norwegian coast, 100 miles north of Bergen. Arriving at Vaagso just before daylight on December 27, British light naval forces, led by Rear-Admiral H. M. Burrough, C.B., put ashore. The Commando-men, with some Norwegian troops, were under the command of Brigadier J. C. Haydon, D.S.O., O.B.E.

Vaagso and Maaloy

There were two main landings, and both were successful. At Maaloy the entire Nazi garrison were killed or taken prisoner; military storehouses and ammunition dumps were blown up. At South Vaagso enemy resistance was somewhat stiffer and our forces suffered some casualties in the street fighting; eventually, however, they gained complete control of the town. Oil tanks, a wireless station, and industrial plant owned by a quisling were destroyed. While this was going on, R.A.F. bombers and fighters were in action against enemy planes and ships and aerodromes. At 2.45 in the afternoon the Allied forces were withdrawn, all objectives having been attained. British casualties were reported to be slight, but some 120 Germans were killed and about 100 prisoners were taken. Eight enemy ships were beached or destroyed. One solitary German tank encountered in the raid was soon put out of action. Beyond a doubt the operation was a most successful one, and Combined Operations H.Q. paid a high tribute to the quality of the British troops and to the promptness with which they had achieved their mission.

MORE GLIMPSES OF THE RAID ON VAAGSO AND MAALOY

Left, four of the Germans taken prisoner at Maaloy being escorted to a British transport. Right, some of our Commandos advance through the murk caused by smoke from the burning oil tanks and storehouses. Enemy shipping of 15,650 tons was destroyed in the course of the raid

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright





Diary of the War

SEPTEMBER and OCTOBER, 1941

September 1, 1941. Timoshenko counter-attacks in Gomel sector. R.A.F. bomb targets in S. Italy and Sicily. Night raid on Cologne. Heavy raid on Newcastle.

September 2. Fierce battle raging near Leningrad. Day raid on Bremen; heavy night attacks on Frankfurt and Berlin.

September 3. Voroshilov now in charge of Leningrad defence. Night raid on Brest.

September 4. Announced that cruiser "Hermione" had destroyed an Italian submarine. Fortress aircraft bomb Rotterdam. U.S. destroyer "Greer" attacked off Iceland by U-boat.

September 5. U.S. steamer "Steel Seafarer" bombed and sunk in Gulf of Suez.

September 6. Announced that our submarines in Mediterranean have sunk 11,000-ton Italian liner and ship of Rambb class. Fortress aircraft attack shipping at Oslo. Night raids on Rhineland.

September 7. Russians counter-attack in Kexholm and Gomel areas. Heavy night raid on Berlin.

September 8. War Office announces raid on Spitsbergen by British, Canadian and Norwegian troops; coal mines wrecked. Norwegian population brought to England. U-boat surrenders to Hudson aircraft in Atlantic. Night raids on Kassel, Münster, Cherbourg, Corinth Canal and Crete.

September 9. Iran accepts Allied terms. Announced that naval forces have attacked German supply ships off Murmansk. Heavy raid on Messina.

September 10. Heavy night raids on Turin, Genoa and Messina.

September 11. Russian counter-offensives S. and S.W. of Leningrad and near Valdai Hills. Roosevelt warns Axis against entering U.S.-protected waters. U.S. cargo ship "Montana" torpedoed off Iceland.

September 12. R.A.F. and Fleet Air Arm break up enemy convoy in Mediterranean in night and day attacks. Night raids on Frankfurt, Cherbourg and St. Nazaire. Russians evacuate Chernigov.

September 13. Kiev threatened with encirclement. Night raids on Brest.

September 14. Germans gain bridgehead at Kremenchug, east of Dnieper.

September 15. Severe night raids on Hamburg, Le Havre and elsewhere.

September 16. Shah of Persia abdicates in favour of his son. Von Rundstedt launches powerful new offensive in Ukraine. R.A.F. bomb Karlsruhe.

September 17. British and Russian forces reach Teheran. Assault on Leningrad renewed with waves of dive bombers. Day attack on power plant near Béthune. Night raids on Karlsruhe and St. Nazaire.

September 18. Germans pierce outer defences of Kiev. Submarines in Mediterranean sink two Italian troopships.

September 19. Germans occupy Kiev and claim capture of Poltava. R.A.F. make night raids on Stettin and targets near Nantes.

September 20. R.A.F. make day attacks on objectives in Norway, N.W. Germany and occupied France. Night raids on Frankfurt and Berlin.

September 21. Two big sweeps by R.A.F. over northern France; 29 enemy fighters destroyed; we lose 13.

September 22. Soviet forces encircled east of Kiev resisting strongly. Russians continue advance in Smolensk area.

September 23. Germans pushed back 7 miles in Leningrad sector.

September 24. Germans claim capture of Peterhof, 18 miles W. of Leningrad. Allied Council at St. James's Palace endorses Atlantic Charter.

September 25. Germans attack Crimea using parachute troops. Leningrad attacked by Stukas and heavy bombers.

September 26. Night raids on Calais, Dunkirk and Cologne; also on targets in Sicily. Italian garrison of 4,000 at Wolchefit, Abyssinia, surrenders.

September 27. Bitter fighting in Crimea. New German offensive against Leningrad repulsed. Important British convoy in Mediterranean gets through with loss of one freighter and damage to H.M.S. "Nelson."

September 28. British and U.S. delegations to Three Power Conference arrive in Moscow. Night raids on Turin, Milan and elsewhere in N. Italy. Gen. Catroux proclaims independence of Syria.

September 29. Heydrich initiates reign of terror in Czechoslovakia. Night raids on Stettin, Hamburg, Cherbourg and Le Havre.

September 30. German drive against Kharkov develops. Night raids on Stettin, Hamburg and Cherbourg.

October 1. Night attacks on targets in S.W. Germany, including Stuttgart.

October 2. Creation of eastern and western armies in Middle East announced. Night raids on Brest and St. Nazaire. Newcastle and Dover bombed.

October 3. Daylight raid on Ostend docks; night attacks on those at Dunkirk, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Brest. Australian Premier, A. W. Fadden, resigns.

October 4. Strong Russian counter-attack north of Sea of Azov. Heavy night raid by R.A.F. on Benghazi.

October 5. Soviet claim 20-mile advance in Ukraine and 30 villages recaptured in three days. Heavy night raids on Tripoli and Benghazi.

October 6. Germans launch two-pronged offensive against Moscow. New Australian Cabinet formed by Mr. Curtin. Naval aircraft attack targets in Sicily.

October 7. Terrific German onslaught along 350 miles from Valdai Hills to Bryansk. Piraeus bombed by R.A.F.

October 8. Russians announce evacuation of Orel. Naval aircraft attack shipping in Vest Fjord area of Norway.

October 9. Fierce fighting in areas of Vyazma, Bryansk and Melitopol. Enemy shipping attacked off Ostend and Cherbourg. Benghazi raided.

October 10. Night raids over Calais area and on Cologne and Ruhr. Fierce fighting around Bryansk.

October 11. Italian convoy in Mediterranean broken up by air attack. Night raid on Emden. Benghazi and Tripoli heavily attacked.

October 12. Russians evacuate Bryansk. Heavy night raids on Nuremberg, Bremen and many other objectives.

October 13. 20 enemy aircraft destroyed during daylight sweep over Béthune area; we lose 12 fighters and one bomber. Russians announce evacuation of Vyazma. Night raid on Düsseldorf.

October 14. Fierce fighting around Kalinin. Russians evacuate Mariupol. Night raids on S. Germany.

October 15. Enemy shipping attacked off Dutch coast and at Le Havre. Night raids on Boulogne, Calais and Dunkirk. Benghazi heavily bombed.

October 16. Russians evacuate Odessa. Heavy day raid on Le Havre. Duisburg and other targets attacked at night. Naples bombed. Jap Cabinet resigns.

October 17. Successful Russian counter-attack at Kalinin. Gen. Tojo forms new Jap Govt.

October 18. Fierce battles around Kalinin and Mozhaisk. Night raid on Naples.

October 19. Germans claim Taganrog. Heavy night raid on Tripoli.

October 20. Germans claim capture of Stalino. Soviet Govt. now at Kuibyshev. Night raids on Bremen, Wilhelmshaven and Emden.

October 21. Heavy offensive sweep over N. France. Night raids on Bremen, Lorient and Naples.

October 22. New German offensive at Tula. Night raids on Mannheim, Le Havre and Brest. Naples bombed.

October 23. Red Army Command reorganized; Zhukov to command northern sector, Timoshenko southern. Night raids on Hamburg and Kiel.

October 24. Germans claim capture of Kharkov. Night raids on W. Germany, on Naples and targets in Sicily.

October 25. Heavy fighting at Kalinin and in Crimea.

October 26. Germans reported 10 miles from Rostov. Night raids on Cherbourg, Nantes and Egersund. Heavy bombers over Benghazi.

October 27. Russians counter-attack in Moscow sector. Seaplane base at Ostend raided. Benghazi bombed again.

October 28. Germans reach Volokolamsk. Night raids on Cherbourg and targets in S.W. Germany. Heavy attacks on Tripoli and Comiso, Sicily.

October 29. Germans break through Perekop Isthmus into Crimea. Soviet aircraft raid Berlin.

October 30. Fierce fighting around Tula. U.S. destroyer "Reuben James" sunk by torpedo off Iceland.

October 31. Germans advance in Ukraine and Crimea. Night attacks on shipping off Norwegian coast and Frisian Islands, and on Bremen, Hamburg, Dunkirk and Boulogne.

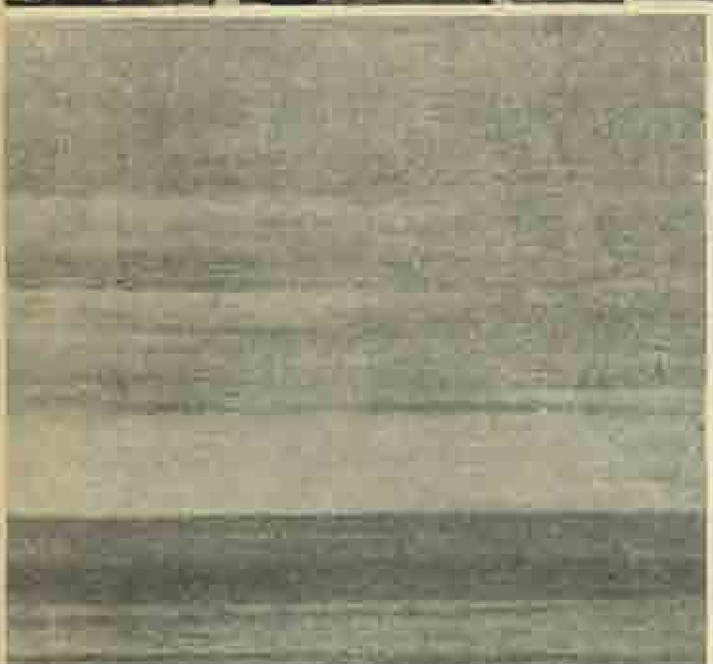
OUR CONVOYS GET THROUGH

Here are photographs of two typical attacks on British Mediterranean convoys during the latter half of 1941. The earlier, on July 22-24, cost us the destroyer 'Fearless'—seen on fire after an aerial torpedo attack in (4)—and six aircraft. The enemy lost an E-boat, a submarine and a dozen Italian aircraft: one of the 12 is seen diving into the sea in (3). An attack on a bigger scale was made on another British convoy at the end of September. On the morning of the 27th the battleship 'Nelson' was hit by a torpedo from an Italian bomber and her speed reduced: (1) shows the splash of the torpedo, right centre; in (2) the battleship is seen just after the torpedo struck her. We lost three aircraft against the enemy's 13; one ship in the convoy was sunk.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; British Newsreel









THE SEA WAR EXTENDS: DISASTER IN THE FAR EAST

Axis Convoys in Mediterranean—H.M.S. 'Aurora'—Brilliant Destroyer Action—Loss of 'Ark Royal' and 'Barham'—Northern Waters—Soviet Black Sea Fleet—Anti-Submarine Successes by Trawlers and Corvettes—U.S. Troops in Iceland: Axis Reprisals Against American Merchantmen—Atlantic Charter—Amendment of Neutrality Act—Japan Strikes at Pearl Harbour—Loss of 'Prince of Wales' and 'Repulse'—Surrender of Hongkong

For a large part of the second half of 1941 the naval war was devoid of any major incident, although there was plenty of minor excitement with losses on both sides. It was only at the end of the period that Japan's sudden, though not unexpected, entry into the war opened a new phase. In the early months most of the interest was in the Mediterranean. The situation in Northern Africa was still very fluid, and everything depended upon supplies, all of which had to be sea-borne. This resulted in constant attack and counter-attack, in which the air forces of both sides participated. The Axis powers had the short sea route, but were handicapped by our unremitting attacks, in which the fortress of Malta had a big influence, so that the island was subjected to German and Italian air assaults of steadily increasing intensity. Most British supplies went round the Cape, but occasionally it was necessary to hurry a convoy through the danger area of the Mediterranean, the only route to Malta. Such convoys were usually detected by enemy air scouts and attacked with great energy but varying effect. Aircraft were generally used, the Axis navies assisting by submarines while Italian surface craft were employed principally in convoying.

In July an Italian attack of this sort was beaten off by the convoying vessels, but H. M. destroyer "Fearless" was sunk. At the end of September there was a very much bigger affair of the kind, an important British convoy escorted by heavy metal being attacked in the Central Mediterranean. The Italians made extravagant claims, but later had to modify these, and admitted that the Italian fleet, although at sea, had refused to give battle. Actually the battleship "Nelson" was hit by a plane's torpedo, her speed being reduced, and one merchant ship in the convoy was damaged. Attempts were made to tow the merchantman to her destination, but her slow speed was imperilling the venture and she was accordingly sunk. This was one of the many occasions on which the Italians claimed to have sunk the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal." They would certainly have liked to destroy her, for her aircraft were always active against them, not only in the open sea but also in bombing coastal positions.



NAVY'S FIRST SUBMARINE V.C.

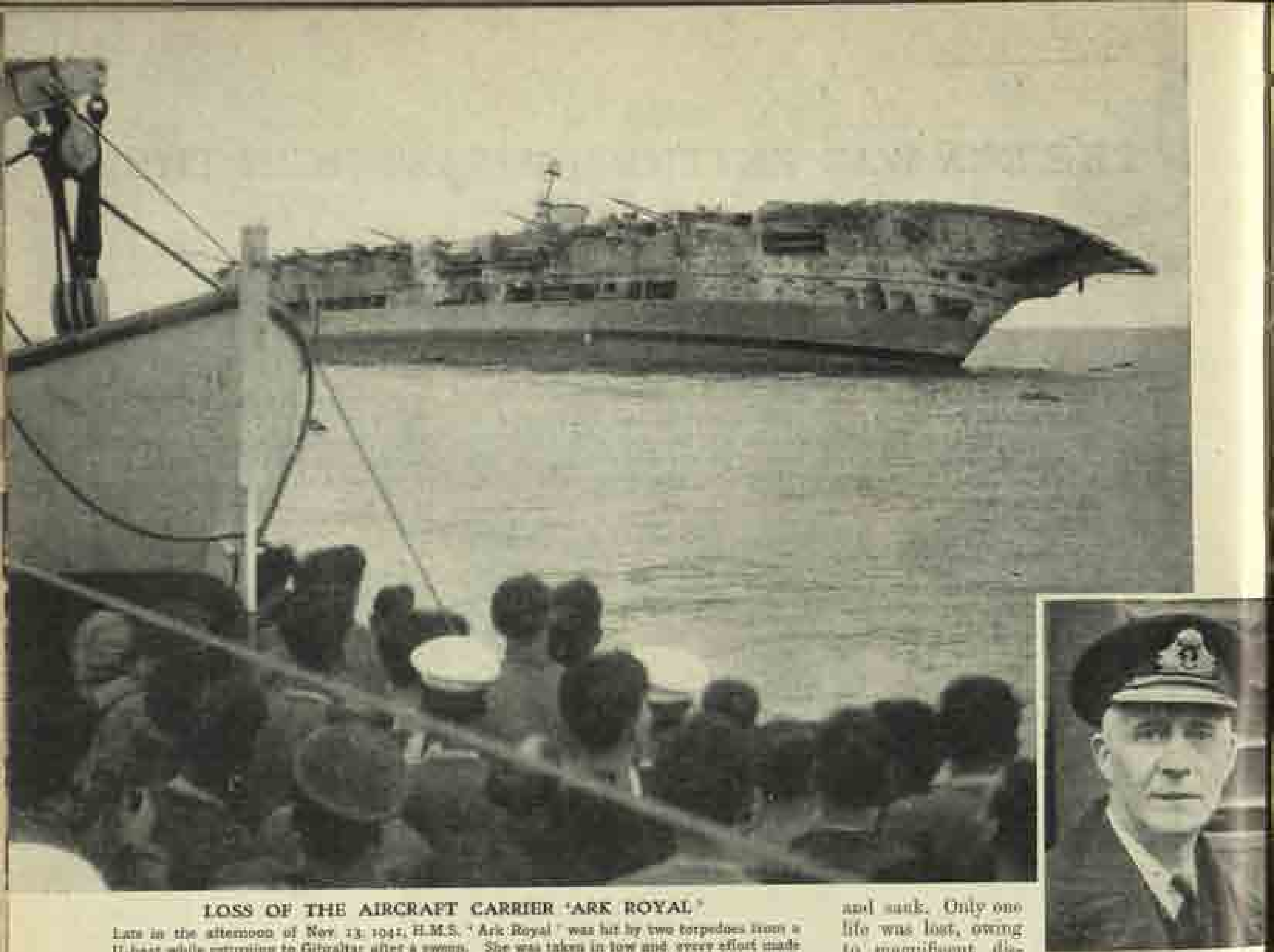
Lieut.-Cmdr. M. D. Wanklyn, V.C., D.S.O., R.N., in command of the submarine 'Upholder,' sighted an enemy troop convoy off Sicily on the evening of May 24, 1941. The light was failing and his listening gear was out of order, but he made a close-range attack and sunk a large troopship. Escorting enemy destroyers dropped 37 depth charges near H.M.S. 'Upholder' in the next 20 minutes. Photograph shows Lieut.-Cmdr. Wanklyn (left) being congratulated by his First Lieutenant, Lieut. J. R. Drummond, R.N. On August 22, 1942, the Admiralty announced the loss of the 'Upholder' while on her 25th Mediterranean patrol. *Photo, British Official*

At one time it was estimated that the Allies were sinking between 20 and 30 per cent of the enemy ships on the Libyan supply service, apart from damaging as many, and there was difficulty in persuading Axis merchant seamen to run the risk in spite of special decorations and extra pay. Every available ship was put on to the run, from 20,000-ton Atlantic liners (which were packed to capacity with troops) to little sailing ships from the wine trade, which were considered to have a reasonable chance of slipping through by their obvious unimportance. Counter-measures of all kinds were undertaken, handicapped by the Italian Navy's traditional dislike for risking material.

Not only was Malta an important factor in the British line, both for aircraft and for naval vessels, but its continued resistance was regarded as a bitter slur on Italian capability, after Italy's spokesmen had claimed that it could be reduced in a matter of weeks. In addition to the air operations a picturesque attack was made in July with a new type of Italian motor torpedo-boat described as a "suicide weapon," but it failed utterly and every boat concerned was destroyed. A somewhat similar attack on Gibraltar in September, carried out by motor torpedo-boats transported within short range by big surface vessels, had very little better success.

All the time British submarines and aircraft were keeping up their attacks on Italian convoys, and the nerves of the naval personnel on convoying duty were obviously wearing very thin. On one occasion Italian destroyers shelled one another in the confusion of the attack; on several others the escorting warships left convoys to their fate.

Captain W. G. Agnew, R.N., acting as Commodore in command of a cruiser force, with his broad pendant flying in the "Aurora," distinguished himself at the end of the year by dashing attacks on Italian convoys. On November 9, 1941, he encountered a group of 10 supply ships well protected by two cruisers and four destroyers. The cruisers made



LOSS OF THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER 'ARK ROYAL'

Late in the afternoon of Nov. 13, 1941, H.M.S. 'Ark Royal' was hit by two torpedoes from a U-boat while returning to Gibraltar after a sweep. She was taken in tow and every effort made to save her, but at 4.30 next morning she had to be abandoned, and sank two hours later. Only one of her complement of 1,600 lost his life. Above, a destroyer going alongside to take off her crew. Inset, her captain, Captain L. E. H. Maund. (See also illus., pp. 435, 732, 840, and 1450.)

Photos, "The Daily Mirror"; Planet News

off at full speed and escaped; the first British report was that all the merchant ships had been sunk, together with two of the destroyers, a third being damaged. It later came to light that all four of the destroyers had gone to the bottom. Captain Agnew received his C.B. for that particularly dashing action and on December 1 he repeated it, intercepting the destroyer "Alvise da Mosto" escorting the munition carrier "Adriatico" and the tanker "Mantovani." All three of the Italians were sunk, without any damage or casualties to the British.

A very brilliant little night action occurred in December, when H.M. destroyers "Sikh," "Maori" and "Legion," with the Dutch destroyer "Isaac Sweers" (warned by planes), encountered two Italian cruisers, a torpedo-boat and a motor torpedo-boat. Our warships immediately attacked with gunfire and torpedoes, hitting both cruisers. One of them blew up and sank, while the other was soon blazing furiously from stem to stern. The motor boat was sunk and the other torpedo-boat severely damaged, after which the enemy force returned to its base. In the same month the Italian submarine "Ammiraglio Caracciolo" was sunk by a destroyer, the only one of several known cases to be named.

On the Syrian coast the concluding stages of the unhappy campaign against the Vichy authorities who were assisting the enemy were carried out in July, when several small hostile warships were sunk by British and Free French ships, while most other Vichy craft interned themselves in Turkish ports.

Against the Mediterranean successes there were two heavy losses in November. On the 13th, when the "Ark Royal" was returning to Gibraltar after a sweep, she was hit by two torpedoes. She took a heavy list and her electrical plant was put out of action, but she was taken in tow and had got to within 25 miles of Gibraltar when she capsized and sunk. Only one life was lost, owing to magnificent discipline. On the 25th three of our battleships were exercising off the Egyptian coast and were altering course at 17 knots when a submarine hit the "Barham" with at least four torpedoes. She rolled over and sank in a few minutes with a heavy death-roll.

In the Indian Ocean area the remaining Italian forces in Abyssinia surrendered in July, but some warships contrived to escape, some of the larger submarines making their way home and the cruiser "Eritrea" making a very adventurous voyage to join the Japanese. In August there was trouble farther east, where German plotting in Iran necessitated Anglo-Russian operations with naval help on both fronts, the Iranian Navy being destroyed.

In November, there being ample evidence that French ships from Madagascar were carrying cargoes destined for Germany, a convoy of five was intercepted off the South African coast. In spite of efforts to scuttle them they were taken into port, where large quantities of contraband were found.

Against Russia most of the earlier German naval movement was in the

Baltic and Arctic areas. In the Baltic the enemy suffered severely through over-confidence in dispatching transports while the Russian Fleet was very much in being. His losses were heavy; on one occasion alone 13 big loaded transports and two escorting destroyers were destroyed by Russian surface craft, while there was constant attrition by small surface craft, submarines and aircraft. In the Baltic the Germans used their small submarines, built very largely for training purposes. Their casualties were heavy and they caused very little interference with the big Russian ships which were constantly bombarding land positions as the Germans slowly advanced along the southern shore. This advance seriously embarrassed the Russian Navy by depriving it of many bases, but strategic islands and ports changed hands repeatedly. The Finnish coast defence ship "Ilmarinen," pride of the Finnish Navy, was sunk in an attack on Hangö.

When the German advance reached the defences of Leningrad the Soviet men-of-war based there and at Kronstadt cooperated most effectively. It was reported, apparently on good authority, that many of the smaller Russian submarines were moved through the Stalin Canal to operate in the Arctic, where practically all the German troop movements were by sea.

The British Navy also cooperated in the Northern area. In September a cruiser force under Rear-Admiral P. L. Vian (of "Cossack" fame) attacked a German convoy off the North Cape in thick weather. The enemy was taken completely by surprise; the training cruiser "Bremse" and three other escorting vessels were sunk, with several of the cargo ships. The Fleet Air Arm and the Royal Air Force constantly cooperated in air attacks, and the work of the Russian submarines, which claimed many successes, was supported by our underwater craft. Among these the "Tigris" and "Trident" were given full credit for good work in November. In a long cruise under very difficult conditions the "Tigris" sank five enemy ships and seriously damaged another; while the "Trident" hit seven ships, of which three were seen to sink —two of them packed with troops—and four were claimed as probables. German submarines were very active in the Barents Sea and even in the White Sea.

In the Black Sea area the Russian Navy took the initiative at once, but for a time could do little but bombard enemy preparations on the Rumanian coast. In August a German army, advancing by land, occupied Nikolayev dockyard, but the ships afloat had been removed and those on the slips destroyed (see illus., p. 1833). Russian warships constantly harried the enemy transport and bombarded their armies. In December the Black Sea Fleet landed troops on the Kerch peninsula and at Feodosia, in the Crimea.

In home waters the German battleships "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" and the heavy cruiser "Prinz Eugen" at Brest were a constant menace to British communications and were repeatedly bombed. In July the "Scharnhorst" contrived to slip out, leaving her old berth occupied by a 530-foot tanker with small craft at bow and stern, all of them covered with her usual camouflage. The



CAPT. W. G. AGNEW, C.B., R.N.

In command of a Naval force including the light cruisers 'Aurora' and 'Penelope' and the destroyers 'Lance' and 'Lively,' Captain Agnew on November 9, 1941, destroyed an Italian convoy of 10 ships off Taranto and sank 4 destroyers. Two cruisers with the convoy made off and escaped. For this exploit he was awarded the C.B.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

GUNNERS OF THE RUSSIAN BLACK SEA FLEET

Owing to the rapid advance of the Nazi armies the Black Sea Fleet of the Soviet Navy came under intense aerial bombardment and lost many of its bases. But it nobly supported the Soviet land forces, and in December enabled a landing to be made which resulted in the regaining of Crimean territory from the enemy.

Photo, Planet News







HOW U-111 AND U-570 WERE CAPTURED

On September 8, 1941, a Hudson aircraft of Coastal Command sighted and attacked U-570 in the Atlantic. Forced to the surface the enemy surrendered; after 3½ hours the Hudson was relieved by a Catalina, which stayed until our warships arrived (top). U-111 was captured some weeks later by the Naval trawler 'Lady Shirley,' commanded by Lieut.-Cmdr. A. H. Callaway, R.A.N.V.R. (inset), after attack by depth charges and gun-fire. A vivid impression of the action by Mr. Charles Pears is reproduced below

Photos, British Official   Painting: Crown copyright reserved



rine was immediately detected by aircraft of our Coastal Command; the battleship was traced to La Pallice and heavily attacked there, so she returned soon after to Brest, with its very heavy anti-aircraft protection. In the Channel and North Sea the activity was mostly by light craft—motor torpedo-boats, patrol vessels, gunboats, etc.—which were constantly attacking the communications and merchant ships of the other side. As Britain's strength increased, our operations gradually assumed more and more of the offensive, although enemy attacks on our convoys off the East Coast were maintained. In November the famous "Cossack" was sunk by torpedo or mine.

Submarine attacks on Allied shipping continued, but even the German radio had to admit repeatedly that the British protective measures were becoming more and more effective. The Admiralty kept silence with regard to most of the operations, but a few unusual cases were reported, among them the capture of a U-boat from the air. On September 8 a Hudson plane on patrol over the Atlantic, sighted the German submarine U-570 and attacked her with bombs and machine-guns. The attack was so effective that the

submarine surrendered, but taking possession was another matter. It was blowing a gale, but the Hudson circled round for 3½ hours until her fuel got low and she had to be relieved; it was not until many hours later that warships arrived, to board the enemy with great difficulty. This was the first time in history that a plane had captured a submarine. In October the trawler "Lady Shirley," armed with an old 4-inch and two machine-guns, encountered the submarine U-111, and depth-charged her to the surface, after which a gun duel ensued. There were heavy casualties, but the German surrendered, her crew hastening her sinking by opening the sea-cocks before they gave themselves up. In November the Canadian corvettes "Chambly" and "Moose Jaw" attacked the new 740-ton submarine U-501, which tackled their convoy in the Atlantic. The "Moose Jaw" rammed her, getting in a glancing blow, but the submarine commander deserted his ship and jumped on to the deck of the corvette, leaving her to be finished by depth charges. Ten men were drowned and 37 were saved, the survivors making no secret of their opinion of their captain.

In October it was announced that certain merchant ships were being fitted with catapults and fighter planes to deal with Focke-Wulf aircraft that were attacking merchant ships in mid-Atlantic.

Fighter Planes for Merchantmen

In November H.M.S. "Devonshire" sank a raider which was supplying a U-boat, and in the following month her sister ship "Dorsetshire" did precisely the same, the presence of the enemy submarine in each case preventing any efforts to save life.

All through the latter part of 1941 American feeling was growing stronger, particularly in the Sea Services. Repeated moves were made to get the Neutrality Act either amended or repealed, but for a time they were unsuccessful. American troops took over part of the occupation of Iceland, and submarine attacks on the U.S. destroyers "Greer," "Kearney" and "Reuben James" in those waters, together with the sinking of a number of American ships, worked up American feeling to fever-pitch. A mid-Atlantic meeting between President Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill, who travelled out in the new battleship "Prince of Wales," resulted in the framing of the Atlantic Charter and the crystallization of Democratic aims, so that practical American assistance gradually increased until, in November, the Neutrality Act was finally amended and the flow of munitions greatly increased.

In the Far East the situation became more and more threatening as the months went by, and Japanese assistance to the Axis was obvious. Reinforcements were sent to Hongkong and Singapore; British and American leaders held a conference at Manila to arrange mutual support (see illus., p. 1798), and in November it was reported that the battleship "Prince of Wales" was en route to Singapore. On November 19 the Australian cruiser "Sydney" was sunk with all hands in an engagement with the heavily armed raider "Kormoran" (ex-"Steiermark"), which was also sent to the bottom (see illus., p. 1718).

Then, on December 7, Japan bombed Pearl Harbour and Hongkong while her envoys were still talking peace in Washington. On the 10th the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" left Singapore, on receipt of news of Japanese transports advancing on the Malayan coast. They were escorted by a few destroyers only. Mr. Winston Churchill later announced that the Navy had only one aircraft carrier available at the time, very busy in home waters, with all the rest under repair. Admiral Sir Tom Phillips (C.-in-C. Eastern Fleet) was informed that no fighter aircraft were available for his protection after his ships had left the harbour, but in the



TRAGIC LOSS OF THE 'PRINCE OF WALES' AND 'REPULSE'

In a gallant attempt to intercept Japanese transports nearing the Malayan coast, Admiral Sir Tom Phillips (inset) took out the new battleship 'Prince of Wales' and the battle-cruiser 'Repulse,' with a small destroyer escort, on December 10, 1941. Later, when visibility improved, he turned back towards Singapore, but was picked up by an enemy reconnaissance plane and attacked in force from the air. In top right of photograph, four bombs are bursting close to the battleship, which is burning furiously; at lower left is the 'Repulse,' also on fire. Both warships sank soon after noon, local time. (See also illus., p. 1906.)

low visibility ruling he carried on in the hope of intercepting the Japanese force; when it later cleared he turned back. He had already been sighted by the enemy off Kuantan; they notified a big air base 400 miles away, and an intensive air attack was started.

A large number of planes hailed bombs down from 15,000 feet, their object very largely to distract attention, although the speed of the "Repulse" was reduced by a hit which started a fire in the engine room. The real attack began with three waves, each of nine torpedo-carrying bomber planes handling a much larger torpedo than was usual from the air. Many of these aircraft were shot down, but several hits were scored on the "Repulse," whose light armour and subdivision had always been recognized as a weakness, and she speedily sank soon after noon (local time) on the 10th. One hit on the stern of the "Prince of Wales" put her propellers and rudders out of action, so that she became immobile and a sitting target for successive waves of planes. After numerous hits she rolled over and sank—about half an hour after her consort. British fighter planes then appeared and permitted the rescue of about 2,300 out of under 3,000 officers and men in the two ships, but the Admiral was not among them.

Loss of Repulse and Prince of Wales

Before the end of the year Hongkong was forced to surrender owing to the water supply being cut, and with the danger to Singapore fairly well realized a new phase of the Naval War had started. The United States had been dealt a crippling blow by the sudden air attack on Pearl Harbour. Two battleships ("Arizona" and "Oklahoma") and three destroyers were sunk; 91 naval officers and 2,638 seamen were killed and 656 wounded; in addition, there were over 400 Army casualties in the engagement. In Parliament on December 11 Mr. Churchill said:

"The Japanese onslaught has brought upon the United States and Great Britain very serious injuries to our Naval power. . . . No one can underrate the gravity of the loss that has been inflicted in Malaya and Hawaii, or the power of the new antagonist that has fallen upon us, or the length of time it will take to create and marshal and mount the great force in the Far East which will be necessary to achieve absolute victory."

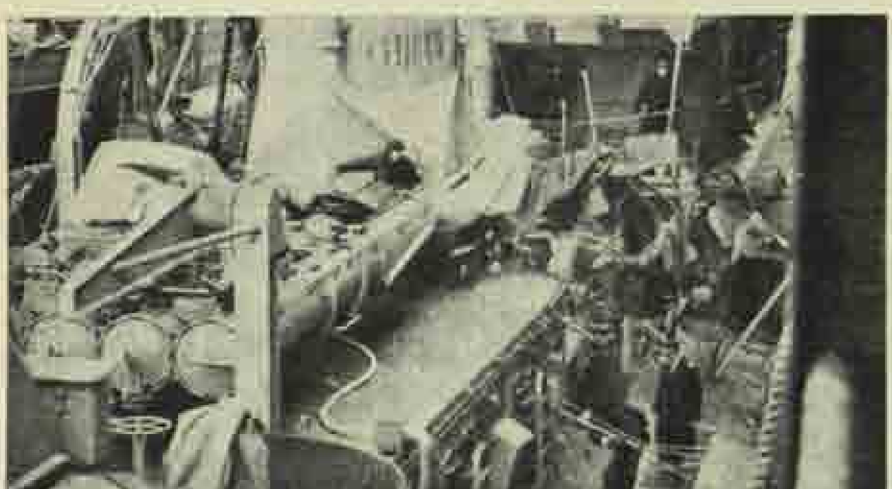
In the Far East, in fact, the Allies had lost in two sudden strokes that command of the sea without which a successful war could not be waged. But the set-back was only temporary, and the coming months were to see a resolute bid—despite other serious reverses—to recover lost ground.



SURVIVORS OF THE 'KORMORAN,' SUNK BY H.M.A.S. 'SYDNEY'

Little is known of the fate of the Australian cruiser 'Sydney.' In an engagement off Western Australia in November, 1941 she fought and destroyed the enemy armed raider 'Kormoran,' but went to the bottom herself with all on board. Survivors from her opponent were picked up by a passing vessel and eventually interned in Australia. Here are 26 in a rubber raft which is towing a dinghy.

Photo, Keystone



'HITLER'S TORPEDO WAS DIRECTED AGAINST EVERY AMERICAN'

These were Mr. Roosevelt's words about the torpedoing of the American destroyer 'Kearney,' on October 17, 1941, some 350 miles south-west of Iceland; 11 of her complement were lost. Together with other like outrages at this period, the attack roused American feeling to fever heat. Photograph shows damage to the 'Kearney.'

Photo, Wide World

Chapter 190

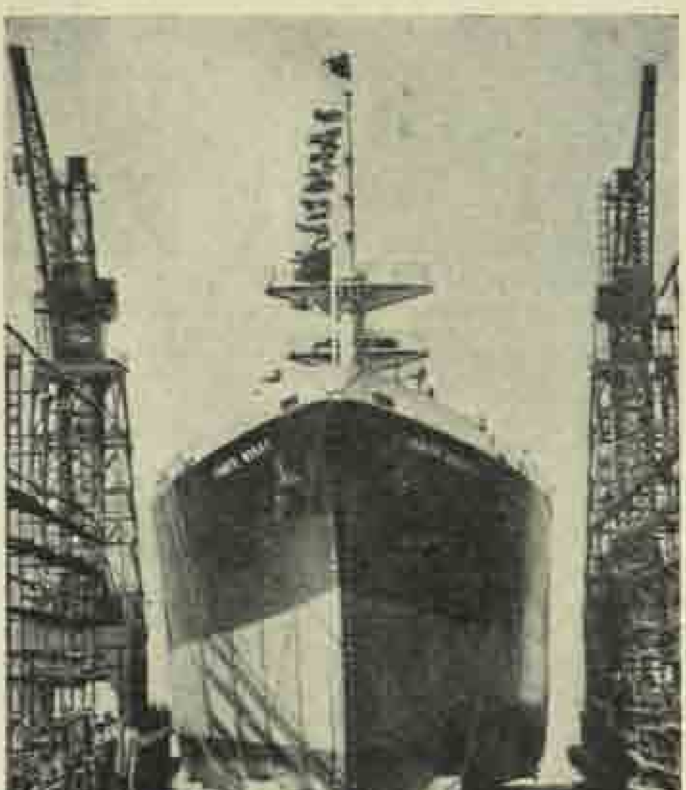
CRUCIAL BATTLE OF THE SEVEN SEAS

Battle of the Atlantic Widens—Effect of Invasion of Russia—Analysis of Shipping Losses—North Atlantic Route—U.S. Patrols in Western Atlantic—U.S. Navy Ordered to 'Shoot First'—Neutrality Act Revised—Arming of American Merchantmen—Successful Defence Against U-boats—Fighter Planes for Merchant Ships—Ordeals of Torpedoed Seamen—Surge of Shipbuilding in the United States

The struggle at sea which centred on the efforts of the Axis Powers to sink merchant ships trading to Great Britain came to be known as the Battle of the Atlantic because that ocean was the main and decisive area. In terms of land warfare the Atlantic was the supply line on which the armies in the field depended for their sustenance. If that line could be severed, or damaged to such an extent that the flow of supplies was reduced to a mere trickle, the enemy would not have to face the hazards of a pitched battle, for the resistance of the opposing forces would quickly dwindle. But the Atlantic was not the only supply line. The sinking of an Allied merchant ship in any sea or ocean directly contributed to the success of the Axis plans, which aimed at the destruction of carriers wherever they could be found, and faster than they could be replaced. More correctly, therefore, the battle which merchant seamen fought continuously from the first gunshot was, in the phrase of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Battle of the Seven Seas. In the latter half of 1941 that fact was emphasized.

The major developments in this war at sea were governed by the far-reaching developments of the war as a whole. Thus in 1939 the first mark of the bitterness and savagery of the years to come was made at sea—the sinking of a passenger ship with the loss of over a hundred civilian lives. In the following year the Nazis overran Europe, gained bases along a vast coastline from which to strike harder and stronger against merchant ships, and turned the tide of the Atlantic battle to their favour.

The heavier attack culminated in a great spring offensive in 1941, which waned with the opening of Hitler's war with the Soviet Union. But the spread of the land war brought new supply routes at sea—stretching communications, broadening the area of attack, thinning the line of ships across the Atlantic and exposing the new line northwards to Murmansk and Archangel to serious dangers. Nevertheless, the course of the Battle of the Atlantic had been turned once again, this time to the advantage of Britain and her Allies. For the first time since September 1939 losses were reduced by a substantial amount. The curve of sinkings was falling away; the curve of new construction was slanting upwards. Then in December 1941 the smouldering embers burst into flame and the war became world-wide. Again the sea campaign shifted violently. Losses began to mount once more and new waters were involved. The full mobilization of American resources and man-power gave a renewed promise of victory. But the deterioration that was to come in the shipping situation contained a threat of the utmost gravity. The Atlantic Ocean was still the pivot.



MASS LAUNCHING OF LIBERTY FLEET

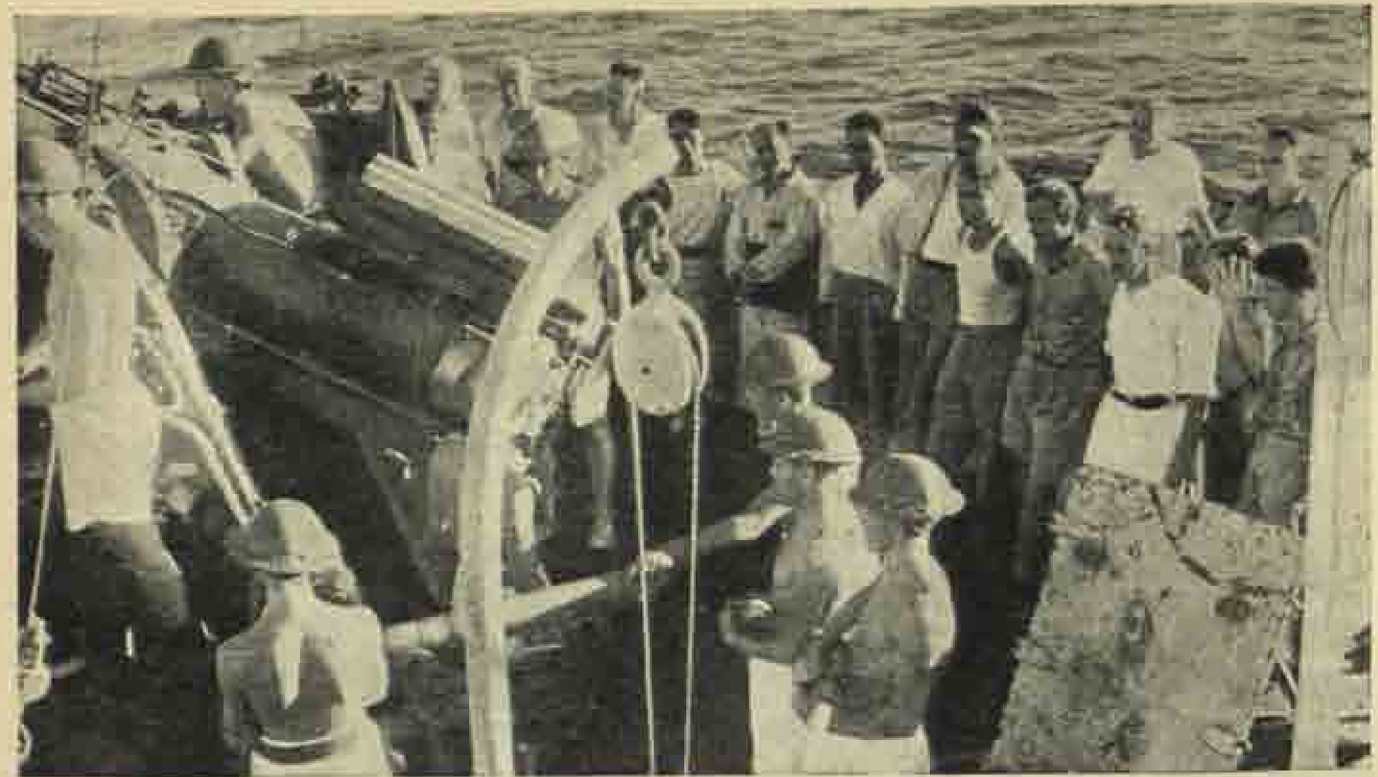
The American freighter 'James McKay,' here seen going down the slips at the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point yards at Baltimore, Maryland, was the second of 14 of the 'Liberty Day Fleet' to be launched on September 27, 1941. Admiral Land on a similar occasion coined the slogan: 'Two ships a day will keep Germany away,' in reference to the shipbuilding target for the following 12 months.

Photo, Keystone

Though it was to be overshadowed by later developments, the falling off in shipping losses between June and December, 1941, was of great importance. The effect of the German spring offensive of 1941 is discussed in Chapter 174. After rising to a peak of over 380,000 tons gross of British shipping sunk in May, and half a million tons when Allied and neutral ships were included, losses fell back in June to the level of the winter months, the official total for that month being 329,296 tons, of which 228,284 tons were British ships. With the publication of those figures on July 15 the official monthly returns of shipping losses ceased. The following statement was issued by the Admiralty:

> After today it is not proposed to continue to publish the shipping losses, due to enemy action, at regular intervals, because valuable information is by this means given to the enemy. From time to time we shall, however, consider the publication of shipping losses as may be required.

Though the promise implied in the last sentence was not fulfilled—despite a political agitation many months later—a clear indication of the losses until the end of October 1941 was given by Mr. Churchill to the House of Commons.



SURVIVORS OF THE AMERICAN 'STEEL SEAFARER'

This American freighter was attacked by a German dive-bomber about midnight of September 5-6, 1941, at the entrance to the Gulf of Suez. She had the customary large flags painted on her sides to denote her nationality. She sank in 22 minutes, but all her hands were saved—some by a Danish vessel and others by a British warship, on whose deck they are here seen, interested in the guns.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

The Prime Minister's statements indicated that in the quarter July, August and September sinkings of British, Allied and neutral tonnage amounted to about 540,000 tons gross, representing an average of about 180,000 tons a month. That allowed for an addition of a little over 70,000 tons to the published total for June, representing news of sinkings received subsequent to the publication of this figure. There was a slight increase in October to about 210,000 tons. And in November the "great recovery" of the previous four months was "fully maintained."

The several phases in the Battle of the Atlantic as represented by the losses of British, Allied and neutral ships up to this period are shown in the accompanying table of average monthly losses.

Merchant Shipping Losses
British, Allied and Neutral

Monthly average during :		Tons gross
Sept. 1939–May 1940	(nine months)	182,000
June 1940–Feb. 1941	(nine months)	394,000
Mar.–May 1941	(three months)	534,000
June 1941	(one month)	400,000
July–Sept. 1941	(three months)	180,000
Oct.–Nov. 1941	(two months)	210,000
Average for 27 months :		
Sept. 1939–Nov. 1941		316,000

The first phase was nine months of unrestricted U-boat warfare on ships of all nationalities. The second phase followed the occupation of Norway and the collapse of France, with the enemy's acquisition of bases from Narvik to the Spanish frontier and the intensification of attacks from the air. The third phase represented the spring offensive of 1941, which was checked in June of that year. The sharp reduction which marked the fifth phase of this never-ceasing battle brought the first substantial reduction in losses since the enemy's capture of the Channel ports and Norwegian bases. That was its significance. For there was no reason to believe the U-boat campaign had slackened in the vigour of its attacks. Indeed, Mr. Churchill declared in November that there were never more U-boats or long-range aircraft operating than at that time.

The general explanation for the drop in losses down to the level of the early months of the war could only lie in improved convoy arrangements on the North Atlantic route. A Commodore of Convoys, Rear-Admiral Burges Watson, gave it as his opinion towards the end of November that the worst of the Atlantic Battle was past—and he had been sailing that ocean since the beginning of the war. Escorts, he said, were stronger and convoys of up to 100 ships could cross the Atlantic in comparative safety. (Admiral Sir Percy Noble, Commander-in-Chief Western Approaches, revealed about this time that "recently 100 ships in convoy have crossed the Atlantic from America to Britain without loss," an event which he described as of an importance equal to a minor battle in Libya.) U-boat

Total World Losses of Merchant Ships
Sept. 1939–Dec. 31, 1941
(Estimated)

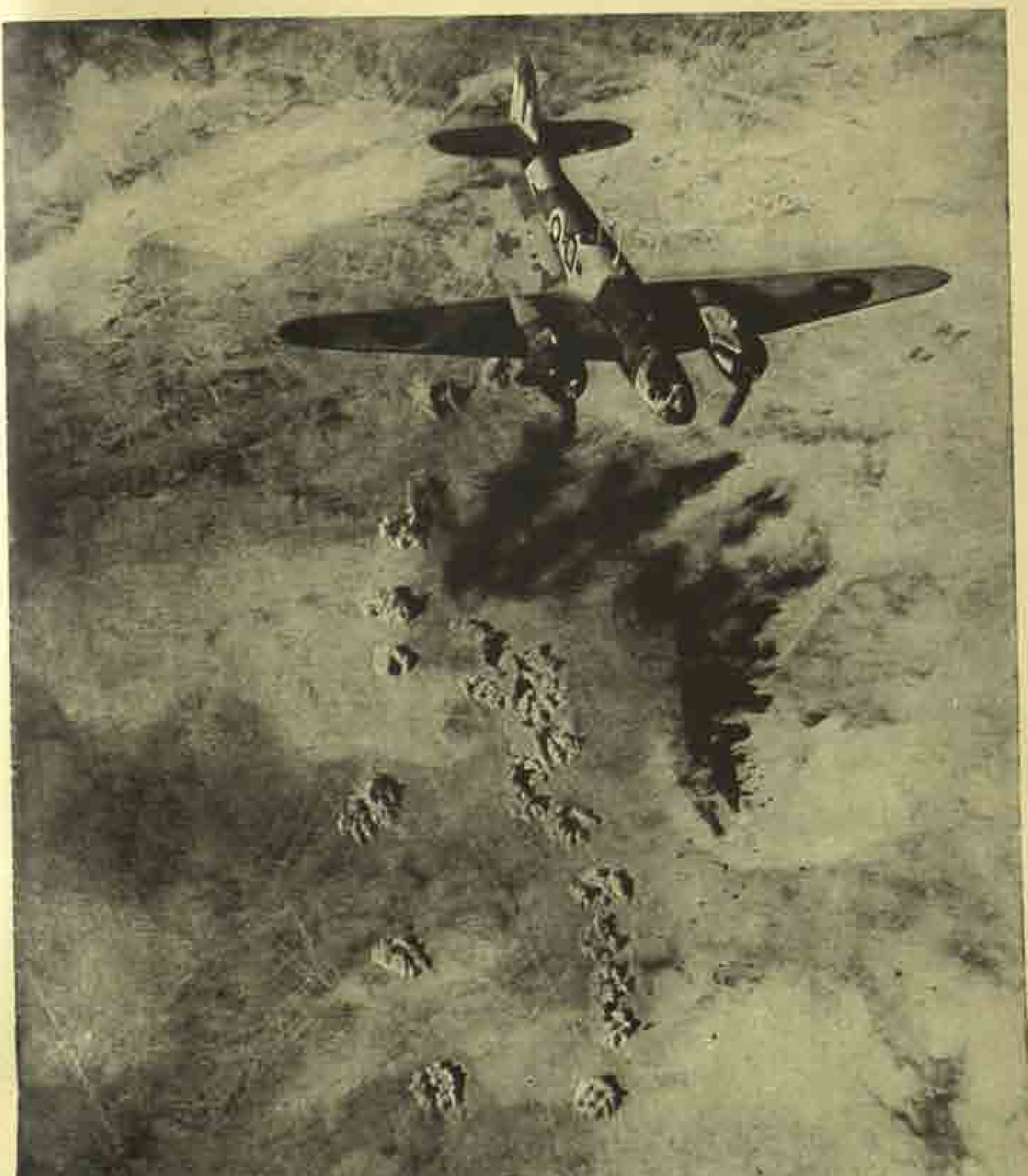
	Tons gross
British, Allied and Neutral (war losses)	8,500,000
British Naval Auxiliaries	300,000
Enemy and Enemy-controlled (war losses)	5,000,000
World marine losses	1,500,000
	15,300,000

World Merchant Ship Construction
Sept. 1939–Dec. 1941*
(Estimated)

	Tons gross
Great Britain	3,000,000
British Empire	30,000
U.S.A.	1,520,000
Continental Europe (including Sweden)	1,550,000
	6,100,000

*Excluding Japan: margin of error for Continental Europe is larger than for others.

tactics, also, were changing, Rear-Admiral Burges Watson said. Most of the attacks were delivered at night or in the early morning. "It is a bold U-boat that dares to approach the hive which our convoys have become." The Commodore's confidence might well have been justified had not the events of the following weeks shaken the kaleidoscope of the war, so giving a



SOUTH AFRICAN MARYLAND BOMBS TRANSPORT IN WESTERN DESERT

After the successful East African campaign of 1941, concerning which Sir Archibald Sinclair stated that the operations of the S.A.A.F. were a primary factor in winning the victory, South African airmen took up the fight in Libya along with the Eighth Army. Above, a Maryland bomber of the S.A.A.F. draws away after dropping a stick of bombs on enemy transport vehicles in the desert (December 1941). *Photo British Official: Crown Copyright*





BRILLIANT AND SUCCESSFUL RAID ON VAAGSO AND MAALOY

On December 27 a combined British force attacked enemy shipping off the islands, and wrecked oil tanks and factories. Nine local quislings were brought away, with a number of loyal Norwegians who wished to join the Allies. Top, British Commandos mopping up after fighting in the main street of Vaagso; in lower photograph our men are seen returning to their ships after the operations.

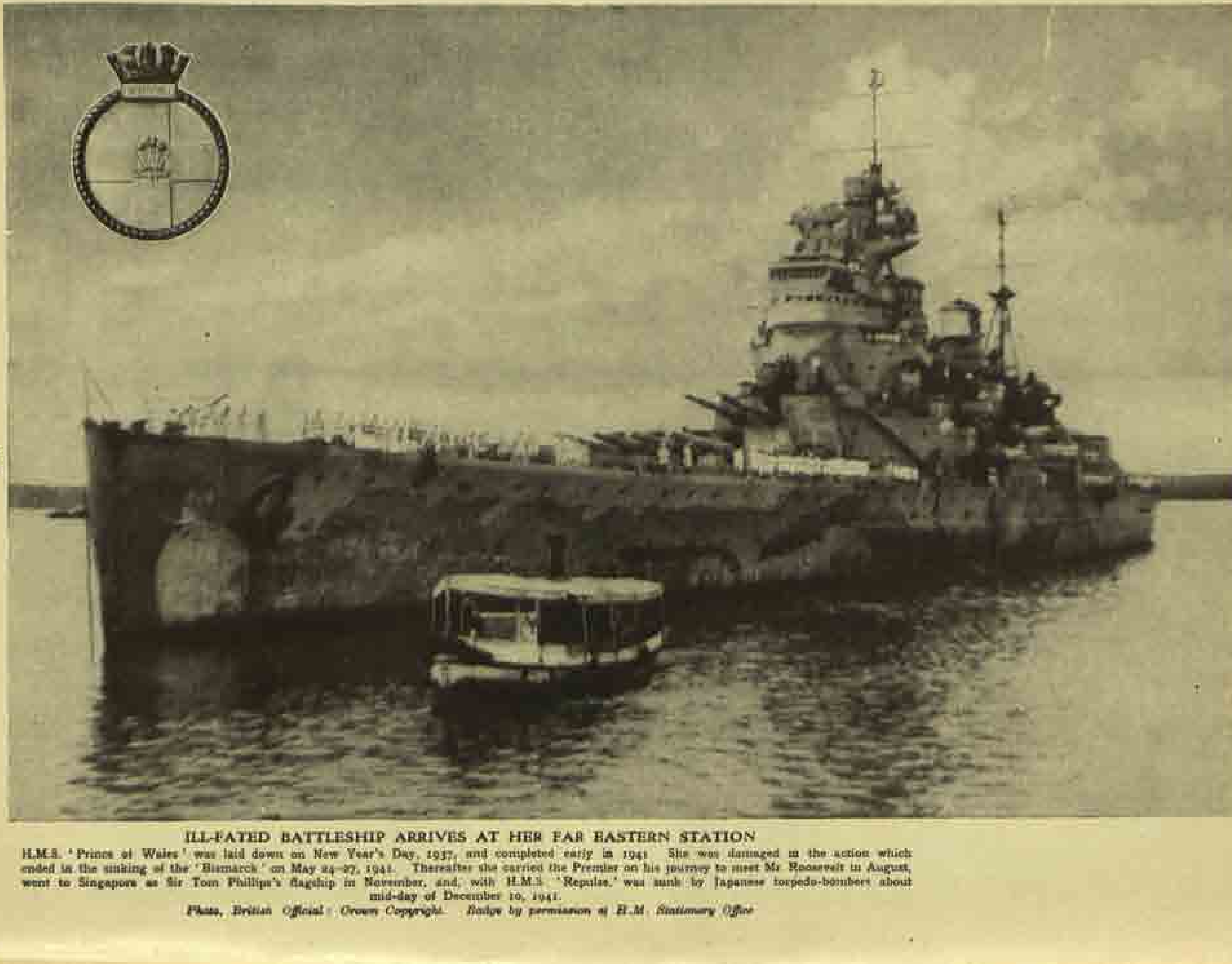
Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



DESTRUCTION OF OIL STORES ON SPITSBERGEN

The islands of Spitsbergen, under Norwegian sovereignty, have rich deposits of coal, copper and asbestos. Germany was planning to use the coal for supplying her forces in the Murmansk offensive, and Allied action was imperative. On September 8, 1941 a combined Canadian, British and Norwegian force landed on the islands, burned coal and oil dumps, wrecked the mines, and brought away Norwegian miners with their families. This photograph shows burning oil dumps at Barentsburg.

Photo. British Official : Crown Copyright



ILL-FATED BATTLESHIP ARRIVES AT HER FAR EASTERN STATION

H.M.S. 'Prince of Wales' was laid down on New Year's Day, 1937, and completed early in 1941. She was damaged in the action which ended in the sinking of the 'Bismarck' on May 24–27, 1941. Thereafter she carried the Premier on his journey to meet Mr Roosevelt in August, went to Singapore as Sir Tom Phillips's flagship in November, and, with H.M.S. 'Repulse,' was sunk by Japanese torpedo-bombers about mid-day of December 10, 1941.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright. Badge by permission of H.M. Stationery Office

completely different pattern, set of colours and perspective.

Once again various factors had contributed to the improvement at sea. Among them were better anti-submarine measures, stronger aerial protection, more British warships. But of chief importance was the ever larger part being played by America and the U.S. Navy.

By the middle of 1941 American naval patrols had been organized and were in operation in the Western Atlantic; the U.S. cargo liner "Robin Moor" had been torpedoed and sunk in the South Atlantic (see Chapter 174). Early in July United States forces landed in Iceland, and President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. forces issued orders to the Navy "that all necessary steps be taken to ensure the safety of communications in the approaches between Iceland and the United States." This meant that American warships and merchantmen would from now on be sailing in the war zone as defined by the Axis, but not the zone laid down in the American Neutrality Act, for the border of that zone passed just east of Iceland. On August 17 an ex-Danish ship taken over by the U.S. Maritime Commission and flying the Panamanian flag was torpedoed and sunk 300 miles south-west of Iceland; while on September 5 the "Steel Seafarer" was bombed in the Gulf of Suez, the second merchant ship flying the Stars and Stripes to be sunk by Axis attack.

The UNITED STATES and the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC
Principal Events, July–December, 1941

July
7 American forces land in Iceland.

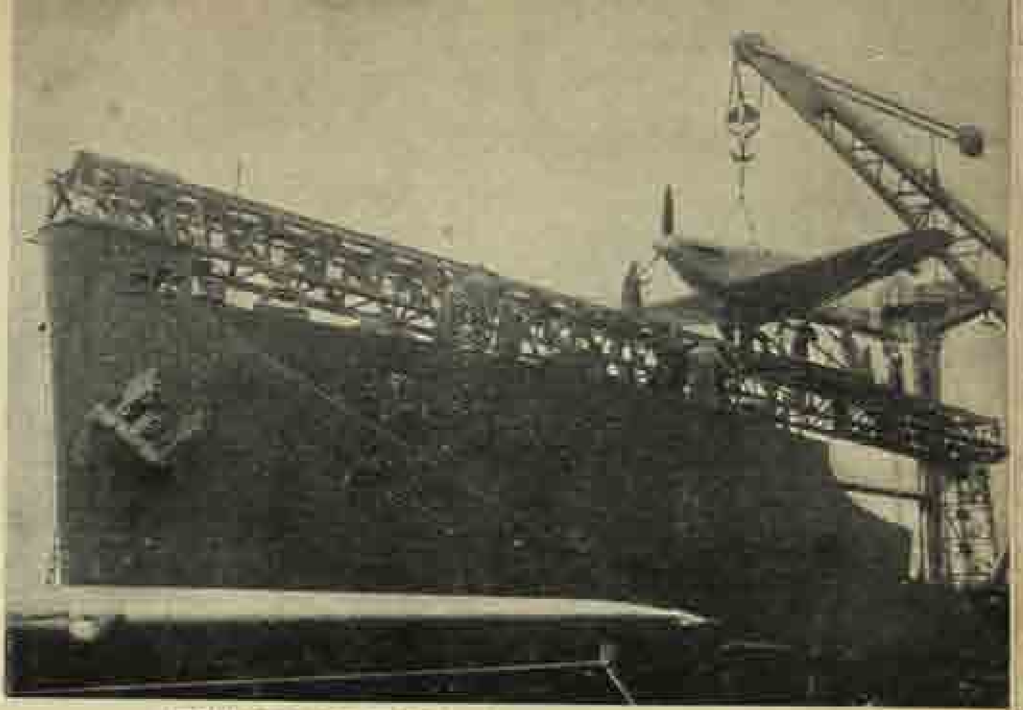
Aug.
17 Flying the Panamanian flag, the American-owned ex-Danish cargo steamer "Sessa" torpedoed and sunk 300 miles south-west of Iceland; 24 missing.

Sept.
4 U.S. destroyer "Greer" attacked by U-boat 200 miles south-west of Iceland; torpedoes missed.
5 U.S. cargo ship "Steel Seafarer" bombed and sunk in Gulf of Suez.
11 President Roosevelt announces "Shoot first" policy. American-owned, ex-Danish cargo vessel "Montana," of Panamanian registry, torpedoed and sunk 580 miles south-west of Iceland.
19 Cargo vessel "Pink Star," American-owned, Panamanian flag, sunk by submarine south-west of Iceland.
27 The tanker "I. C. White" torpedoed, shelled and sunk in south Atlantic off Brazilian coast; she was flying the Panamanian flag but had an all-American crew, of whom three were killed.

Oct.
9 In a message to Congress President Roosevelt calls for revision of Neutrality Act.
16 Flying the Panamanian flag, the American-owned ex-Danish cargo vessel "Bold Venture" sunk 500 miles south-west of Iceland.
17 U.S. destroyer "Kearny" torpedoed 350 miles south-west of Iceland; reached port; 11 killed.
19 The cargo vessel "Lehigh" flying the American flag, torpedoed and sunk in south Atlantic off West African coast.
31 U.S. destroyer "Reuben James" torpedoed and sunk off Iceland; seven officers and 88 men missing.
30 U.S. naval tanker "Salinas" torpedoed south-west of Iceland; reached port.

Nov.
6 U.S. cruiser captures German motorship "Odenwald" sailing under the American flag.
13 Bill revising Neutrality Act to permit arming of U.S. merchant ships and their entry into war zones passed by House of Representatives (212 votes to 194).

Dec.
11 United States at war with Germany and Italy.



FIGHTER PROTECTION FOR MERCHANTMEN

It was announced in the autumn of 1941 that defensively armed merchant ships in convoy were provided with fighter aircraft. This photograph shows a Hurricane being lowered on to the catapult of a cargo vessel. On the approach of enemy bombers the machine is launched; should the pilot be unable to land subsequently on friendly territory within range he must bale out and take to his dinghy. The service is operated by pilots of the Merchant Service Fighter Unit of the R.A.F.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Of greater significance had been an attack by a German submarine on the American destroyer "Greer" off Iceland (September 4). The torpedoes missed, but to the Americans that was not the point. The shooting had begun and now the U.S. Navy was ordered to "shoot first." In a momentous speech on September 11 President Roosevelt declared:

"Let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters the protection of which is necessary for American defence, they do so at their own peril. The orders which I have given as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army and Navy are to carry out that policy—at once."

"Our patrolling vessels and aeroplanes," the President added, "will protect all merchant ships—not only American ships but ships of any flag—engaged in commerce in our defensive waters."

Following further incidents off Iceland and in the South Atlantic, President Roosevelt on October 9 sent a Message to Congress urging the revision of the Neutrality Act to permit the arming of U.S. merchant ships, as a "matter of immediate necessity and extreme urgency." He also called for the repeal of the provision banning U.S. ships from trading in belligerent zones, so that American goods could be delivered under the American flag and the true intent of the Lend-Lease Act carried out. The necessary Bill was introduced at once, and in the middle of November it was passed by the House of Representatives. Before another month had passed America was at war with the Axis Powers.

Arming of U.S. Merchantmen

Whether American naval vessels had succeeded in sinking any of the U-boats engaged in the attacks south-west of Iceland was not known, for it was announced that the U.S. Navy Department would follow the British Admiralty's policy of silence about the success of the anti-submarine campaign. The Admiralty on occasions

Naval Auxiliaries Lost
July–December, 1941

Date reported	Name	Tons gross	Formerly owned by
July 18	Lady Somers	8,194	Canadian National Steamships
August 4	Swiftpool	1,713	Isle of Man Steam Packet Co.
September 11	Tonbridge	882	Southern Railway
October 3	Corfield	1,791	Cory Colliers
October 22	Springbank	5,155	Andrew Weir & Co.
December 28	Chakdina	3,033	British India Steam Navigation Co.



MISS VICTORIA A. DRUMMOND, M.B.E.

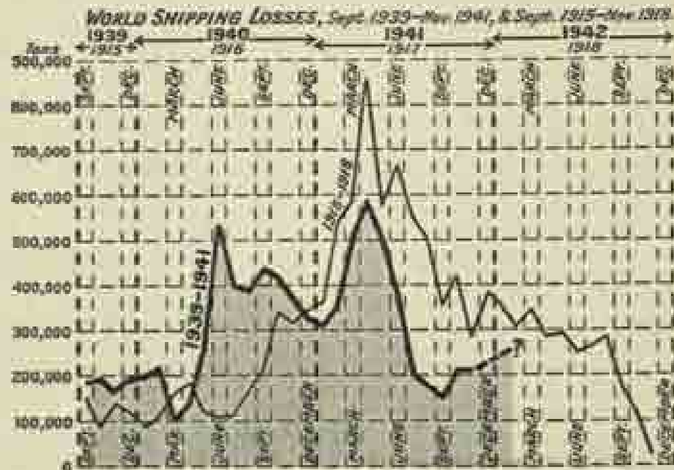
A qualified ship's engineer—the only woman to hold such a post in the British Merchant Navy—Miss Drummond brought her ship through a heavy bombing attack and, in the words of her captain, inspired every man down below to give of his best. She was awarded the M.B.E. in July 1941.
Photo, "Daily Mirror"

departed from that policy. Several encounters between merchant ships and submarines were announced which demonstrated the cool resourcefulness of the Merchant Navy gunners as well as the effectiveness of their defensive armament. In one instance a U-boat, attacking a convoy at night, received a direct hit in the conning tower with the first shot when the main gun had been brought to bear, machine-gun tracer bullets being used to give the direction. The submarine came back for more—and got it! She sank after two more shots had found their mark. From the beginning of the war up to October 7, 1941, seventy successful gun engagements had taken place between merchant vessels and U-boats, the latter either being sunk or driven off. At the same date 81 enemy aircraft had been shot down by the defensive armament of merchant ships and fishing craft.

Merchantmen Fought Off Submarines

By prompt action and good shooting the master of one ship himself brought down an enemy plane on its first attack; he was awarded the O.B.E. On another occasion a small merchant ship, the "Nephrite," was in a convoy which was attacked by about 10 German aircraft. One plane was driven off by the ship's machine-guns, when a second came at the vessel in a low-level attack. Just as the aircraft was rising to clear the mast it was hit on the engines. Oil spattered down on the deck; the plane struck the mast and crashed into the sea.

Not only was the defensive armament of merchant ships continually improved and gunnery training extended, but new methods were introduced. In October it was announced that to combat the menace of the long-range aircraft now being used to an increasing extent against Atlantic shipping, certain ships had been provided with fighter aircraft which could be catapulted into the air. After dealing with the enemy the pilot had to land at a shore base if there was one within reach, or in the sea close to the ship so as to be picked up. "This new method of trade defence," it was added, "has already proved successful both in averting attacks and in destroying German long-range aircraft." Not only raiding aircraft but also spotting planes (which reported convoy movements to the U-boats) could be dealt with in this way. On one day some time later two Focke-Wulf aircraft were shot down and a third badly damaged by catapulted British fighters—and "we suffered no casualties in these actions."



SHIPPING LOSSES COMPARED WITH THOSE OF 1914–18

The heavy line in graph indicates losses of merchant ships from September 1939 until November 1941—when the issue of official news of sinkings was discontinued. Note the remarkable similarity to the losses during the war of 1914–18 over a like period (lighter line).

During these months stories of the courage and fortitude of merchant seamen against incredible odds were legion. These men faced not merely the weapons of a ruthless enemy but the horrors of starvation and madness as they drifted for days on rafts and in lifeboats, through the paralysing cold of the N. Atlantic or exposed to the grim menace of sharks in southern waters. Among the ordeals of some parties were 500 miles in the North Atlantic in an open boat; 13 days on a partly submerged float in the blistering tropical sun with

The Allied Mercantile Marine
(And losses sustained since each country entered the war up to July 1941)
Numbers and Tons Gross

	Norway	Netherlands	Greece	Fighting France	Belgium	Poland	Totals (Nos. & Tons)
Total at date of entry into war (numbers and tons)	840 4,810,000	557 2,800,000	305 1,250,000	186 570,000	88 370,000	36 130,000	1,955 8,790,000
Losses to end of June 1941	121 560,000	77 570,000	65 250,000	84 170,000	34 170,000	4 30,000	385 1,500,000
Ships in service, July 1941	Nos. 713 Tons 3,250,000	490 2,250,000	240 1,000,000	92 400,000	54 200,000	32 100,000	1,617 7,300,000

Merchant Shipping Losses by Enemy Action

	British Tons gross	Allied Tons gross	Neutral Tons gross	Totals Tons gross
Sept. 3, 1939–Dec. 31, 1940	2,921,440	737,106	916,682	4,575,228
Jan. 1, 1941–June 30, 1941*	1,763,692	710,941	98,161	2,592,794
	4,685,132	1,448,047	1,014,843	7,118,022
Additional to June 30, 1941 (approx.)				70,000
July 1–Dec. 31, 1941 (approx.)				1,300,000
			(approx.)	8,500,000

*Official total as published in July; approximately 70,000 tons to be added for sinkings reported subsequently.

'SURVIVORS PICKED UP'

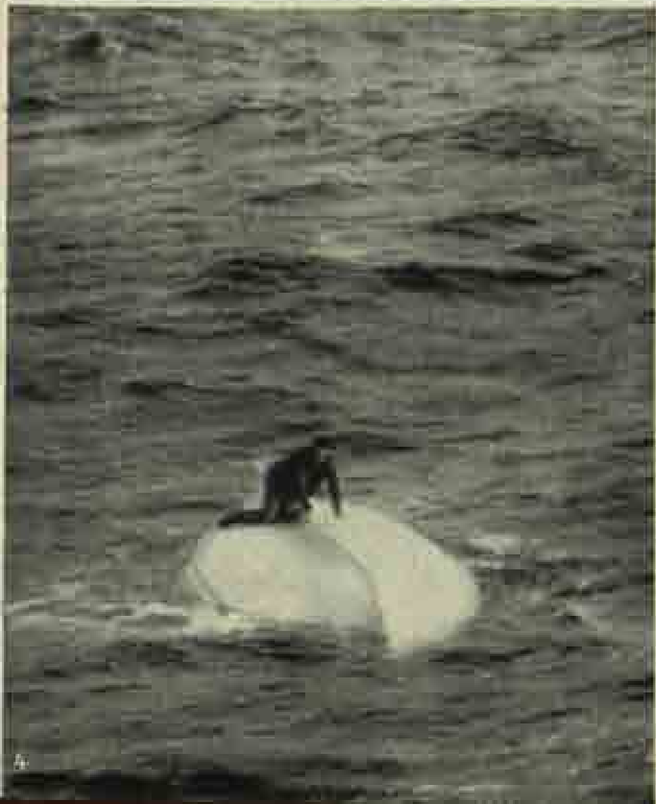
Behind the brief announcement of rescue lies often a story of fearful hardship, heroic endurance and fine courage. Documentary photographs from the Battle of the Seven Seas: (1) After 10 days in gale-swept waters an officer and two seamen (one badly scalded) are rescued by a British cruiser; only that morning their lifeboat had capsized. (2) Survivors from another torpedoed merchantman about to be picked up. (3) Seaman of a bombed ship swims to a lifebuoy thrown from a destroyer. (4) This man and another were the only survivors from a U-boat attack. (5) After 11 days this raft was sighted by a British warship; on it was one pitiful survivor, with the bodies of two officers which he had not strength to push overboard.

Photos, Associated Press; Central Press; Keystone

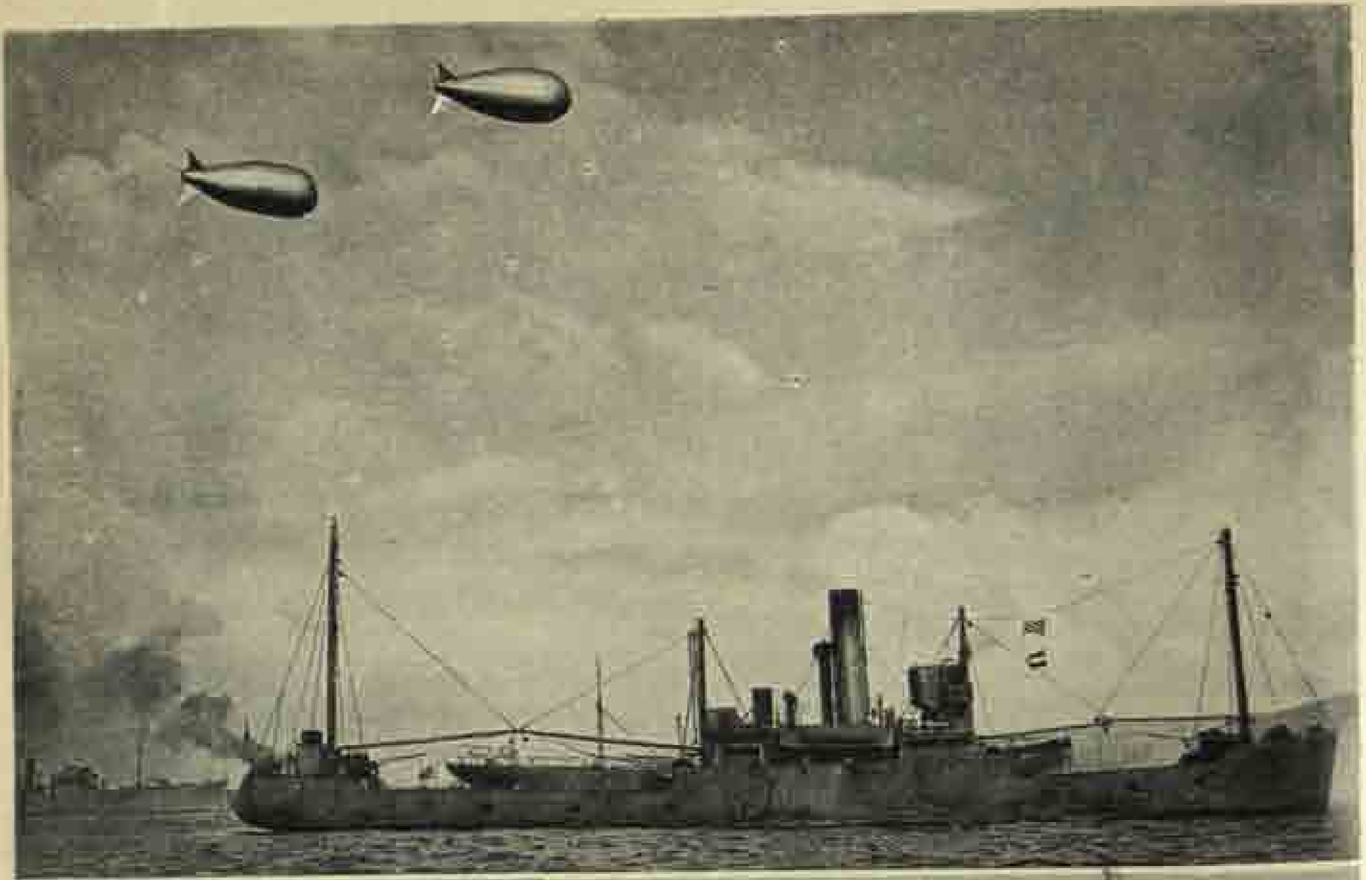


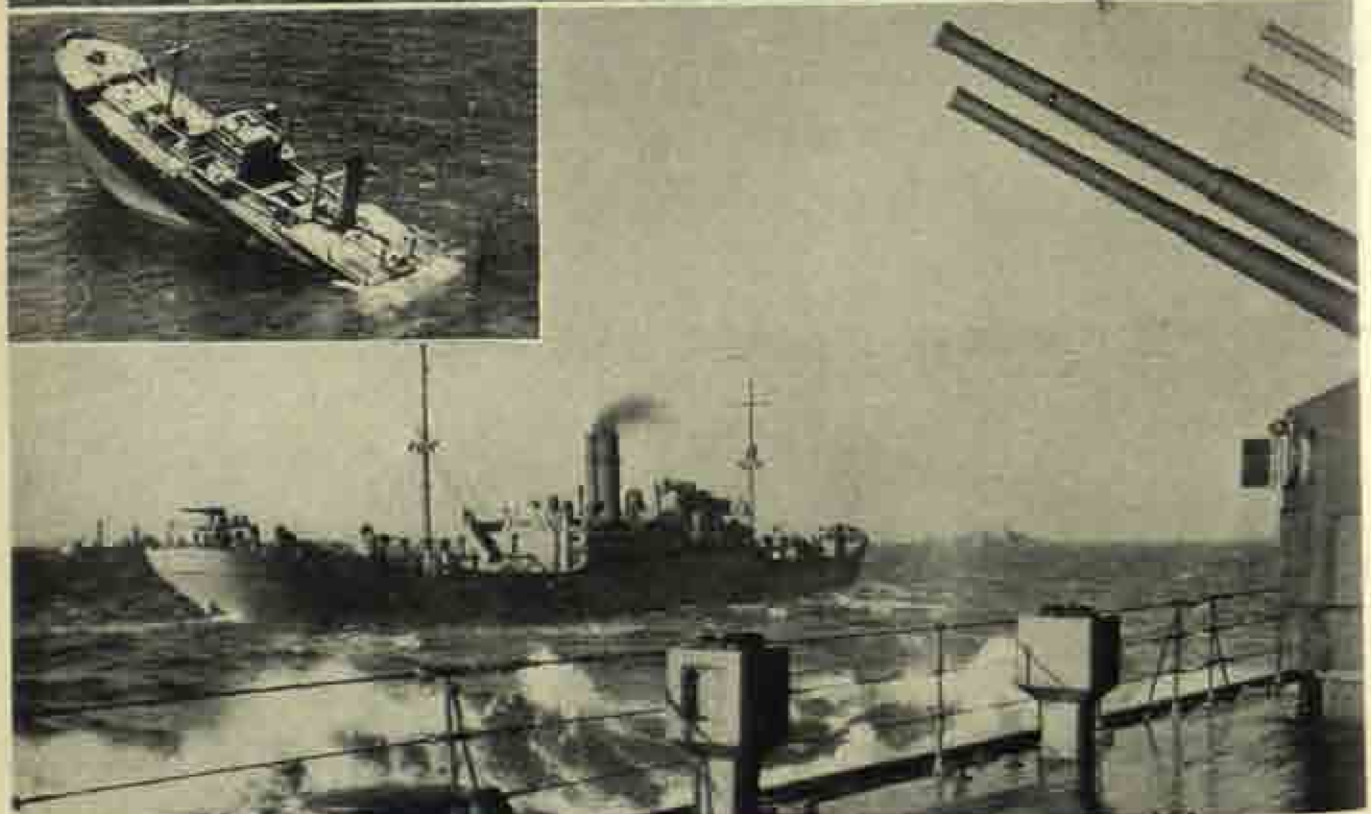












'PRINCE OF WALES,' WITH PREMIER ON BOARD, PASSES AN ATLANTIC CONVOY

Returning from his meeting (August 14, 1941) with Mr. Roosevelt in the North Atlantic, Mr. Churchill orders the battleship to alter course so that he will get a close view of an Atlantic convoy which passes. Note defensive gun at stern of the nearest merchantman. Inset, an Italian supply ship sunk by the R.A.F. of Mediterranean Command. Top, defence of merchantmen against enemy dive-bombers; balloons are here being transferred from a balloon launch to merchant ships.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

an escort of sharks and only one biscuit for food; nine stormy days in a lifeboat—11 men were buried at sea, then a lonely rocky coast was sighted, and out of the 12 men who reached that shore only six survived.

A notable Merchant Navy award was made in July 1941—the M.B.E. to Second Engineer Miss Victoria Drummond. Her ship was attacked and damaged by German aircraft. She sent the engine-room staff above and stayed alone to coax an extra knot or two out of the engines. That ship owed her escape to the skill of her master and the bravery of her Second Engineer.

News of German surface raiders in the second half of 1941 was less one-sided than in the former months. In September a British submarine sank an Italian ship of the "Ramb" class in the



TEACHING MERCHANT SEAMEN TO BEAT OFF RAIDERS

At their guns our seamen warded off the attacks of enemy aircraft and U-boats, and soon began to pile up a handsome score of hits. This photograph shows Chinese seamen being taught how to use A.A. machine-guns; it was taken at a gunnery school in a British port. The man looking through the sights is a boatswain who had already been once torpedoed.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



LIFE JACKET FOR STOKERS

The 'Cavill' life jacket—named after its inventor, Capt. Cavill, O.B.E., R.N.R.—does not hamper movement and was designed especially for wear by engine-room and catering ratings. It is filled with kapok and can be quickly donned.

Photo, Fox

Mediterranean; one of these vessels, small but fast, had been acting as a commerce raider when she was sunk by the New Zealand cruiser "Leander" six months earlier (see illus., page 1765). On November 22 H.M.S. "Devonshire" sank a German merchant raider in the South Atlantic. A few days earlier, near Australia, H.M.A.S. "Sydney" came upon the heavily armed merchant raider "Kormoran" (ex "Steiermark"). The German ship was sunk, but the "Sydney" was also lost—with all hands. The "Kormoran" had been roaming the Atlantic and Indian Oceans for a year and had sunk nine merchant ships. She was armed with at least six 5.9-in. guns, carried two aircraft, and had torpedo tubes under water and on deck.

By the end of 1941 enemy action had accounted for about 8,500,000 tons gross of British, Allied and neutral shipping since the beginning of the war, while Axis losses were about 5,000,000 tons gross, though the world's trade routes had been denied the enemy. It was an urgent task to keep shipping losses below the rate of new construction and to build up shipping as the springboard for offensive action. The huge American shipbuilding programme, stepped up to war proportions early in 1941, was beginning to bear fruit, while men-of-war and merchant ships continued to flow from British yards at an increasing rate. "Liberty Fleet Day" was celebrated in the United States on September 27 by the launching of 14 merchant ships, the largest mass launching since 1914–18. But with America at war, new oceans involved, new demands being made on the Navies of Britain and America and new fields opening up for U-boats, our losses were once again to reach serious proportions with the turn of the year. This phase, so sharply differentiated in character, is dealt with in a later chapter.

WARSHIP LOSSES (NAMED SHIPS ONLY)
to December 31, 1941

	British Empire (R.N., etc.)	U.S.A.	Germany *	Italy *	Japan
Battleships	3	2	2	1	2
Battle Cruisers	2	—	—	—	—
Cruisers	12	—	[illegible]	10	—
Auxiliary Cruisers (etc.)	27	—	[illegible]	1	—
Aircraft Carriers (also auxiliary)	5	—	—	—	—
Destroyers	56	3	12	26	—
Submarines	32	—	14	14	—
Submarine Depots	—	—	—	—	—
Anti-Aircraft Ships	1	—	—	—	—
Monitors	1	—	—	—	—
Sloops and Escort Ships	7	—	—	—	—
Corvettes	6	—	—	—	—
Patrol Ships	4	—	3	—	—
Minelayers	2	1	—	1	—
Minesweepers	14	1	2	1	—
Trawlers, Drifters	141	—	—	—	—
Whalers, Tugs, Yachts, River Gunboats, Small Craft, Mooring Vessels, Armed Boarding Steamers, etc.	24	1	—	1	—
Torpedo Boats	—	—	4	1	—
Tankers	—	—	—	1	—
Transports	—	1	—	1	—
Supply Ships	—	—	—	1	—
Other vessels	—	1	1	1	—
TOTALS—Major	135	5	42	52	2
TOTALS—Minor	250	3	7	11	1

* Numerous other vessels have been sunk, particularly German and Italian submarines and German E-boats, whose names have not been announced. The same applies in a lesser degree to Japanese losses for the period December 7–31, 1941.











BATTLE-SCARRED BUT DAUNTLESS, LONDON CARRIES ON

Photographs of the Metropolis as the second year of war came to a close: (1) Bombed North London church serves as emergency water tank for fire fighting. (2) Base of Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square (publicity for new national loaf). (3) A temporary shortage of sweets and tobacco was later rectified. (4) A.R.P. for the Eros statue in Piccadilly Circus (see also illus. No. 1, p. 831). (5) Tomato queue: increased production and better distribution made this succulent fruit much more plentiful later. (6) Famous London statues removed to Berkhamsted, Herts, for their own safety, the Burghers of Calais from Westminster; George III from Cockspur Street; William III and Viscount Wolseley.

Photos, Fox; Topical Press; F. R. Winstone; Associated Press



HOME FRONT, JULY-DECEMBER, 1941: GIGANTIC EFFORT FOR GREATER ARMS PRODUCTION

All Aid for Russia—Churchill-Roosevelt Meeting and the Atlantic Charter—Urge for More Production—Cabinet Changes in July 1941—Auchinleck and Wavell Exchange Posts—Three-Power Supply Conference in Moscow—New Fire Prevention Order—Concentration of Industries—Home Guard Reorganization—Japan Enters the War—Mr. Churchill Again Visits America

High summer of 1941 found the British people comrades in war with the Russians who, separated by much more than distance, by past traditions and present ideologies, were now brought very near by Hitler's invasion. The involvement of the Soviet Union deprived opposition to the war, chiefly coming as it did from the Communist Party of Great Britain, of such point and power as it had ever possessed; and in factories and workshops British workers strove their utmost to give the most tangible expression to their feeling of solidarity with their Russian comrades. It had only to be understood that the output was destined to help in the defence of Leningrad, Kiev, or Odessa, for the production-curve to go rocketing skywards. In September there was a "Tanks for Russia" week which resulted in a 20 per cent increase on the previous "best."

So far as the British were concerned, those summer months were months of preparation, although already there were some who urged that, if not a second front, at least a series of diversions should be embarked upon so as to relieve the terrible pressure on the Russians. Mr. Churchill had no difficulty in meeting the critics and indeed, following his bold declaration (on June 22) of all aid for Russia, the Premier was enjoying a further lease of his always great popularity. That popularity was still further enhanced by his venturesome journeys across the Atlantic.

First news of Mr. Churchill's meeting with President Roosevelt was given by Mr. Attlee in a special broadcast from Downing Street at 3 p.m. on August 14. "I have come to tell you about an important meeting between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister," he said, "which has taken place, and of a Declaration of Principles which has been agreed between them." Then the Deputy Prime Minister proceeded to read the statement which the two statesmen had agreed to issue, in which it was briefly recorded that the President and Prime Minister, accompanied by officials and high-ranking officers, had met at sea and had examined the whole problem of the supply of munitions of war. Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Supply, had joined in these conferences prior to proceeding to Washington to discuss further details with the officials of the United States Government. Then followed the joint declaration which will live in history as the Atlantic Charter (see Historic Documents, page 1920).

The Prime Minister had made the journey on board the new British battleship "Prince of Wales," and among those who accompanied him were Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff; General Sir John Dill, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Air Chief Marshal Sir Wilfrid Freeman, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; and Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The President, who it was given out had taken a fishing cruise off the coast of Maine in his yacht "Potomac," had embarked on the United States cruiser "Augusta" to meet Mr. Churchill on board the "Prince of Wales"; those accompanying him included Admiral Harold Stark, Chief of Naval Operations; Admiral King, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet; General George Marshall, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army; Mr. Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State; Mr. Harry Hopkins, Mr. Averell Harriman, and the Premier's two sons, Ensign Franklin Roosevelt and Captain Elliot Roosevelt.

During the conversations the President and Prime Minister sent a message to M. Stalin stating that they had considered the report of Mr. Harry Hopkins on his return from his recent visit to Moscow, and were consulting together "as to how best our two countries can help your country in the



DURING THE 'TANKS FOR RUSSIA' WEEK

The week beginning September 22, 1941 was set aside as one in which Britain's entire output of tanks should be earmarked for the Red Army, then struggling for life against the mighty Nazi hosts. Here women workers applying finishing touches to Matilda tanks are painting a greeting to our Russian Allies.

Photo, Keystone



RATIONING OF CLOTHING

When immediate clothes rationing was introduced on June 2 the 26 'margarine' coupons in the ration book were made valid for clothing—this being a temporary device to prevent forestalling. Later, on August 18, proper clothing cards (above) were issued at Post Offices. (See also illus., p. 1719.)

Photo, L.N.A.

splendid defence that you are making against Nazi attack." Both Britain and America were striving to provide the very maximum supplies most urgently needed, and already many shiploads had left for Russia. Then, with a view to the consideration of a more long-term policy, a meeting at Moscow was suggested.

"We realize fully how vitally important to the defeat of Hitlerism is the brave and steadfast resistance of the Soviet Union, and we feel therefore that we must not in any circumstances fail to act quickly and immediately in this matter of planning the programme for the future allocation of our joint resources."

On his return journey Mr. Churchill called at Iceland, where he reviewed British and American troops, and arrived back in London on August 18. On the 24th he broadcast an account of his "momentous talks with our great friend, the President of the United States."

"Exactly where we met is a secret, but I don't think I shall be indiscreet if I go so far as to say that it was 'somewhere in the Atlantic.' . . . 'The next three days,'" went on Mr. Churchill, "were spent in company, in comradeship with Mr. Roosevelt, while the two staffs were in continual council. The meeting was symbolic of the deep underlying unities which stir, and at decisive moments rule, the English-speaking peoples throughout the world; nay more, something even more majestic, the marshalling of the good forces of the world against the evil forces now so formidable and triumphant over Europe and a large part of Asia. We had the idea when we met there—the President and I—that, without attempting to draw final and formal peace aims and war aims, it was necessary to give all peoples, and especially the oppressed and conquered peoples, a simple, rough-and-ready, wartime statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way; and thus make a way for others to march with them upon a road which will certainly be painful and may be long."

Then Mr. Churchill pointed out the differences shown in the joint declaration from the attitude adopted by the Allies during the latter part of the last war: the United States and Great Britain do not now assume that there will never be any more war; and, instead of trying to ruin German trade by all kinds of additional trade barriers and hindrances, they had definitely adopted the view that "it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise." Next came a message of hope to the oppressed peoples of Europe: "Help is coming; mighty forces are arming in your behalf. Have faith, have hope; deliverance is sure."

Four months later Mr. Churchill crossed the Atlantic again, this time on board the battleship "Duke of York." His arrival in Washington was officially announced on December 23; accompanying him were stated to be Lord Beaverbrook, Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, Mr. J. G. Winant (U.S. Ambassador in London), Mr. Averell Harriman (Mr. Roosevelt's lease-lend representative), Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, Field-Marshal Sir John Dill, and a considerable technical staff. As before, he was about to engage in consultations with the President on all questions relevant to the joint war effort of the two countries. Mr. Churchill's address to the American Congress on December 26 was a milestone in the history of Anglo-American co-operation. (For text see page 1968.) From Washington Mr. Churchill went on to Canada; he arrived in Ottawa on December 29 and on December 30 addressed the Canadian Parliament. Again his enthusiasm, his confidence, his hope, secured for him a great personal triumph. On January 1, 1942 he returned to Washington, and arrived back in England on January 17.

Premier's Christmas in Washington

Popular as was the Prime Minister, he was not immune from criticism in these summer months of 1941; still less so was his Government. He was charged with carrying too much responsibility, and surrounding himself with Ministers and advisers who, with the notable exception of Lord Beaverbrook, were "yes men." In particular it was urged that the Prime Minister would do well to relieve himself of the portfolio of the



NEW MINISTERS IN THE JULY CABINET

Among Cabinet changes of July 19, 1941 was the transfer of Mr. R. A. Butler (right) from his post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Presidency of the Board of Education, vacated by Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham. Mr. Brendan Bracken (left), appointed Minister of Information, was a practical journalist long associated with leading financial newspapers.

Photos, Topical Press



THREE-POWER CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 29-OCTOBER 1, 1941

Here, in the presence of representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America, M. Molotov is signing documents connected with the epoch-making conference of the three nations for the concerting of war measures against Hitlerism.

Photo, British Official ; Crown Copyright

Minister of Defence. But Mr. Churchill insisted that it would be quite impossible for him to remain at the helm of state with lessened powers or decreased responsibilities.

From every quarter came expressions of deep concern for the progress of the nation's war effort. In the House of Commons M.P.s of all parties were loud in their complaints of Civil Service dilatoriness, of industrial mismanagement, of frustration. Occasionally the criticism welled up into a ding-dong battle. Thus in July there was a long debate on War production, of which the motif was the demand that a "real Ministry of Production" should be set up; and there were allegations of inefficiency and waste. Widespread publicity was given to a declaration by Sir John Wardlaw-Milne that the country was working at only 75 per cent of full efficiency, and Col. Moore-Brabazon, Minister of Aircraft Production, was unable to do much to convince the critics that things were nothing like so bad as they seemed. The Prime Minister on July 14 expressed his concern over some of the statements and allegations. Such statements, he said, were reported widely and gave an impression to the world that we were managing things badly. Still the critics were unrepentant and unsubdued, and on July 25 a motion for the appointment of a Minister of Production to coordinate all aspects of production connected with the war effort was tabled by a group of M.P.s. Again there was a lengthy debate, and again the Prime Minister was called upon to reply. On the whole his review of the country's effort was encouraging; production in all its forms had gone steadily and swiftly ahead, he asserted, not only in volume but even in momentum. As for the demand for a Minister of Production he rejected it out of hand.

"Where is the Minister who is going to teach the present Minister of Aircraft Production how to make aircraft quicker and better than they are being made now?" he asked. "Where is the Minister who is going to interfere with Lord Beaverbrook's control and discharge of the functions of the Minister of Supply? When you have decided on the man let me know his name."

If members were not satisfied, then he hoped they would not hesitate to go

INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE

Representatives of Britain and the Dominions, of Russia, of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Free France, Greece and Yugoslavia gathered at St. James's Palace on September 24, 1941 to endorse the Atlantic Charter and formulate plans for reprovisioning Europe after the end of the war. The table plan at left gives the names of the delegates.

Photo, P.N.A.



TABLE PLAN

Mr. W. J. Jordan	Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce
Mr. S. Waterson	Mr. Frederic Hudd
Mr. S. Lal	Mr. R. Law
Yugoslavia	Rt. Hon. Lord Moyne
M. Suvaj	Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery
M. Ninčić	Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranborne
U.S.S.R.	Rt. Hon. A. Greenwood
M. Bogomolov	Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden (presiding)
M. Maisky	**Belgium**
Poland	M. Spaak
Count Raczynski	M. Gutt
M. Strasburger	**Czechoslovakia**
Norway	M. Masaryk
M. Lie	M. Osusky
Major Sunde	**Free France**
Netherlands	M. Cassin
Dr. Van Kleffens	M. Dejean
Dr. Steenberghe	**Greece**
M. Welter	M. Tsouderos
Luxemburg	M. Varvaressos
M. Bech	

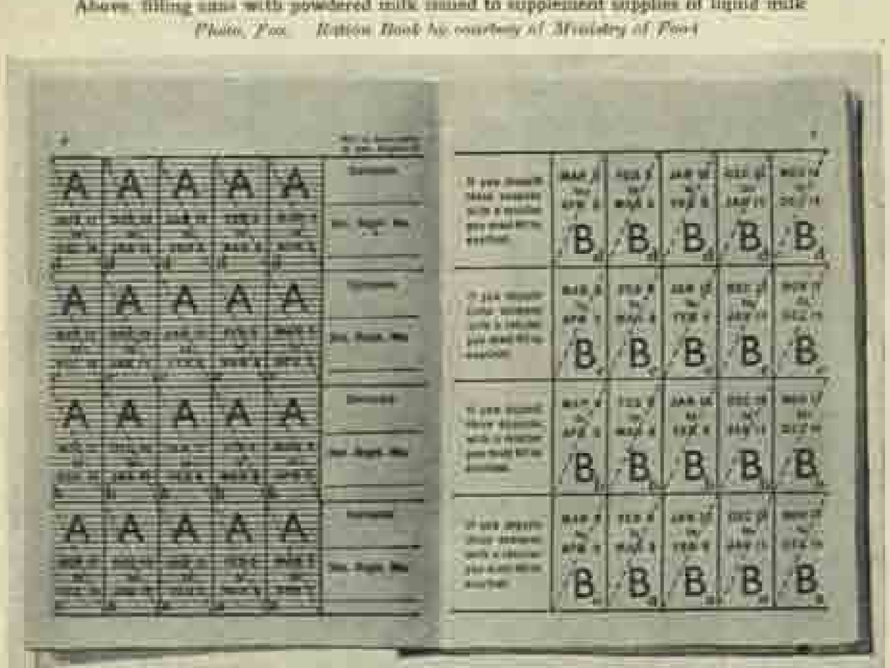
↑ Camera



GIGANTIC SCHEME OF FOOD DISTRIBUTION

In readiness for simultaneous sale throughout the United Kingdom on November 17, 1941, approximately 30,000 tons of canned meats, fish and beans were distributed to shops. Most of these commodities came from the U.S.A. A points system of values for this food was introduced; A and B coupons were worth one point each, while C coupons counted as two each (book below). Above, filling cans with powdered milk issued to supplement supplies of liquid milk

Photo, Fox. Ration Book by courtesy of Ministry of Food



to a division. For the rest he repudiated any charge of inefficiency and slackness in the factories.

"Seventy-five per cent of what?" he asked in reference to Sir J. Wardlaw Milne's allegation. "I have tried to find a datum line, and took the three months after Dunkirk. Then our people worked to the utmost limit of their strength. . . . There was a great spurt in June, July and August of last year. This produced an altogether abnormal inflation of production. If we take those three months as the datum line, is it true that we are only working to seventy-five per cent of that? . . . There were several reasons why we could not maintain indefinitely the intense efforts of the past year; workers must have reasonable minimum holidays—at least one week's holiday in the year. Sunday work had been practically eliminated—and necessarily so; allowances had to be made for the very severe change in the diet of the heavy manual worker."

Then a great many of the people in war industry were trainees and newcomers. There had been widespread dislocation as a result of air raids; key war industries had to be dispersed throughout the country.

"In spite of all the troubles I have enumerated, the Ministry of Supply output in the last three months has been greater than in the three months of the Dunkirk period. The Ministry has one-third more people working in its factories. Thus, despite dilution, dispersion, reduced food and black-out and all the troubles I have described, each man is turning out, on the whole, each day, as much as he did in that time of almost superhuman effort. . . . We are now in the 23rd month of this war. We have lost large stocks of equipment on the beaches of Dunkirk, our food has been rationed, our meat reduced, we have been bombed and blacked-out, and yet, even in this seventh quarter of the war, our total output of warlike stores has been nearly twice as great as in the seventh quarter of the last war, and has equalled our production in the 14th and culminating peak point of the last war. To reach in two years the level only achieved in the fourth year of the last war is, I submit, an achievement which deserves something better than flouts and jeers."

Mr. Churchill made a number of changes in the Cabinet. On June 29 it was announced that Lord Beaverbrook (who since May 1, on the vacation of his post as Minister of Aircraft Production, had been Minister of State) had been appointed Minister of Supply in place of Sir Andrew Duncan, who was returning to the Board of Trade in succession to Mr. Oliver Lyttelton. Two days later Mr. Lyttelton was appointed Minister of State in the Middle East; on the same day it was announced that General Sir Archibald Wavell, C.-in-C. Middle East, was exchanging posts with General Sir Claude Auchinleck, C.-in-C. India. Further Cabinet changes were announced on July 19. Mr. R. A. Butler was appointed President of the Board of Education in place of Mr. H. Ramsbotham, elevated to the peerage. Mr. Brendan Bracken became Minister of Information in place of Mr. Duff Cooper, who was given the appointment of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and (it was stated) was about to proceed to the Far East to examine the arrangements for consultation and coordination between the British military, administrative, and political authorities, with a view to suggesting how these arrangements could be made more effective. At the same time Lord Hankey exchanged the Chancellorship of the Duchy for the post of Paymaster-General—now combined with the chairmanship of a number of War Cabinet committees and other special duties.

Changes in the Cabinet

Although America was not yet actu-









PREMIER AND PRESIDENT CONFER IN WASHINGTON

On December 23 Mr. Churchill reached Washington with Service chiefs for a conference with President Roosevelt on the vital issues raised by Japan's attack. In (3) the Premier and Mr. Roosevelt are seen at the Council table; in (4) Sir John Dill, Sir Dudley Pound and Sir Charles Portal study maps at the British Embassy. On December 26 Mr. Churchill addressed Congress; three days later he reached Ottawa, where on the 30th he spoke to the members of the legislature in the House of Commons (1). Later he inspected Naval Cadets (2); Government House in background.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press, Keystone



The Allied Conference was addressed by Mr. Churchill:

"This, then, is the message which we send forth today," he said in his final passage, "to all the States and nations bond or free, to all the men in all the lands who care for freedom's cause, to our allies and well-wishers in Europe, to our American friends and helpers drawing ever closer in their might across the ocean; this is the message—Lift up your hearts. All will come right. Out of the depths of sorrow and sacrifice will be born again the glory of mankind."

Meanwhile, the face of Britain and the life of the British people were changing fast under the impact of war. Hardly a day went by but citizens, men and women alike, were subjected



PREMIER ADDRESSES BERMUDAN ASSEMBLY

After the conclusion of his momentous visit to America Mr. Churchill flew by way of Bermuda to Britain. At Bermuda he explained the situation to the House of Assembly (top). On the last stage, in the Boeing flying boat 'Berwick,' the Premier for a time took over the controls (right). He landed at Plymouth on January 17, 1942.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

ally at war, her aid to the Democracies was mounting. On July 17 Mr. Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's personal representative, arrived again in Britain to discuss the question of improving the flow of material supplies across the Atlantic. Next day Mr. Hopkins stated:

"We are launching the biggest merchant shipbuilding programme ever undertaken by any country. . . . We are going to see that food is in those ships. . . . We have launched our vast programme of aircraft production which is moving ahead rapidly." Finally he said that he was going to discuss with Mr. Herbert Morrison "supplies for civil defence—everything required for fire fighting in heavy bombing attack."

The Three-Power Supply conference suggested by the President and the Premier in their message to M. Stalin was held in Moscow from September 29 to October 1. The British delegation was headed by Lord Beaverbrook, and the American by Mr. Harriman. Six committees thoroughly investigated the special problems of the Army, Navy, aviation, transport, raw materials, and medical matters. At the conclusion of the conference a joint statement was issued by Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Harriman.

Three-Power Conference in Moscow

"The conference, assembled under the chairmanship of M. Molotov, examined all the available resources of the Soviet Government in conjunction with the production capacity of the U.S. and Britain. It has now been decided to place at the disposal of the Soviet Government practically every requirement for which the Soviet military and civil authorities asked. The Soviet Government has supplied Britain and the United States with large quantities of raw material urgently required by those countries. Transportation facilities have been fully examined, and plans have been made to increase the volume of traffic in all directions."

The delegations of the three Powers, it was added, had carried out their task in an atmosphere of perfect mutual understanding, confidence and goodwill.

In London on June 12 there was a meeting of representatives of the British Empire and of the Governments of those countries overrun by the Nazis—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, Holland, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia; representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of the Free French, also attended. Meeting at St. James's Palace, the delegates declared that in their fighting together against aggression they were resolved:

"(1) To continue the struggle against German or Italian oppression until victory is won, and mutually to assist each other in this struggle to the utmost of their respective capacities; (2) that there can be no settled peace and prosperity so long as free peoples are coerced by violence into submission to domination by Germany or her associates, or live under the threat of such coercion; (3) that the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace to this end."

to fresh restrictions or enlisted in further efforts. Private motoring was still permitted, although the supply of petrol was reduced; from August 1 motorists were required to keep logs showing the day and distance and purpose of each journey, it being understood that pleasure motoring was no longer to be indulged in. Later in the month Britain was divided by the Minister of Food into a hundred areas, each of which was equipped so as to be able to carry on in the event of a breakdown of communications through enemy action. Supplies of coal and coke were limited. The concentration of industrial firms was speeded up. The Essential Work Order was applied to the iron and steel industries and to the docks. On August 28 the Government announced an agreement with the four main-line railway companies and the London Passenger Transport Board providing for the annual payment to them of £43,000,000 per annum, the Government assuming the risk of loss.

Early in September there came into force an order for the compulsory enrolment of men for the Fire Guard

Since the passing of the Fire Services Act in June the country's 1,400 fire brigades had been merged into 32 fire forces as a National Fire Service. Week by week the Ministry of Food reported progress in the business of keeping Britain's millions "fighting fit." On December 1 the distribution of tinned meats, fish and beans was rationed by a points system.

In the House of Commons on December 2 Mr. Churchill announced that the time had come to extend the obligation for National Service to include the resources of woman-power and man-power still available. Some of the principal proposals were that men would be liable for compulsory military service up to the age of 51. The block system of reservation was to be changed to one of individual deferment, and the ages of reservation would be raised by one-year steps at monthly intervals beginning on January 1, 1942. The age of entrance to the Army was reduced to 18½ years. Unmarried women between 20 and 30 would be made compulsorily liable to service in the Auxiliary services or Civil Defence. Married women would be invited to join these, and would continue to be directed into industry. Boys and girls between 16 and 18 were to be registered, interviewed and encouraged to join one or other of the organizations in which they could obtain training for national service. The crisis of equipment was largely over, said the Prime Minister, and 1942 would be dominated by the question of man-power—for the factories, the armies at home and overseas, the Navy and the R.A.F. Then we had to keep our engagements to Russia. After considerable debate the new National Service Bill received the Royal Assent on December 18.

Mobilization of Women



NATIONAL FIRE SERVICE FOR BRITAIN

In June 1941 the 1,400 local fire brigades in England and Wales were organized into 32 fire forces, while separate arrangements were made for the London region and for Scotland. This sweeping scheme made possible much-needed uniformity in training, equipment and water supply; it also provided for interchange and reinforcement between areas. Here is a bomb-proof control room: centre, Senior Officer B. H. Forrester (in charge); right, Commander A. N. G. Firebrace, Chief of the Fire Staff, N.F.S. *Photo, Central Press*

On December 15 a White Paper giving details of the Government proposals for the reorganization of the Home Guard was published. These included compulsory enrolment for men between 18 and 55 in areas where an insufficient number of Home Guards was forthcoming under the voluntary system; volunteers to the Home Guards lost their right to resign at 14 days' notice; a Home Guard who, without reasonable excuse, absented himself from parade or duty would be liable to penalties, and the maximum period of training was to be fixed for the time being at 48 hours spread over a four weeks' period.

The last month of 1941 was overshadowed by Japan's attack on British and American outposts in the East. War against Japan was declared on December 8; and on the 6th Britain considered herself at war with Finland, Rumania and Hungary, since these countries had refused to cease hostilities against the U.S.S.R. The I.L.P. members in the House of Commons moved what was in effect a vote of censure on the Government on November 27, but this was defeated by 326 votes to 2.

So the year drew to its close. On Christmas Day the King came to the microphone. "We are coming to the end of another hard-fought year," he said. "During these months our people have been through many trials, and in that true humility which goes hand in hand with valour have learnt once again to look for strength to God alone. So—I bid you all—be strong and of a good courage. Go forward into this coming year with a good heart."



MECHANIZED ARTILLERY IN ANTI-INVASION EXERCISES

In this exercise—one of many carried out at frequent intervals—upwards of 50,000 troops were engaged and all arms were included. It took place in the Southern Command area and Sir Alan Brooke, then C.-in-C. Home Forces, was present. Great strides were made during 1941 in the provision of fully mechanized and self-propelled guns.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Historic Documents. CCXXXVIII—CCXLI

HISTORIC EIGHT-POINT ATLANTIC CHARTER

On August 14, 1941, it was announced that Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt had met at sea and, after conferences lasting three days, had drawn up a declaration of the joint peace aims of Great Britain and the United States. We give below the text of this momentous document, with some later elaborations by Mr. Churchill, and the supporting resolution endorsed by the Inter-Allied Council.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, KNOWN AS THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, ISSUED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AUGUST 14, 1941:

THE President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hope for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect to their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

MR. CHURCHILL, IN A BROADCAST SPEECH, AUGUST 24, 1941:

WE had the idea when we met—the President and I—that, without attempting to draw final and formal peace aims and war aims, it was necessary to give all peoples, and especially the oppressed and conquered peoples, a simple, rough-and-ready, wartime statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way; and thus make a way for others to march with them upon a road which will certainly be painful, and may be long.

There are, however, two distinct and marked differences in this joint declaration from the attitude adopted by the Allies during the latter part of the last war, and no one should overlook them. The United States and Great Britain do not now assume that there will never be any more war again. On the contrary, we intend to take ample precautions to prevent its renewal in any period we can foresee, by effectively disarming the guilty nations while remaining suitably protected ourselves.

The second difference is this: that instead of trying to ruin German trade by all kinds of additional trade barriers and hindrances, as was the mood of 1917, we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise. These are far-reaching changes of principle upon which all countries should ponder.

MR. CHURCHILL, IN A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1941:

I HAVE, as the House knows, hitherto consistently deprecated the formulation of peace aims or war aims, however you put it, by his Majesty's Government at this stage. I deprecate it at this time when the end of the war is not in sight, when the conflict sways to and fro with alternating fortunes and when conditions and associations at the end of the war are unforeseeable. But a joint declaration by Great Britain and the United States is an event of a totally different nature. Although the principles in the declaration, and much of the language, have long been familiar to the British and American democracies, the fact that it is a united declaration sets up a milestone or a monument which needs only the stroke of victory to become a permanent part of the history of human progress.

Questions have been asked and will no doubt be asked as to exactly what is implied by this or that point, and explanations have been invited. It is a wise rule that when two parties have agreed to a statement one of them shall not thereafter without consultation with the other seek to put special strained interpretations upon this or that passage. I propose therefore to speak today only in an exclusive sense.

First, the joint declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case which will have to be dealt with when the war comes to an end . . .

Secondly, the joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of obligations arising from our long connexion with India and our responsibilities to its many free races and interests. Burma is also covered by our considered policy of establishing Burmese self-government and by the measures already in progress.

At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind primarily restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles which would govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of the countries which would have to be made. So that is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE INTER-ALLIED COUNCIL AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE, SEPTEMBER 24, 1941:

THE Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia, and representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen, having taken note of the Declaration recently drawn up by the President of the United States and by the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, now make known their adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in that Declaration and their intention to cooperate to the best of their ability in giving effect to them.









FOUNDATIONS FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE WORLD

On board our battleship 'Prince of Wales' and the U.S. battleship 'Augusta' were held those historic meetings between Premier and President in which the Atlantic Charter was drawn up (text in p. 1920). Here are photographs taken mostly on the British battleship. (1) Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill (front) at Divine Service on August 10, 1941: 1, Capt. Elliot Roosevelt; 2, Ensign Franklin Roosevelt; 3, General Arnold, U.S.; 4, Mr. Sumner Welles; 5, Mr. Harry Hopkins; 6, Lord Cherwell; 7, Mr. Averell Harriman; 8, Maj.-Gen. E. M. Watson, U.S.; 9, Air Chief Marshal Sir W. Freeman; 10, Admiral King, U.S.; 11, General George Marshall, U.S.; 12, General Sir John Dill; 13, Admiral Stark, U.S. On his return journey Mr. Churchill landed at Reykjavik and inspected British and American troops and Norwegian sailors; in (2) he is saluting the Stars and Stripes and the flag of the U.S. Marines. (3) The Premier and Mr. Roosevelt with (standing) Admiral King (left) and Admiral Stark. (4) Service on the 'Prince of Wales' on August 10; in right background is the battleship 'Augusta,' while U.S. seaplanes patrol overhead.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

BRITISH BOMBING POLICY AFTER HITLER'S ATTACK ON RUSSIA

Growing Weight of Britain's Attack—Our New Heavy Bombers—Enemy Air Attack Falls Off—Doubts About the Official Air Policy—Results of Strategical Bombing—Close Support in Libya—Daring Low-level Attacks on German Objectives—Targets in Northern Italy—'Scharnhorst' and 'Gneisenau' at Brest: 3,299 Air Attacks—Fighter Sweeps—Coastal Command Successes

A REMARKABLE reversal of bombing attack and defence is the most noteworthy feature of the air war during the second half of 1941. Up to little more than a month before the Germans launched their attack upon Russia in June, the bombers of the Luftwaffe had been repeatedly over England in force. They had been almost continuously on the offensive. Though the bombers of the Royal Air Force had been hitting back to the limit of their powers, these powers were not sufficient to enable anything approaching an equal weight of bombs to be discharged against targets in Germany. But the change came in mid-1941. The actual process was spread over several weeks, but by July it was complete.

On July 2 Bomber Command of the R.A.F., under Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse as Commander-in-Chief, attacked targets in Bremen, Cologne and Duisburg and started numerous fires. On the following night Bremen, Bremerhaven and Essen were attacked for the cost of seven bombers. Thereafter, at frequent intervals, aircraft of Bomber Command struck at Germany in gathering force, while Germany, heavily engaged now in Russia, found herself unable to mount any really large counter-attacks.

At the same time, in daylight, the fighter sweeps which had been started in the early part of the year were increased in number and strength. Frequently a small force of medium bombers went over occupied France escorted by big formations of fighters. The object of these attacks was two-fold—to bomb some selected target and, further, to lure enemy fighters into the air so that our fighters might take a toll of them. On the day of the first bomber raid mentioned there was a daylight operation which entailed the bombing of Lille railway junction and of the aerodrome at Merville. Such operations characterized the whole of the second half of 1941. They were supplemented by night-fighter operations which grew in scope and intensity. These came to be known as "intruder" operations and were conducted by both twin-engined and single-engined machines, the Hawker Hurricane and the Douglas Havoc being extensively employed. The pilots of Fighter Command went over to enemy-occupied territory at night and waited for opportunities to strike at enemy bombers returning from or setting out on raids, or for any other suitable targets.



Sqd. Ldr. ROLAND TUCK

Won the D.F.C. three times. By Feb. 16, 1941, when he was awarded a second bar, he had brought down 27 enemy aircraft. Reported missing Jan. 28, 1942; later announced by the Germans to be a prisoner-of-war



Flt. Lt. ERIC STANLEY LOCK

Shot down more than 30 enemy machines. Badly wounded, he landed his machine safely. In March 1941 he received the D.S.O. and the D.F.C. with bar. Reported missing Aug. 27, 1941; presumed killed July 1, 1942

Photos, Topical Press; P.N.A.



Wing Comdr. DOUGLAS BADER

Twice won both D.S.O. and D.F.C. In August 1941, when he had bagged a total of 22½ enemy machines, he fell into German hands after his aircraft collided with a Messerschmitt. Bader had lost both his legs in an air accident in 1931



Group Capt. H. BROADHURST

Won the D.S.O. twice, and also gained the D.F.C. and A.F.C. Over Béthune, in June 1941, his machine was much damaged by cannon fire and he was wounded. A few days later, in another combat, he shot down two Me. 109s out of six.

Portraits by Eric Kennington and Capt. Cuthbert Orde. Crown Copyright reserved

It will be most convenient to deal first with the operations conducted by Bomber Command, because these showed a great number of points of special interest. Afterwards the work of Fighter and Coastal Commands can be examined. It had long been the expressed or implied policy of the British Government to build up a strong bomber force, based on the United Kingdom, and to employ it in striking at targets in Germany itself. The policy had the approval of most people in the country, but there had always been some uncertainty about its effects. And the essence of this uncertainty concerned the air support that would remain available for the land and sea forces. It was thought that if the main industrial effort were to be devoted to building large bombers

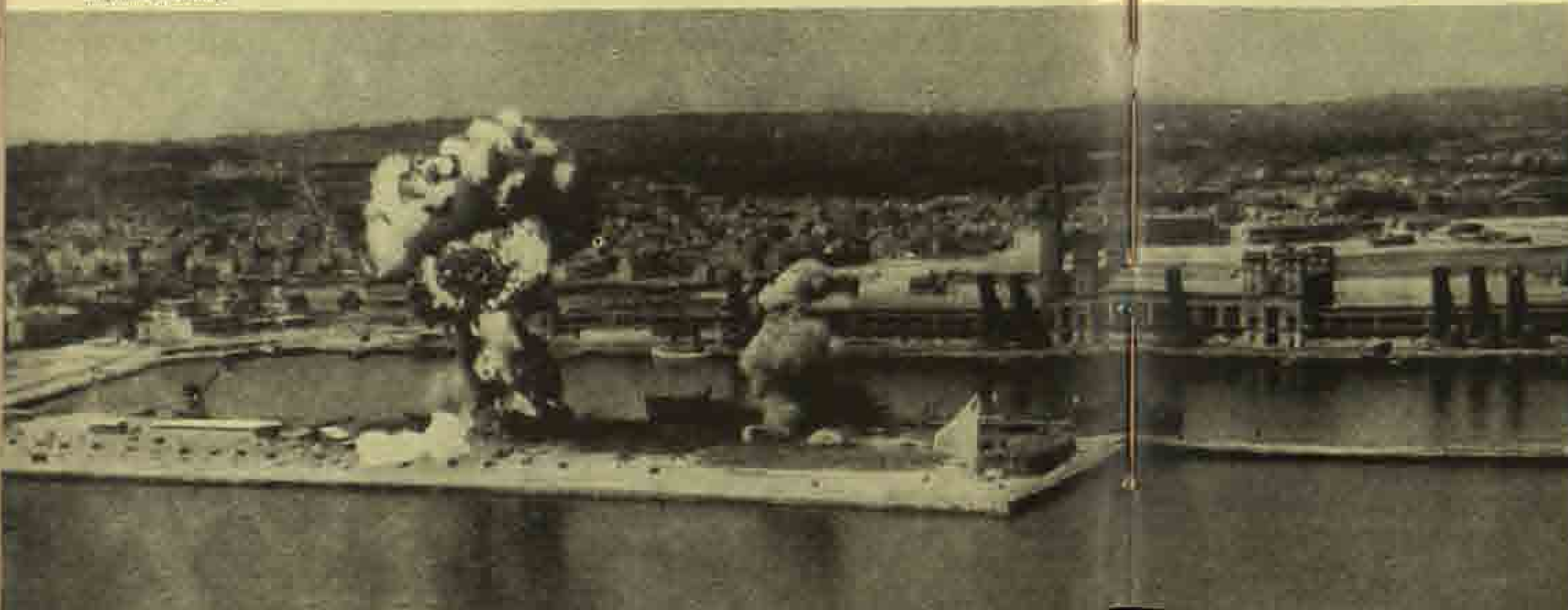


LONG-NEEDED WARMTH AND REALISM IN ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Drawn together by a common peril, the Governments and peoples of Britain and the U.S.S.R. rapidly moved towards a better comprehension of each other's problems. M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, was an indefatigable worker in this sense; he is seen here clinking glasses with Mr. Churchill, for whom on August 29, 1941 he gave a luncheon at which representatives of all the Allies were present.

Photo, Keystone





BOMBER COMMAND IN THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC: ATTACKS ON ENEMY SHIPPING AT ROTTERDAM, CHERBOURG AND BREST

Between mid-March and mid-July, 1941, Blenheims of Bomber Command made 1,730 sorties in search of enemy shipping. Of about a thousand ships sighted just over four hundred were attacked (total tonnage, 740,000); a tonnage of 293,000 was hit and sunk and another 110,000 damaged. These photographs show attacks on shipping in ports. Top left, in a mast-high attack on Rotterdam on July 16 a strong force of Blenheims did much damage to shipping and buildings and wrecked the quays. In the distance one of the raiders is making its run over the target before loosing its bombs. Seventeen ships, of a total tonnage of about 100,000, were put out of action. At Cherbourg (lower left) and Le Havre on July 19 over 20,000 tons of shipping were hit. Thick smoke rises from an oil-pumping station, while to the right a bomb bursts close to a tanker. In the attack on Brest of July 24 (right) Boeing aircraft flew at over six miles high. The bombs are falling towards a target off the top left of the area shown. So heavy was the A.A. fire that, in the words of one of the Flying Fortress pilots, the black bursts looked from a distance like a huge flock of starlings.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright









NERVE CENTRE FOR THE AIR WAR AGAINST GERMANY

Operations Room at Headquarters of Bomber Command, deep underground, protected by massive concrete and a huge earthern mound. (A) The Air Officer Commanding in Chief (1940–42), Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse; also seen at left in inset. (B) Air Vice Marshal R. H. M. S. Saundby, Senior Air Staff Officer, Bomber Command; also inset, right. Here are worked out and set in motion the day and night operations which incessantly curtail Axis production for war purposes.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Topical Press; Planet News

for the strategical bombing of Germany there might be a risk that the Royal Navy and the Army would have to go short of air support in some of the critical campaigns.

Events tended to show that this criticism was well founded. During the second half of 1941 Bomber Command began to enjoy the increased strength conferred upon it by devoting the major part of the British industrial effort to the production of heavy bombers. The big new machines came into operation; the Short Stirling was seen in greater numbers, and the Avro Manchester and the Handley Page Halifax also made their appearance in many big raids. The Stirling and Halifax are four-engined aircraft, the Manchester is twin-engined, but all three types are large and heavy, the gross weights being in the region of 50,000 lb. and over. In consequence many man-hours had to be devoted to their manufacture in quantity. They were known to be good machines for load carrying. Their bomb loads exceeded anything previously contemplated in military aviation. Five tons could be taken by some of them on a haul of medium length, while on a short haul the bomb load could be even greater.

Britain's New Heavy Bombers





DAYLIGHT ATTACK ON KNAPSACK, AUGUST 12, 1941

Forty-four Blenheims set out to bomb the power stations at Knapsack, near Cologne; they were escorted as far as the Dutch coast by Westland Whirlwind fighters, of the type seen above. Top, right, a Blenheim turns away after dropping bombs (explosions in foreground). The importance of the target is shown by the number of smoking furnaces belonging to the great steel works, dependent for their electricity upon the power stations seen in left foreground.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

The only thing that the critics felt anxious about was whether strategical bombing could be sufficiently effective to warrant reducing drastically the direct, close air support that could be given to the Navy and Army. It was obvious that a huge strategical bombing fleet could not be built up at the same time as large close-support forces. It was a choice between the two. Bomber Command, with unexampled heroism and with the greatest possible skill, mounted attack after attack on targets in Germany, and these attacks increased in strength. Figures were not always given for the raiding force, but occasionally some statement was made. On October 12, for example, three hundred bombers went out over Germany.

Reports of the results were universally favourable. Air Ministry news service dispatches spoke repeatedly of immense fires and great destruction. High Air Ministry officials, including the Secretary of State for Air himself, promised the devastation of Germany by strategical bombing at frequent intervals. There could be no doubt that damage was being done to the enemy's war potential, but when this achievement was related to other events in the larger picture of the war the doubts began to return. Berlin was repeatedly attacked during this period. On July 25 four-engined aircraft went there, and again on August 2, when four were reported missing. On September 2 another attack was made, and a further one on September 7.

The attacks went up in strength, but so did the casualties. From the four of August 2 the losses increased to nine on September 2 and 20 on September 7.





SECRETS OF ENEMY AIRCRAFT

Above, the nose of the Me. 110, a twin-engined fighter armed with four machine-guns (here uncovered) and two 20-mm. cannon (mounted in lower half of fuselage). The big opening in nose is for a camera. Below, British experts examine a captured Me. 109 F/2, a fighter, single-engined fighter. Right, a Heinkel 111 medium bomber, fitted with a cable fender in front.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



Meanwhile, the German armies continued to advance in Russia, and when Japan entered the war her aircraft sank the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" within three days (on December 10). A balance appeared to be struck between the bombing effort against Germany—which mounted in volume and effectiveness—and enemy gains elsewhere, which increased in extent. It began to appear that the choice was between the destruction of places in Germany and the capture of places by Germany and her partners. And many people believed that the capture of territory was still of greater permanent value than the destruction of enemy resources up to the full limits of long-range strategical bombing.

Throughout the latter half of 1941 these points came to be discussed with attention. People in Britain felt that the Royal Air Force offensive was still nowhere near the weight of the German offensive against this island in the earlier months. They felt that if they themselves could survive the heavier German attacks and still make ready, with more munitions, for further efforts, the Germans might be able to do the same. In consequence, they argued, the industrial effort was wrongly directed when it was devoted to strategical bombing instead of to close-support aircraft for the British Navy and Army.

This point of controversy was not to be resolved in 1941. In that year events, however, favoured the critics rather than those who supported the official policy. The call from the Royal Navy for more air support and from the hard-pressed Army in Malaya was urgent and compelling. The public felt that the successes of Bomber Command against Germany were dust and ashes compared with the real and immediate needs of the men who were fighting against such tremendous odds on land and sea.

Nevertheless, the exploits of our bombers called for admiration and there were some brilliantly executed long-range attacks. British bombers had to pierce a wide band of powerful defences in order to reach their targets. They had to fly anything up to six times the distance the German aircraft had to fly when they were attacking Britain. Yet our air crews achieved their purpose, found their targets, and hit them with ponderous effect. Nor is it to be understood from the foregoing that the whole of the Royal Air Force effort was concentrated on strategical bombing. That was its main purpose; but in addition the fighter sweeps continued all the time, the work of the Coastal Command went on, mines were laid in enemy waters at every opportunity, photographic reconnaissance was maintained, and intruder operations were undertaken at night. In Libya the land forces were given the fullest and most efficient air assistance that the limited forces there could supply; raids were made on Italy; Malta was protected. A Wing of fighter aircraft took the field in Russia alongside the Red Air Force. (Sent in the first place to help in repelling a German drive towards Murmansk, its secondary object was to demonstrate its Hurricanes to Soviet pilots and ground crews who, in turn, were to become instructors of other Russian personnel; the latter would take over the Hurricanes which were being sent from Britain. *See* illus. p. 1951.) Over and above all these, some amazing feats of daring were achieved in the field of specialized kinds of daylight attack.

Something must be said of two of these special operations, in July and in August. Both were supremely courageous and daring raids. In July Bremen

was attacked from a low level. The formation, led by Wing Commander H. I. Edwards, who was afterwards decorated with the Victoria Cross for the part he played, went through the most vicious air defences in all Germany to place their bombs with precision on the target. Some idea of the hazards of the flight can be had from the fact that Wing Commander Edwards was skimming the ground so low in his machine that at one time he passed under a high-tension cable (see illus., p. 1884). No less daring was the great attack on the German power stations at Quadrath and Knapsack, near Cologne. This was made by six squadrons of Bristol Blenheim light bombers, a type that was extensively used for all daylight bombing operations during the whole of the period under review, but which was not of particularly advanced design and was at a disadvantage in coping with fighter attack.





OUR VERSATILE FIGHTERS

In November 1941 it was announced that Hurricanes had been adapted to carry light bombs; the left-hand photo shows bombs being loaded. Below is the Hurricane II, of which there are two versions—one with four 20-mm. cannon, as in photo, and the other with 12 machine-guns. Top, inserting a loaded magazine for the cannon of a Spitfire fighter.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



The six squadrons of Blenheims set out on August 12 with an escort, partly composed of Westland Whirlwind single-seat twin-engined fighters—this being the first time that the Whirlwind had appeared in the official communiqués as being in action. Owing to range limitations the escort could only cover the Blenheims as far as Antwerp. Here the fighters turned back, to be replaced by further formations of fighters which were to snatch back the Blenheims as they raced for home after completing their mission. It was an amazing attack. Some of the Blenheims carried automatic cameras, and after the raid the public in Britain saw how the pilots and air crews of the Royal Air Force had made a call right in the centre of a heavily defended region and had, with the utmost exactness, placed their bombs upon it.

The Blenheims were repeatedly attacked by enemy fighters. They tore on, however, skimming the tree tops, fighting both on the way out and on the way back to their fighter cover waiting and watching for them at Antwerp. Twelve Blenheims were lost, but the attack was a success not only for the damage it did to a key point, but also for the way it demonstrated to the world the fighting spirit of the Royal Air Force. For this gallant affair showed that British pilots were just as ready, when the call came, to make sacrifices as the much-vaunted pilots of other countries.

It has been said that the raids on Germany (both those on the Ruhr, where German heavy industry is concentrated, and those farther afield, as well as others on the key places of Hamburg, Kiel, Hannover and Frankfurt) were only a part of our total bombing offensive, though they were the chief part. But Italy was not left out of the reckoning this year. Italian forces felt the bombing powers of the Imperial and Allied air forces working in the Middle East at frequent intervals. They felt them not only in their own country, but at points in North Africa. On July 4 Derna, Benghazi and Mekili were bombed, and on July 6 Palermo was heavily raided. Naples railway station was attacked on July 9, Tripoli on August 21. On September 10 came the heaviest raid on Italy up to that date, when the Royal Arsenal at Turin was attacked by a powerful force of bombers. Four of our aircraft were missing after this raid, in which a good deal of damage was believed to have been done.

On September 28 Genoa, Turin and other places in northern Italy were attacked. It is only possible here to quote a few instances by way of illustration of the form taken by these attacks. Many of the places mentioned





MALTA, A KEY POINT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN OFFENSIVE

The very proximity to Axis air bases which made Malta vulnerable endowed the island at the same time with the power to strike often and hard at the enemy. On November 30, 1941 it had its 1,000th air-raid alert. Top, Hurricanes lined up ready to take off; in the background is the ancient capital of the island. Left, a cross worn by operational airmen defending Malta.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; "Daily Express"

were bombed repeatedly during the six months under review, and there were many other places in the list of targets. Italy attempted to strike back, concentrating the attention of her air bombers mainly on the island fortress of Malta. The Italian bombers were met by fighters based on aerodromes in Malta, and usually a considerable toll was exacted of the Regia Aeronautica whenever it attempted these operations.

The progress of the air war in Russia is dealt with in another chapter, but two aspects of it must be mentioned.

Strategical Bombing of Germany

After the Germans had attacked Russia they made several bombing attacks on Moscow. The Soviet air force retaliated by raiding Berlin, one attack being on the night of August 7 and another on August 8. These raids were probably not of very great weight in themselves, but they gave rise to hopes—later expressed by the Chief of the Air Staff, Sir Charles Portal—that the Soviet air force might cooperate with the Royal Air Force in subjecting Germany to air bombing pressure from two sides (east and west) at the same time. These hopes were not realized in the period under review, partly because the Soviet armies were being so hard pressed that the Russians decided—wisely as most people believe—that their air forces must devote all their powers to providing close support for the armies in the field, and that strategical bombing must be left until the land front could be stabilized.

In this respect the Soviet authorities appeared to regard the power of strategical bombing to produce quick results in much the same way as the German high command. For the belief is widespread that the German strategical bombing of Britain in 1940 was undertaken only as an interim process while the German armies were being prepared for their next stroke. Probably that stroke was originally intended to be against Britain, and had the strategical bombing sufficiently weakened this country that is probably where it would have fallen.

A notable incident in the air war in Russia was the appearance in September of a Wing of Royal Air Force fighters on the northern part of the front. It was led by Wing Commander H. N. G. Ramsbottom-Isherwood, a New Zealander and a holder of the Air Force Cross. The Wing was equipped with Hawker Hurricane fighters, machines which earned the full approval of the Red Air Force pilots who flew them. The British pilots in their turn were invited to try some of the Russian aircraft and they reported very favourably on the I-17 single-seat fighters and on the Soviet dive-bombers.

A final bombing activity concerns the German cruisers "Scharnhorst," "Gneisenau" and "Prinz Eugen." The two first took refuge at Brest in March and were joined in June by the "Prinz Eugen." While these vessels were sheltering at Brest it fell to Bomber Command to make repeated attacks upon them. On July 22 the "Scharnhorst" left Brest and moved to La Pallice, 240 miles away, and on July 23 a strong force of Armstrong Whitworth Whitley bombers attacked the harbour at La Pallice. In December, with the "Scharnhorst" back at Brest, powerful attacks (nine at night and two by daylight) were made on the naval base and hits were secured on the ships, although—as was later to be proved—not sufficiently damaging ones to immobilize them for long. A heavy daylight raid was carried out on December 18, and on the 30th a force of Halifax bombers, with Spitfires escorting them, made another attack. (Some six weeks later, after the enemy warships had escaped along the Channel into the North Sea, Mr. Churchill stated that in 10 months 4,000 tons of bombs had been dropped in the course of 3,299 bomber sorties against them.) Our losses in these operations had been 43 aircraft and 247 R.A.F. personnel

The choice of these objectives was due to the operation of the target selection committee which works within the framework of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. And in all considerations of the bombing activities of the R.A.F. it must be remembered that, although the Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command can recommend targets, it is not in his power to decide. That comes from higher authority. It follows that the question of whether the policy of strategical bombing is right or wrong has to be settled not by the Royal Air Force but by the War Cabinet itself. At that level the published statements are sufficiently clear to make it obvious that the War Cabinet believes that the damage done to Germany by strategical bombing will take effect soon enough to counterbalance the losses of territory suffered by the Allies while the necessary forces are being assembled.

Target Selection Committee

Extremely important in weighing the bombing policy was the statement of Mr. Winston Churchill on November 10 at the Mansion House. Our air force, he said, was now "at least equal in size and numbers" to the German air power, and indicated that Germany would feel the strength of this growing arm more and more severely in the future.

R.A.F. OPERATIONS, 1941

Bomber Command: Main Targets	No. of Attacks	Fighter Command: Month	German Losses	British Losses
Aachen	6	Jan.	20	1
Berlin	18	Feb.	30	6
Bremen	39	Mar.	71	6
Cologne	47	Apr.	112	3
Duisburg	15	May	207	18
Düsseldorf	27	June	53	2
Emden	39	July	47	1
Essen	9	Aug.	15	—
Hamburg	25	Sept.	11	—
Hanover	13	Oct.	23	1
Kiel	29	Nov.	12	—
Mannheim	27	Dec.	13	2
Rostock	1			
Ruhr	3	Totals	631	40
Wilhelmshaven	26			
Total	314	*Note.*—12 pilots were saved in 1941		

German heavy raiding ended in June. Thereafter there were only 7 main raids on Britain (5 in July, 1 in Oct., and 1 in Nov.). About 40 German night raiders were shot down.

The Fighter Command sweeps over occupied France were the activities that made the largest calls upon the available forces. Their aim was complex. Partly it was hoped that they would hold in the west large German fighter forces and so relieve the Soviet of some of the pressure. Also they were intended to take a steady toll of the German machines that could be brought to combat. Again, they were intended to push back that indefinable thing known as the "air frontier" and to establish growing British ascendancy deeper in enemy-held territory. As another objective they were intended to keep the German positions under frequent observation, and, further, to provide Fighter Command pilots with continuous experience and help in maintaining them in full fighting readiness.

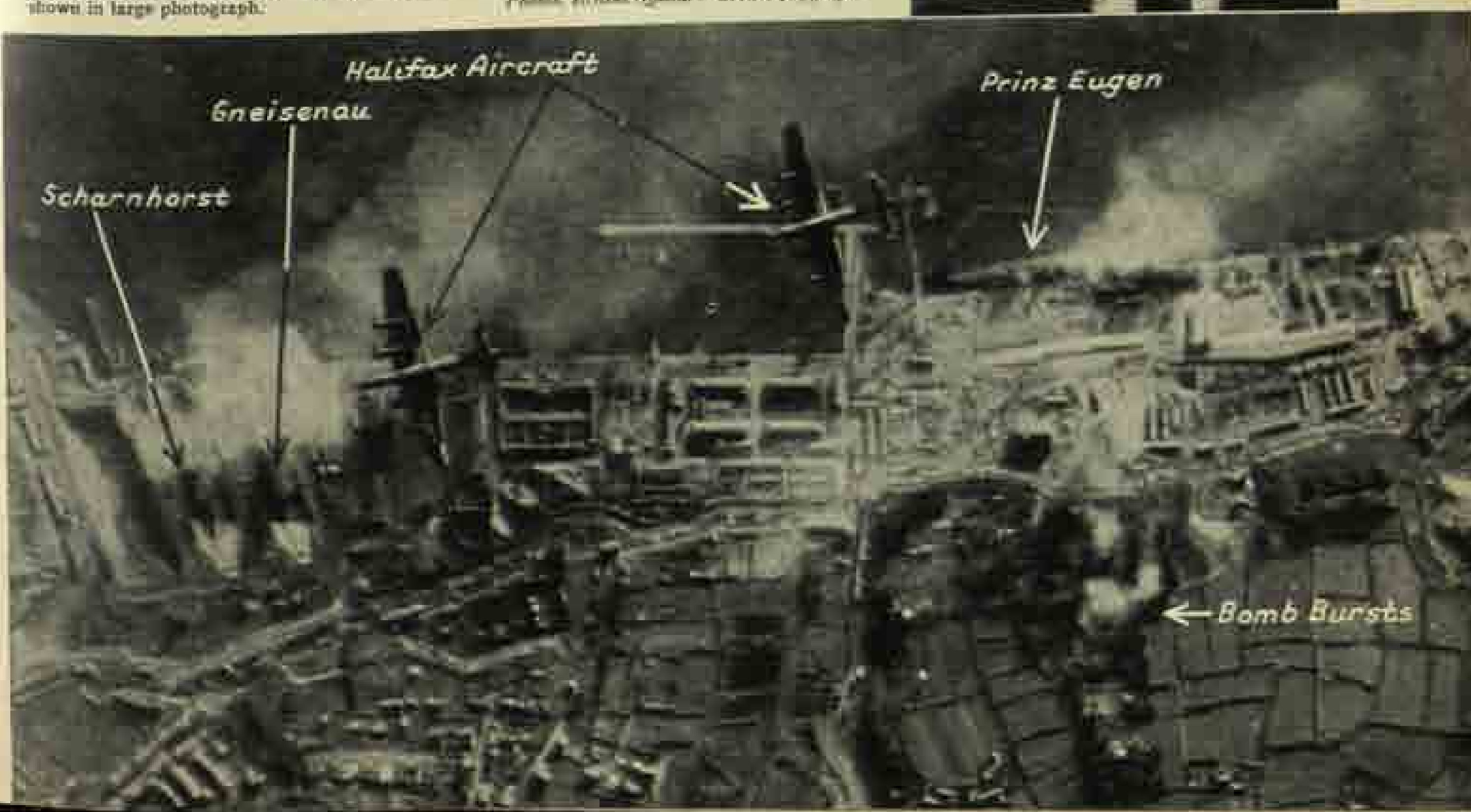
The German response to these sweeps was typical. German war doctrine is the doctrine of concentration in its severest form, and it was realized at once by the enemy that any attempt to interfere with the British sweeps would entail losses to the German fighter strength, and that these losses would not be likely to bring a commensurate return. In consequence the German air force adopted the ignominious but



BATTERING OF GERMAN WARSHIPS AT BREST

The battle-cruisers 'Scharnhorst' and 'Gneisenau,' sheltering at Brest, were joined in June 1941 by the cruiser 'Prinz Eugen.' One of Bomber Command's many attacks was made on April 6 by Flying Officer Kenneth Campbell (right) in a Beaufort torpedo-aircraft; his torpedo, at point-blank range, caused serious under-water damage to one of the battle-cruisers. He did not return, and about a year later was awarded the V.C. A later attack, on December 18, is shown in large photograph.

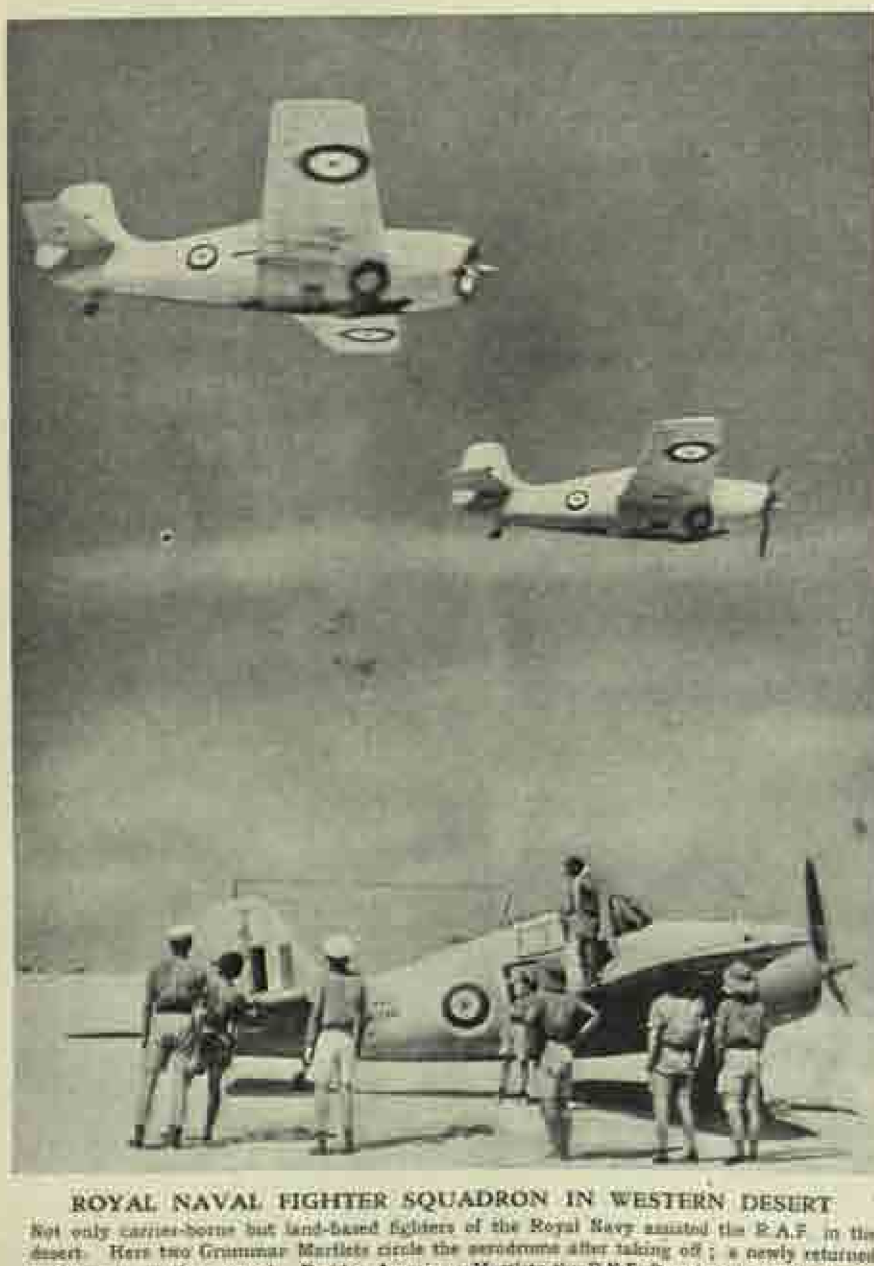
Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



militarily expedient plan of staying on the ground during a great many of the R.A.F. sweeps. The British fighters were permitted to tour occupied France with no other opposition than that provided by anti-aircraft artillery.

This plan, however, could not always be followed. One way of preventing the Germans from following it was to constitute the fighter forces as a specialized "escort." A normal escort is there to protect the bombers and to ensure, whatever the cost to itself, that the bombers are able to fulfil their mission. The escorting fighters are, in fact, the servants of the bombers. But in the means adopted by the Royal Air Force for building up the usefulness of the fighter sweeps the roles were reversed: the bombers were now the servants of the fighters. They were there, usually in very small numbers, merely to attract the German fighters into the air. Although the German fighters might stay on the ground while strong British fighter formations patrolled the area, they could not well do so while our light bombers toured overhead, selected targets at leisure, and bombed them.

In consequence these R.A.F. operations did much to foil the German tactics and to force German fighters to take the air. When they went up the British aircraft, though working under the disadvantages which must always attach to interceptor-fighters on the offensive, were able to shoot down many enemy machines and thus to justify the sweeps. Great feats were carried out on these sweeps, but it was also inevitable that good men should be lost. Wing Commander D. R. Bader, the great fighting pilot who has artificial legs, and Flight Lieutenant E. S. Lock, a man of high courage and supreme air fighting skill, were both reported missing in the month of August, and there was all the time a steady drain on the personnel of Fighter Command. There was little doubt, however, that the fighter sweeps produced a sound return for the effort expended and for the losses of men and machines incurred.



ROYAL NAVAL FIGHTER SQUADRON IN WESTERN DESERT

Not only carrier-borne but land-based fighters of the Royal Navy assisted the R.A.F. in the desert. Here two Grumman Martlets circle the aerodrome after taking off; a newly returned machine is on the ground. Besides American Martlets the R.N.F. Squadron is equipped with Hurricane fighters.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Changes in Messerschmitt Fighters

The German aircraft with which our pilots had to deal during this work were mainly Messerschmitt 109 and 110 fighters, the first being the well-known single-engined type and the second the twin-engined. Both had been used in numbers during the Battle of Britain. The Messerschmitt 109E was being supplemented in increasing numbers by the 109F. Changes had been made to improve the aircraft's performance at height. The square wing tips of the 109E had given way to rounded and rather pointed tips; the shape of the nose had been modified, and the armament had been changed. Though lighter, it included the extremely efficient Mauser 15-mm. cannon in one arrangement. Interpretation of the German intention in developing this 109F version was that German pilots had found the high-cover Spitfire too much for them in the past, and that it had been decided that a German machine with better high-flying qualities was needed to counter it.

After the operations of the Bomber and the Fighter Commands come those of Coastal and Army Cooperation Commands; but Army Cooperation Command, during this time, was undergoing a period of intensive development and its part in the air war was not to become prominent until a later date. Coastal Command, under the operational direction of the Admiralty, continued to work against enemy submarines in the Battle of the Atlantic. It also supported Bomber and Fighter Commands in attacks on enemy shipping, and undertook large numbers of special missions on its own. Perhaps its most remarkable feat, though not necessarily its most valuable, was when a Lockheed Hudson of Coastal Command captured a U-boat in the Atlantic. This achievement was reported by the Admiralty on September 8. The captain and crew of the Hudson told their story afterwards, and it appeared that they had forced U-570 to surface in a damaged condition, and that its crew

then displayed the white flag in token of surrender. No hen has ever shepherded her chicks with greater solicitude than the captain and crew of that Hudson then shepherded their U-boat. They circled round and round it, after reporting what had happened, and on being relieved by another aircraft of Coastal Command, which took up the watch when the Hudson's petrol was running low, they signalled to the new



BRITAIN'S NEW TWIN-ENGINED HEAVY BOMBER

The Avro Manchester (top), of which particulars were revealed in November 1941, had two engines (Rolls-Royce Vultures). There are gun turrets in nose, fuselage and tail; the wing span is just over 90 feet. The Bristol Beaufighter (below) is used for both day and night operations; armament is four cannon and six machine-guns.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Central Press



arrival the importance of not losing their prize. (See illus., p. 1898.)

Enemy supply ships were attacked on many occasions by Coastal Command aircraft, Bristol Beauforts often being used, and the pilots, in addition, were ever trying to spread their protective covering farther out over the ocean for the British convoys. But the main duty of Coastal Command, as ever, was to help in the defeat of the U-boats. Aircraft were constantly out on patrol and many attacks were made.

During the latter part of 1941 the Atlantic ferry service was being built up at a fast pace. This service was to become one of the main bomber supply lines, and the work done in preparation was to be repaid many times over in the future. In December Captain O. P. Jones, the well-known commercial pilot, set up a record for a crossing made under wartime conditions; he flew a Liberator four-engined bomber from America to England in less than nine hours.

In the space here available it is possible to mention only a few operations of the Royal Air Force, the Imperial and Allied air forces during the six months under review. Nor can a detailed account be given of enemy air operations over Britain. The accompanying table gives a selection of some of the more remarkable events.

Principal Events in the Air War
July–Dec. 1941

July 8 R.A.F. bombed Krupp works at Essen, port of Bremen, and industrial parts of Bremerhaven. 7 aircraft lost.
7 Powerful R.A.F. forces attacked Cologne, Osnabrück, Münster, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Utrecht by night. Enemy aircraft raided Southampton causing substantial damage. 5 enemy aircraft destroyed.
11 Strong force of Italian aircraft raided Malta. 2 shot down by Malta fighters, others damaged; 4 hit by A.A. fire.
16 Highly successful daylight raid on docks at Rotterdam. 17 ships, estimated 90,000 to 100,000 tons, put out of action. 4 aircraft lost.
17 Enemy raided Hull; considerable damage and heavy casualties.
20 R.A.F. attacked harbour of Naples and railway sidings by night. Cologne and other Rhineland objectives bombed.
23 Enemy battle-cruiser Scharnhorst attacked before night at La Pallice and hit by at least one heavy armour-piercing bomb. One British bomber destroyed 2 enemy fighters.
24 Large formation of bombers attacked Scharnhorst and Gneisenau at Brest and La Pallice in heaviest daylight operation. Direct hits secured. 15 bombers and 7 fighters lost. 21 enemy fighters shot down.
Aug. 1 R.A.F. bombers attacked shipping at Lampedusa Island (cent. Mediterranean) and Borizzo aerodrome, Sicily. Candia and Maleme aerodromes (Crete) also bombed.
7 Soviet bombers raided Berlin.
8 Soviet bombers raided Berlin and German bombers raided Moscow.
12 Great daylight raid on power stations at Quadrath and Knapsack, Cologne. St. Omer, power station at Gosnay (Pas de Calais), De Kooy aerodrome, Emden port and Le Trait shipyards attacked.
14 Night attack on Hanover, Brunswick, Magdeburg by over 200 aircraft. Loss of 12.
28 Swordfish from Ark Royal fired cork forests in Sardinia.
Sept. 2 R.A.F. bombed Frankfurt and Berlin (night). Also Mannheim, Ostend and Dunkirk. 9 aircraft lost but crew of one bomber saved.
7 Heavy night attack on Berlin. Kiel and other objectives in Germany also bombed. Force of hundreds strong employed; 20 lost.
10 N. Italy raided: principal target, Turin Royal Arsenal.
13 Heavy night attack at Brest on Scharnhorst and Gneisenau.
14 Arrival of wing of R.A.F. in Russia announced.
15 200 R.A.F. bombers attacked shipyards, factories and railways at Hamburg, Bremen, Cuxhaven, Wilhelmshaven, and Le Havre. 9 lost.
18 Enemy aircraft raided Cairo, killed 39 and injured 93.
Oct. 16 Ruhr heavily bombed; also Rotterdam, Ostend, Dunkirk and Bordeaux. 10 aircraft lost.
Nov. 7 Largest R.A.F. force yet used attacked Berlin, Cologne, Mannheim and other targets. Mines laid. Bad weather contributed to loss of 37 aircraft.
14 H.M. Aircraft Carrier Ark Royal, torpedoed by submarine previous day, sank whilst in tow off Gibraltar; 1 casualty.
19 Close air cooperation with land forces in Libya aided advance. Sidi Rezegh occupied.
Dec. 5 R.A.F. raided Naples at night.
27 Düsseldorf and other objectives in W. Germany raided during night; also aerodrome in Holland, docks at Brest and Boulogne, and aerodrome in Norway. Mines laid. 7 aircraft lost.

Diary of the War

NOVEMBER and DECEMBER, 1941

November 1, 1941. Air raids on Merseyside and S. coast (8 night raiders destroyed). Germans capture Simferopol.

November 3. Germans claim capture of Kursk.

November 4. R.A.F. raids on Dunkirk, Ostend, the Ruhr and Rhineland. Germans reach Black Sea coast.

November 5. Mr. Saburo Kurusu appointed additional Japanese envoy to Washington.

November 6. H.M. corvette "Gladiolus" lost. M. Litvinov appointed Soviet Ambassador to Washington.

November 7. Very large R.A.F. bomber force attacks Berlin, Cologne and Mannheim; 37 of our bombers lost.

November 9. Royal Navy destroys two enemy convoys off Taranto, and sinks three Italian destroyers. Germans claim capture of Yalta.

November 10. Loss of H.M.S. "Cossack" announced. Mr. Churchill states that parity with Germany in the air has been achieved. Germans claim capture of Tikhvin.

November 12. Gondar, with a garrison of 10,000, encircled.

November 13. United States Neutrality Act revised. H.M.S. "Ark Royal" torpedoed off Gibraltar; sinks next day while under tow.

November 14. Loss of H.M.S. "Ark Royal" (see 13th). Russians drive back Germans at Tula and Kalinin. Russians bomb Königsberg and Riga.

November 15. Canadian reinforcements reach Hongkong.

November 16. Germans claim capture of Kerch.

November 17. British Commando raid on German H.Q. in Libya.

November 18. General Sir Alan Brooke appointed C.I.G.S. Lieut.-Gen. B. C. T. Paget becomes C.-in-C. Home Forces. Imperial forces in Libya open an offensive on line Sollum—Jarabub.

November 19. British units capture Sidi Rezegh. H.M.A.S. "Sydney" sinks enemy raider "Kormoran" off Australian coast, but is herself lost with all hands.

November 20. Great tank battle with Rommel's forces around Sidi Rezegh.

November 21. Tobruk garrison makes a sortie to join Imperial troops near Sidi Rezegh.

November 22. H.M.S. "Devonshire" sinks German raider in South Atlantic. Germans enter Rostov.

November 24. New Zealanders capture Gambut. Russians begin a counter-offensive in Rostov region.

November 25. Rommel sends raiding tank column over Egyptian frontier; then turns W. to attack our forces in rear. Germans launch new attack upon Moscow.

November 26. Major-General Ritchie takes over command of 8th Army from General Cunningham. Tobruk garrison advances to El Duda and joins advance units of 8th Army near Sidi Rezegh early on 27th. Marshal Timoshenko advances 70 miles in Ukraine.

November 27. Gondar surrenders.

November 28. Britain sends ultimatums to Finland, Hungary and Rumania. Soviet forces recapture Rostov; Von Kleist's army retreats towards Taganrog.

November 29. In Libya British mechanized forces advance to the coast south of Benghazi. H.M. submarines "Tigris" and "Trident" sink eight enemy supply ships in Arctic waters.

November 30. Germans penetrate corridor between Tobruk and Sidi Rezegh. Malta has its 1,000th air raid alert.

December 1, 1941. Connexion with Tobruk restored, but Axis forces close corridor again. Submarine "Aurora" sinks enemy destroyer, supply ship and tanker in Central Mediterranean. State of emergency in Malaya; stand-by ordered in Hongkong. Rear-Admiral Sir Tom Phillips appointed C.-in-C. Eastern Fleet. Russians counter-attack at Tula.

December 2. H.M.S. "Prince of Wales" arrives at Singapore as Sir Tom Phillips's flagship. H.M.A.S. "Parramatta" announced lost off Australian coast. Russians pursue Von Kleist's forces to Taganrog.

December 4. General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson appointed to command new 9th Army, Middle East.

December 5. Australia takes emergency war measures in Pacific.

December 6. Britain at war with Finland, Hungary and Rumania. President Roosevelt sends personal appeal to Emperor of Japan for peace.

December 7. At 7 a.m. local time Japanese aircraft bomb the U.S. base at Pearl Harbour; also American bases in Manila. H.M. gunboat "Peterel" sunk at Shanghai. Air raids on Hongkong, on places in Malaya, and on Thailand. Japan declares war upon Britain and the U.S.A. as from dawn of December 7. At night she bombs Singapore and lands troops in N.E. Malaya and Thailand.

December 8. Britain, Canada, the U.S.A. and the Netherlands Govt. in London declare war upon Japan. Land and sea attack on Hongkong begins. Air attack on American Pacific islands of Guam, Midway and Wake. Thailand allows passage to Japanese troops. Imperial forces in Libya take Sidi Rezegh and restore connexion with Tobruk. Soviet forces recapture Tikhvin.

December 9. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa declare war upon Japan; China declares war upon Germany and Italy. Japanese land on the Philippine island of Luzon. Russians retake Elets.

December 10. H.M.S.s "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse" sunk by Japanese air attack off Malaya. Admiral Sir Tom Phillips and Captain Leach (of flagship) missing; 2,000 saved. Russians begin counter-offensive along whole front.

December 11. Germany and Italy declare war upon U.S.A., which then declares war upon them both. U.S. Army aircraft sink battleship "Haruna" off Philippines; U.S. Navy sink cruiser and destroyer in an attack on Wake Island.

December 12. British destroyers sink two Italian cruisers in Mediterranean; Dutch submarines sink four transports off Thailand.

December 13. Hongkong refuses demand for surrender; Chinese forces in Canton region attack Japanese in rear. Beginning of five-day battle in Libya. Britain declares war upon Bulgaria.

December 14. Four transports sunk by U.S. aircraft off Manila. Ten-year alliance between Japan and Thailand.

December 15. At Hongkong, British withdraw from mainland; in Burma they withdraw from Victoria Point; enemy gains ground at Kedah (N.W. Malaya). Loss of H.M. submarine "Tetrarch" announced. Russians announce recapture of Klin and Kalinin.

December 16. Germans retreat along Eastern Front.

December 17. Japanese land in North Borneo, after British withdrawal; Hongkong refuses another demand for surrender. Japanese 10 miles from Penang (Malaya). Rommel's force retreats from Gazala. Loss of H.M. cruiser "Dunedin" by submarine in Atlantic announced.

December 18. British evacuate Kedah. Dutch and Imperial forces occupy Portuguese Timor. At night, enemy lands on Hongkong from mainland.

December 19. British evacuate Penang; Manila heavily bombed. In Libya, Derna and Mekili are retaken from Germans.

December 20. Russians retake Volokolamsk.

December 22. Japanese land large forces in Gulf of Lingayen, Philippines. Fighting begins in N. Perak (Malaya). General Sir A. Wavell at Chungking for conference with Chiang Kai-shek.

December 23. Anglo-U.S. Council in Washington; attending are Mr. Churchill, Lord Beaverbrook, Sir John Dill, Sir Dudley Pound and Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal. In Libya we recapture Barce and Benina.

December 24. In Libya we retake Benghazi. Further Japanese landings on Luzon (Philippines); Japanese capture Wake Island. Free French occupy French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

December 25. Hongkong surrenders. Japanese land at Kuching (Sarawak).

December 26. Mr. Churchill addresses U.S. Congress at Washington. Lieut.-General Sir H. Pownall appointed C.-in-C. Far East in place of Air Chief Marshal Sir R. Brooke-Popham. British combined raid on Lofoten Islands, off Norway.

December 27. British raid on islands of Vaagso and Maaloy, off Norway.

December 29. British withdraw from Ipoh (Malaya). Mr. Churchill in Ottawa. Russian troops retake Kerch and Feodosia. Heavy raids on Singapore.

December 30. Mr. Churchill addresses Canadian Parliament at Ottawa. Indian All-Party Congress decides in favour of participation in war effort; Mr. Gandhi resigns. Russians retake Kaluga.

December 31. S. Africans attack Bardia.

Chapter 193

WAR IN RUSSIA: SOVIET COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF DECEMBER 1941

Plight of the Germans in November—Supply, Communications and Shelter—Nazi Hold on Lateral Railways—German Preparations for Withdrawal Coincide with Feint Attack—Moscow Venture Abandoned—Hitler Takes Over Command—Bold Russian Stroke in Crimea—Part Played by Russian Air Force in the Campaign—Soviet Fighter Tactics

Until German generals write their reminiscences much that occurred and much that affected the course of events in Russia during the winter of 1941–42 must remain a matter of speculation. Did the German General Staff concur in Hitler's plans or was its advice rejected? It has been suggested that some of the army commanders, even while preparations for the great offensive towards Moscow were being made in September, considered that the season was too far advanced for it to be safely undertaken. If there were misgivings then they were probably allayed by the scale of the offensive and its blitzkrieg character, which held out hopes of rapid and decisive success. But when the offensive was brought to a standstill towards the end of October by the tenacity of Russia and by autumn mud, plans must certainly have been made for winter dispositions irrespective of preparations for renewal of the offensive when frost should have hardened the ground. Thus, when the final attempt to capture Moscow failed the Germans must have had an organized front to fall back on; and their main immediate problems were the withdrawal from exposed positions difficult to supply, and the retention of ground which, recently captured, there had been no opportunity to organize for defence or occupation, but which they were unwilling to abandon.

In order to appreciate the achievements and difficulties encountered by the Russian counter-offensive it is necessary to review the situation when the Germans, owing to the suffering of their troops from cold, were threatened with collapse. The original scope of their offensive had been modified during the pause in November between its first and second phases. The wide movements towards Kalinin in the north and Tula in the south, at first evidently intended to encircle Moscow and its defending armies, had been directed inwards to cooperate with the direct attack from the west on the city, the capture of which had become the sole object. When the offensive was abandoned, these outflanking movements were nevertheless very much in the air, with difficult communications and exposed to counter-attack. Withdrawal of the outflanking forces was inevitable, and the German announcement of withdrawals to straighten the front probably referred specially to them. Particularly in the south the position was dangerous, for the gallant resistance of Tula had compelled the Germans to by-pass it to the south-east instead of closing in on Moscow. It is not likely that to the west of Moscow the Germans contemplated withdrawal, but intended to hold on to Volokolamsk, Mozhaisk, Malo Yaroslavets and Kaluga as springboards for an offensive in the following year. They probably intended at these points merely to disengage their troops, withdraw them to shelter, and in general to organize this part of the front for winter occupation.

In the absence of records the system on which the Germans intended to organize this and other parts of their

STORMOVIKS DESTROY NAZI TANK COLUMN

Transmitted by radio, this photograph shows Russian 'tank-busters' attacking a German column; hits are visible, and tanks are turning over. The Stormovik is an armoured fighter plane fitted with a powerful cannon of 37 mm. (nearly 1½ in.) calibre, and firing armour-piercing shells. A remarkable photograph of a low-level attack.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





front, and its special problems, can only be deduced from the course of subsequent events. The chief immediate problems must have been the provision of shelter for their ill-equipped troops, and the maintenance of communications when winter restricted the use that could be made of motorized transport. It is probable that the Germans, believing the Russians to be as exhausted as themselves, did not expect heavy fighting in the winter, and that their defensive precautions were in the first instance designed mainly to check guerilla activities. These considerations obviously entailed the concentration of the bulk of their troops in the neighbourhood of large towns served by good railway communications, for there shelter could best be obtained and distribution of supplies would be easiest. Considerable numbers of troops must, however, have been distributed along railway lines for their protection, and the railways afforded an easy means of supplying such detachments and of reinforcing them as required.

A more difficult question must have been how to deal with the areas, often very large, not served by railways. In

Nazi Supply Problem

them, no doubt, a large number of villages were occupied and placed in a state of defence by small units, in order to prevent them becoming centres for guerilla bands. In winter little could be done to restrict guerilla activities by mobile action. The supplying of these detachments must obviously have been difficult—it may often have been carried out by air transport—but though they were isolated they would be capable of resisting attack by lightly-armed troops.

The Germans never attempted to construct a continuous trench system along their front. There was neither time for its construction, nor, in the absence of plentiful animal transport, could it have been supplied. We must therefore examine how these dispositions adapted themselves to defence when it became evident that a serious Russian counter-offensive had to be met. Briefly, the large towns, strongly garrisoned, acted as fortresses whose defences could quickly be developed and which, even before they were fully developed, were capable of resisting attack by troops that, under winter conditions, could not be supported by heavy armaments. The chief danger was that the towns might be enveloped and their lines of supply cut off. It was here, however, that railways played a vital part in defence. They furnished the backbone of linear zones of defence developed from the detachments originally intended for their protection.

If thus held, the railways connecting fortress towns served to close the gaps between them, preventing penetration: and, in the absence of lateral lines, those running towards the front served as turned-back flanks, preventing complete encirclement of the towns. Linear defence zones served by the railway had always an advantage over any attack that could be developed against them, on account of greater ease of supply and the mobility of reinforcing reserves. The most serious weakness of the system was that, where there were no lateral railways connecting the fortress towns, detachments occupying isolated villages in the gaps were exposed to overwhelming attack and there was nothing to prevent their being surrounded. The phrase in the Russian communiqués "a number of inhabited places were captured" indicates the fate of such villages. Even larger towns, when they were served only by a single railway, were always in danger of complete envelopment.

A great source of strength to the German front was the lateral railway running behind it from Leningrad to Vitebsk and thence through Smolensk and Bryansk to Kharkov. It facilitated movements of reserve formations and linked up the lines which ran forward to the key towns at the front. Furthermore, the towns along it provided well-spaced centres for occupation.

After the failure to take Moscow the front for the winter was probably intended to run from Schlüsselburg in the north through Novgorod and Staraya Russa to Rzhev. The gap of 165 miles between the last-named towns could only be lightly occupied, since, owing to the Valdai hills and Kholm marshes, road and railway communications were indifferent. From Rzhev, evidently a particularly important centre, it was probably intended that the front should run through Volokolamsk, Mozhaisk, Malo Yaroslavets and Kaluga to Orel, but, with the exception of Orel, those places were recaptured by the Russians before they could be consolidated, and in their stead Ghatsk, Vyazma and Bryansk became German front-line fortresses. South of Orel, Kursk and Kharkov were key points and the railway connecting them provided intermediate defence. From Kharkov to the Sea of Azov the Germans no doubt wished to occupy the whole of the Donetz basin, including Rostov, but after the recapture of Rostov the situation in the basin never seems to have been stabilized, and Taganrog became the fortress town protecting the extreme right.

To turn now to the Russian counter-offensive, the recapture of Tikhvin and







THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW, DECEMBER 1941

After a futile second drive against Moscow, late in November, there came the great Russian counter-offensive which threw back the enemy. Klin and Kalinin were recaptured by Soviet troops on December 15. Top left, abandoned German guns and vehicles on the road from Klin, N.E. of Moscow. Top right, a group of ill-clad German soldiers taken prisoner during the Russian pursuit. Above, Kalinin just after the Russians retook the town; houses set on fire by the retreating enemy.

Photos, Planet News

Rostov by counter-attacks launched before the German central offensive was abandoned indicated that the Russians, in spite of their losses during the year, were still full of fight. Yet few people realized, probably least of all the Germans, that Soviet troops were capable of a sustained offensive during the winter, especially after the exhausting struggle in defence of Moscow. It speaks volumes for the strategic and administrative genius of M. Stalin and his advisers that, in spite of the desperately critical nature of that struggle, they should never have lost sight of the difficulties the enemy would have in the winter, and should have retained fresh and well-equipped reserves ready to take immediate advantage of the opportunity to strike back. The Russian reserves must have been assembled at the right places, available to strike at the first signs that the enemy was giving ground.

It is easier for us now than it was for the Russians at the time to see that withdrawal of the German outflanking attacks would be the first step necessary if the Nazi offensive broke down, for it must be remembered that up to the last moment these attacks had been making progress and had seemed the most serious threat to Moscow. It is probable that their violence was maintained in order to screen preparations for withdrawal, for, although the abandonment of the offensive was not announced till December 8, the decision and preliminary movements must have ante-dated it by some days. How correctly the Russians interpreted the situation was proved by the promptitude of their reaction. Yet it is not at all clear how the counter-offensive developed; probably it took different

CHRONOLOGY OF RUSSO-GERMAN WAR, 1941

I. GERMAN ADVANCE TO CAPTURE OF NOVGOROD AND KIEV (ALL FRONTS), June 22–Sept. 19, 1941

June

22 German armies attack at dawn across Russian frontier from Baltic to Black Sea. Progress made near Grodno (Poland). Kiev, Sevastopol and aerodromes bombed. Mr. Churchill broadcasts all aid to Russia.
23 German main thrust on Lithuanian front; Brest-Litovsk and Grodno captured.
26 Heavy fighting in Minsk sector; Germans enter Dvinsk.
29 Finnish and German troops opened offensive Arctic to Gulf of Finland.
30 Lemberg (Lwow) evacuated.

July

1 Windau and Riga (Latvia) fall; enemy claim 100,000 prisoners E. of Bialystok.
3 Germans penetrate all Lithuania, most of Latvia, western White Russia, part of W. Ukraine (Stalin's broadcast).
4 Germans and Rumanians enter Bessarabia, claim to reach R. Dnieper, E. of Minsk.
7 Fighting at Kamianka and L. Ladoga and also Novgorod-Volynsk.
12 Advance on Leningrad begun; Vitebsk claimed; Germans "in front of" Kiev.
14 Heavy fighting in Pskov, Smolensk, Bobruisk and Novgorod regions.
22 Heavy fighting in L. Ilmen, Porkhov, Smolensk and Zhitomir (Ukraine) regions. Raid on Moscow (also 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th and 30th).
28 Bessarabia claimed by Germans.

Aug.

1 German drive to Kiev develops. Moscow raids Aug. 1–8 and 8–11.
9 Enemy movement between Bug and Dnieper threatens Odessa and Nikolaev.
13 Evacuation of Smolensk "several days ago" announced. Germans claim to have reached Black Sea near Odessa.
14 Kirovograd evacuated, also Pervomaisk (150 m. N.W. of Nikolaev). Heavy fighting from White to Black Seas.
17 Nikolayev and Krivoyrog evacuated.
20 Germans claim Kingisepp and Narva (Leningrad sector), victory N. of Gomel; also capture of Kherson (Ukraine).
21 Gomel evacuated. Kexholm captured by Finns.
25 Novgorod evacuated, Dnepropetrovsk claimed.
28 Velikiye Luki captured.
28 Dnepropetrovsk evacuated; at Zaporozhe Dnieper Dam blown up.
30 Viipuri captured.
31 Russians raided Berlin, Königsberg, Danzig and Memel.

Sept.

3 Voroshilov in command at Leningrad.
7 Russian raid on Bucharest; Russian counter-attacks Gomel area (between Smolensk and Kiev).
8 Germans claim to reach R. Neva and capture Schlüsselburg, completing encirclement of Leningrad; German Republic of Volga to be moved to E. Russia.
11 Voroshilov counter-attacks S. of Leningrad and Timoshenko in Valdai Hills.
12 Chernigov (N.E. of Kiev) evacuated.
13 Attack on Oesel I. repulsed.
14 Kremenchug (R. Dnieper) evacuated.
16 Rundstedt's offensive in Ukraine opens.
18 Germans enter Kiev.
19 Kiev falls (announced by Russia, Sept. 21); Germans claim Poltava, S.W. of Kharkov.

II. THE CENTRE—MOSCOW FRONT Sept. 1941–Jan. 1942

Sept.

29 Three Power Conference in Moscow.
30 Moscow raided.

Oct.

2 Hitler's Order of the Day to Moscow troops—"last great, decisive battle this year." Moscow raided, also 3rd to 8th.
6 Two-pronged assault on Moscow launched; victory claimed in Vyazma area.
8 Russians evacuate Orel.
9 Fighting at Vyazma and Bryansk.
12 Bryansk evacuated; women and children evacuated from Moscow.
13 Vyazma evacuated; Germans checked in Orel sector.
15 Fighting 60 m. from Moscow. Kaluga and Kalinin captured "some days" earlier.
18 Moscow position deteriorated; Soviet Govt. and diplomats leave.
19 Stalin proclaims state of siege in Moscow. Wintry weather sets in.
20 Germans 65 m. from Moscow, fighting at Mozhaisk and Malo Yaroslavets; Govt. at Kuibyshev; Germans claim Stalino.
22 German offensive at Tula and Klin.
24 Zhukov appointed to command northern front (including Moscow).
27 Russian counter-attacks Moscow sector.
28–29 Germans at Volokolamsk gain ground at Tula.
29–30 Raids on Moscow. Russians raid Berlin.
30 Von Bock attacks N.W. of Moscow.

Nov.

1 German thrust from Tula increased.
6 Stalin gives Axis casualties as 4½ million, Russian 1¾ million.
14 Germans driven back at Kalinin and Tula.
25 New offensive on Moscow. Russians begin successful counter-attack.

Dec.

1 Russian counter-attack at Tula.
8 Berlin announces end of main operations for winter.
9 Elets, S. of Tula, retaken.
10 Russian general counter-offensive opens.
11 Hitler announces winter campaign against Moscow ended.
12 Von Bock replaced by List.
15 Russians retake Klin and Kalinin.
19 Hitler takes over command from Von Brauchitsch.
20 Volokolamsk recaptured.
30 Kaluga retaken.

Jan. 1942

1 Russians recapture Staritsa.
2 Malo Yaroslavets recaptured.
7 Mechovsk, S.W. of Kaluga, retaken.
9 Russians enter Smolensk province.
19 Mozhaisk retaken.
20 Von Bock succeeds Von Reichenau.
22 Russian break-through.

III. THE SOUTH (UKRAINE & CRIMEA) Sept. 1941–Jan. 1942

Sept.

22 Budyenny's main army E. of Kiev encircled (German claim) but escapes.
23 Reverse at Odessa.
25 Attack on Crimea.

Oct.

11 German claim defeat of Soviet 9th and 18th Armies on Sea of Azov.
14 Mariupol, Sea of Azov, evacuated. Budyenny separated from Timoshenko.
16 Odessa evacuated.
19–22 Taganrog evacuated.
20 Stalino claimed by Germans; evacuated Oct. 26.
24 Timoshenko appointed to S. command. Kharkov claimed; evacuated Oct. 28.
27 Germans capture Kramatorsk (between Kharkov and Rostov).
29 German break-through on Perekop Isthmus and advance into Crimea.

Nov.

1 Simferopol, capital of Crimea, captured.
2 Kursk (north of Kharkov) claimed; advance in Crimea towards Sevastopol.
4 Feodosia fall claimed; Black Sea reached.
16 Kerch "captured"; evacuated Nov. 20.
22 Germans enter Rostov. Donetz basin fighting.
24 Russian counter-offensive west of Rostov.
26 Timoshenko advances in Ukraine, threatens German flank at Rostov.
28 Russians retake Rostov. Von Kleist retreats towards Taganrog.

Dec.

2 Russian pursuit to Taganrog; German retreat to Mariupol; Russian thrust from Donetz Basin against Von Kleist.
29 Russians land in Crimea and retake Kerch and Feodosia.

Jan. 1942

5 Russians hold most of Kerch peninsula; landing at Eupatoria, W. of Crimea.
11 Mining districts between Dnieper and Donetz re-occupied.
19 Timoshenko's new offensive advances 65 miles and cuts German line S. of Kharkov.
25 Timoshenko's forces cross upper Donetz into Ukraine and recapture Lozovo, 90 m. from Dnepropetrovsk.

IV. THE NORTH (LENINGRAD FRONT) Sept. 1941–Jan. 1942

Sept.

20 Oesel and Moön Is. (Gulf of Riga) claimed as captured. Leningrad besieged.
22 Timoshenko counter-attacks S.W. of Leningrad.
27 Leningrad offensive repulsed.

Oct.

21 Germans claim Dago Isl. (Gulf of Finland).
29 German advances in regions of Lakes Ilmen and Ladoga.

Nov.

1 Russian Neva crossing repulsed.
10 Germans claim capture of Tikhvin, admitted Nov. 30. Kronstadt bombarded.

Dec.

9 Russians recapture Tikhvin.

Jan. 1942

22 Russians break through between Lake Ilmen and Smolensk on 70 m. front.

forms on various parts of the front, but nowhere does a major attack seem to have been deliberately staged.

In general there probably was an intensification of the fighting in numbers of local attacks. But north and south of Moscow the counter-movements certainly started as a vigorous pursuit of an enemy who was carrying out a deliberate withdrawal. It was here, therefore, that progress first was most marked. The Germans, except for the condition of their troops, should have had no difficulty in withdrawing without heavy loss, for they would in the first instance have got away all transport and stores that could be spared and have organized rearguards through which troops engaged in fighting could retire. Disengagement of troops in contact with the enemy, owing to the exhausted condition of the men and to the state of the ground, may have been difficult, especially as the well-clothed Russians must have been much the more active. Under winter conditions, however, pursuit could not have been vigorously maintained unless Russian reserves had been available to form well organized pursuing forces, for the German rearguards would soon have checked any unorganized advance.

Russian Gains Near Moscow

As it was, the rate of pursuit, which for some time appears to have averaged six miles a day, was highly creditable considering the state of the ground and the resistance of rearguards. It is absurd to compare it, as some have done in depreciating the Russian effort, with the rate of advance of the Germans under summer conditions after a long-prepared offensive. The rate of pursuit was in any case sufficient to compel the Germans to abandon much material and many wounded or exhausted men.

As early as December 8 reports came through of many successful Russian attacks on the Moscow front, but the first notable success was the recapture on the 9th of Elets, an important railway centre 100 miles east of Orel, where two German divisions were heavily defeated. This place probably marked the right flank of the main October offensive, and it is likely that the Germans intended to hold on to it, at least for a time, to cover the withdrawal of the troops that had thrust south-east of Tula. By the 11th the Russian advance was well under way on the whole front from Elets to Tula. In Eastern Ukraine and east of Leningrad successes were also reported, following the defeat of the Germans at Rostov and Tikhvin. West of Moscow there was less movement, but the

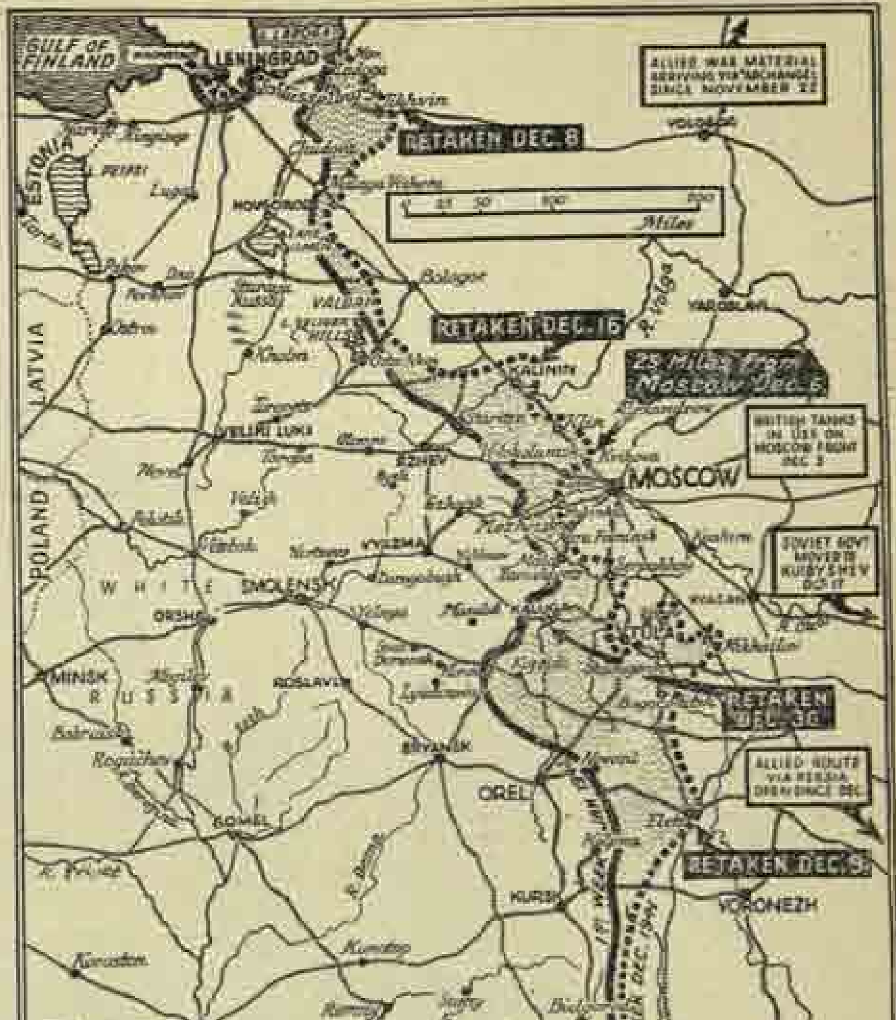
Germans were under heavy pressure and were suffering desperately from the cold. Then, on the 15th, it was evident that the German thrust north of Moscow was being withdrawn, and was hard pressed. Klin was recaptured on that day, and Kalinin retaken—6 divisions, it was claimed, being routed. The German force attacking Moscow from the north had been composed mainly of panzer and motorized divisions, possibly because there were no railways running in a direction to facilitate the maintenance of large numbers of infantry. But the extreme cold affected motor fuel, and the lack of railways must have led to the abandonment of much material. Wheeled M.T. vehicles under the prevailing conditions could not have carried heavy loads.

The situation of the Germans, with their troops suffering desperate hardships and their supply organization breaking down, was becoming serious. Soviet cavalry and ski troops, now appearing in numbers, gave the Russians for the first time superior tactical mobility over their opponents. But the Russians, too, had their difficulties. It was hard to maintain supplies, for even where railways existed they had been damaged by demolitions. The Soviet troops were handicapped also by inability to make full use of wheeled vehicles, which not only affected supply problems but made it impossible to bring forward an adequate number of guns to support attacks on the German rearguards, who could in consequence use every building as a stronghold.

Possibly it was this that saved the Germans from complete disaster. Yet the pursuit was pressed vigorously and the capture of villages and towns was daily recorded. By December 20 it was evident that the Germans had lost their grip on Moscow, though with Mozhaisk in their hands they were still dangerously close to the city. At Leningrad the Russians had also gained an important success, for the advance from Tikhvin had secured the railway as far as the southern shores of Lake Ladoga. From there, when the ice thickened, the railway was extended across the lake, which during the winter enabled supplies to reach the city.

Menace to Moscow Ended

How serious the Germans considered their situation was shown when on December 21 Hitler announced that he had relieved Von Brauchitsch of command and had personally assumed responsibility for operations. About this time a number of other generals also paid the penalty for failure. Everywhere, except in the Crimea, the Nazis had now lost the initiative and were



HOW THE DANGER TO MOSCOW WAS AVERTED

In the first week of December 1941 the Germans were only 25 miles from Moscow at some points, but then came the mighty Russian counter-offensive which threw them back all along the central sector and freed the metropolis from the grim threat of capture. The broken line shows the Russian front when the repulse began; the black line to the west indicates the position about a month later.

By courtesy of "The Illustrated London News"

either in retreat or standing desperately on the defensive. But in the Crimea Sevastopol was being heavily attacked and the Russians, though fighting hard, were with difficulty holding the outer defences of the fortress.

As December drew to a close the pursuit continued, but supply difficulties were beginning to slow the rate of advance, although the Germans had been given no opportunity to establish an organized defensive system in the areas they had so recently captured. On the 30th they were driven out of Kaluga, a railway centre they certainly did not intend to abandon, for a strong force was defeated in the attempt to hold the town. On the previous day the Russians achieved an even more notable success. The Black Sea Fleet on a stormy night put ashore strong forces on the Kerch peninsula and at Feodosia in the Crimea. The Germans, who had probably reduced their garrisons to take part in the attack on Sevastopol, were surprised, and at the end of the year the Kerch peninsula was again firmly in Russian hands. Feodosia the Germans soon recovered, but presumably had to withdraw troops from the Sevastopol front to effect its recapture and to prevent the Russians at Kerch becoming a menace to German communications at Perekop. The Kerch victory, which reflected immense credit on the Black Sea Fleet as well as on the troops who landed, undoubtedly prolonged the resistance of Sevastopol, which was subsequently to involve the Germans in costly operations.

On the Moscow front Soviet troops were now entering the area reached by the Germans in the first phase of the autumn offensive, and the recapture on January 2 of Malo Yaroslavets, and of Volokolamsk about the same time, mark the end of the pursuit phase of the Russian counter-offensive. The story of its later phases, in which organized German defences were encountered, is told in a later Chapter.

During the final phase of the German offensive and during the withdrawal the Luftwaffe evidently lost whatever measure of air superiority it had held in the earlier stages of the campaign. The Russians had the advantage of operating from permanent, well-established aerodromes, where presumably an organization existed for keeping ground clear of snow and for maintaining aircraft in condition in the coldest weather. The Germans, on the other hand, would have to use for the most part aerodromes abandoned by the Russians and presumably much damaged. Those captured at an early stage had no doubt been repaired and re-equipped. They could be used for bombers, transport planes and defensive fighters; but short-range planes (needed for intervention in ground fighting) required airfields near the combat zone, and these airfields must have been in bad condition and inadequately equipped. The Germans were also faced with the always difficult task of changing air bases during retreat. Transport difficulties may in many cases have made the supply of petrol to aerodromes a serious problem.

The year 1941 had not been a good one for the Luftwaffe, and before closing this Chapter it is worth considering why in Russia it had failed to play the predominant part it had played in other German campaigns. Primarily it was because in the air Germany was engaged in a war of many fronts. She had been compelled to come to the assistance of Italy in the Mediterranean. Malta, Libya and Crete took their toll and entailed making strong detachments. The Battle of the Atlantic made demands on her aircraft industries, and R.A.F. bombing raids compelled her to retain a high percentage of her fighter aircraft in the west. Furthermore, on the Russian front itself the fact that practically three campaigns were being conducted simultaneously spelt dispersion. Yet the main credit for the ineffectiveness of the Luftwaffe must be given to the Russian Air Force. In numerical strength and the efficiency of its personnel and equipment it could stand comparison with its opponent, and it received valuable assistance from the formidable and highly trained anti-aircraft defences of the great cities and centres of industry. Not till it suffered from the loss of aircraft manufacturing establishments did it stand in danger of having to admit inferiority.

So many mistaken views were held before the war about the Russian Air Force that a technical description of its aircraft and tactics is given here.

Soviet doctrine of the employment of air forces resembles the German more closely than the British. It insists that the first duty of all aircraft available is co-operation with the land forces. Acting in accordance with this theory, the Soviet has made a notable contribution to air tactics by its development of methods of low-flying attack on ground troops and armoured vehicles and tanks. It was primarily for these attacks that the IL-2 monoplane, better known as the Stormovik, was introduced. It is a single-engined machine of classic design, and it has a 12-cylinder, liquid-cooled engine. The Russians have been extremely reticent about this as about other of their aircraft, and we have only the



FOOD FOR BESIEGERS OF SEVASTOPOL

Crouching low for fear of Russian gunfire, an enemy party with provisions for the German front-line advanced posts makes its way with difficulty between shell bursts. Though under attack from November 1941, Sevastopol held out until July 1, 1942.

Photo, Sport & General







SOVIET AIRCRAFT TYPES

Little has been divulged about the Russian fighters and bombers, but they include some remarkable aircraft. (1) M.I.G.-3 single-seat fighters, which carry light bombs and have a speed of 370 m.p.h. (2) Y.A.K.-1 fighter aircraft on the assembly line; both this type and the MIG have a general similarity to our Spitfire. (3) DB 3-F. medium heavy bombers crossing the front line to attack the enemy. (4) PE-2 twin-engined medium bomber being made ready for a raid. This type has a high speed.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; U.S.S.R. Official







TULA, WHERE THE TIDE OF BATTLE TURNED

At Tula, 120 miles south of Moscow (see map, p. 1939), the enemy had gained ground by the end of October, but a fortnight later the tide began to flow westwards again, and on December 1 the great Russian offensive began in earnest. Top, Soviet tanks in the outskirts of Tula; centre, Russian heavy artillery; below, a light gun firing after the Red Army had reoccupied Tula in mid-December 1941.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



German reports of the Stormovik's armament to go upon. These credit the machine with two cannon and two machine-guns, but more important than this gun armament is the self-propelled bomb.

This latter is one of the few new air weapons, and it has been used with great success by the Russians against enemy tanks. In essentials it consists of a bomb with a rocket attachment, the object being to give the bomb a greater initial speed than it would otherwise have and thereby to gain accuracy and penetrative power. Against tanks the self-propelled bomb is believed to have had much success.

The Russian fighter aircraft follow a formula not much different from that of the Spitfire. The MIG-3 and the YAK-1 both have a certain general similarity to the British machine, although it is believed that their dimensions are smaller.

Russian Fighter Aircraft

Russian bombers in the medium twin-engined class have been rapidly developed, and the PE-2 conforms to the most advanced ideas of streamlining and general structure. There can be little doubt that the Germans found the Soviet air force more powerful than they expected, and that the enemy was disconcerted in particular by the methods of low-flying attack and by the violent fighting aggressiveness of the Russian fighter pilots.

A feature of Russian fighter tactics which illustrates this aggressiveness is the employment of ramming as a normal tactic in certain conditions of combat. At first fighter pilots were disinclined to believe the reports of Russian ramming tactics; but confirmation came from high Soviet officers, and it appears that a technique has been developed which enables an enemy aircraft to be destroyed by partial ramming while allowing the Russian pilot a good chance of escaping alive by parachute, and even sometimes of getting his damaged aircraft home.

Soviet heavy bombers were in evidence for a time shortly after the German attack, but from then on the great winter campaign was fought without their appearing in large numbers. It was only much later that it became known that the Russians were working on some extremely promising designs of large, weight-carrying, four-engined machines.

Over all the air campaigning in Russia there was the dominant fact that it was devoted by both sides to providing cooperation and close support for the enormous land forces there engaged.



BRITAIN TRAINS PARACHUTE TROOPS ON A BIG SCALE

The first official news of British parachutists was given in a communiqué of February 15, 1941 referring briefly to the dropping of units in Southern Italy for certain demolition work in connexion with enemy ports. Here are parachute soldiers at manoeuvres in Britain. Inset, a sergeant wearing his special helmet and carrying a Thompson sub-machine gun.

Photos Central Press; G.P.U.



ARMOURED TRAINS PLAYED A GREAT PART IN RUSSIAN DEFENCE

A glance at the map in page 1939 will make it clear how much the Soviet cities depended on the railway for supplies, but in winter these iron roads provided a means also of vigorous offensive-defence. The photograph shows a Soviet armoured train on its way to the front in the Leningrad sector. Such trains dealt smashing blows in the Moscow zone also, notably near Tula.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



GERMAN CAVALRY IN THE GREAT RETREAT

After an abortive offensive against Moscow late in November the Germans announced on December 8, 1941 that main operations had stopped for the winter. In fact the Russian counter-offensive, which carried our Allies 250 miles in four months, was in full progress and on all the roads in the central sector were witnessed scenes like that above, with weary German troops retreating westward.

Photo, Associated Press



RED ARMY COLUMN ENTERS RECAPTURED TERRITORY ON THE KALININ FRONT

These Russian infantrymen are advancing from a settlement in the northern part of the Kalinin area which they freed from the Germans in December 1941. The methodical advance of the Red Army was carried out in the main by 'winter-combat' troops specially trained and equipped. Not only infantry but horse cavalry were employed, backed up by ski battalions and mechanised artillery.

Photo, Planet News

HOW THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE MET THE GERMAN INVASION

In Chapter 180 the current of affairs during the years preceding the outbreak of the Second Great War is traced, and Anglo-Soviet relations are examined. In the present pages is told the story of the Home Front in Soviet Russia during the first six months of the Russo-German conflict

FROM a perusal of Chapter 180 the reader will realize that the overnight transformation of the Soviet from an ally into a victim of Hitlerite Germany had presented certain political problems to the Allies. In the first place there was soreness about the failure of the British approach in 1939 and about the pact made with Hitler. There was the deep dislike of Russian political systems as British people conceived them. There was, of course, the unexplainable contradiction between the declared "world revolution" policy of the Comintern and the much milder and practical conduct of foreign relations by the Soviet Foreign Office. There were large numbers in Britain and—almost as important—in America to whom at first glance cooperation with Russia seemed impossible.

The memory of the invasion and partition of Poland rankled and had been exacerbated by that of the invasion of Finland—both, as is pointed out in Chapter 180, were dictated by Soviet fears for security, but this was hardly appreciated in Britain and the U.S.A. The uncertainty that prevailed in Britain on Sunday, June 22, 1941, was swept away in a few words by Mr. Churchill's unequivocal statement over the radio that evening that Britain would at once go to the aid of Russia. The Russian danger, he said, was our danger, and the danger of the United States.

Mr. Churchill's Statement

On July 8 a Soviet military mission arrived in London by air to discuss military ways and means of cooperation between the two countries. Four days later an agreement was signed in Moscow pledging both countries to mutual assistance in resistance to a common enemy, and to abstention from either separate peace or armistice. A few days earlier, on July 5, M. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and General Sikorski, Prime Minister of Poland, had met at the Foreign Office. At that date Poland still considered herself in a state of war with the U.S.S.R., but after talks which continued for two weeks the former antagonists became reconciled, and the Russo-Polish Treaty, July 30, was signed in London. The Hitlerite partition of Poland was declared void, diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland were resumed, and collaboration in fighting Germany was agreed upon. A Polish army was to be formed in the U.S.S.R.

On the same day (July 30) Mr. Harry Hopkins, personal representative of President Roosevelt, conferred with M. Stalin in the Kremlin. Three days



MAXIM LITVINOV AT WASHINGTON

Appointed November 6, 1941, the new Russian Ambassador to the U.S.A. is here seen at his first Press conference in December. Behind him is a bust of Lenin. He called Japan the common enemy.

Photo, Associated Press

later an agreement was signed which pledged the United States to assist the U.S.S.R. in her struggle against Hitler.

On August 15, by which date the German army of invasion had swept eastwards to a line threatening Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev and Odessa, Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt sent a joint offer of "all aid" to M. Stalin. They proposed a Moscow meeting. On that day the British Mission to Moscow was announced. Headed by Lord Beaverbrook, it included Messrs. Balfour, Ismay and Macready. Mr. Harriman was appointed President Roosevelt's representative. The Moscow conference ended in definite plans for joint action, and in a spirit of goodwill and friendliness. The British delegates returned to London on October 10. In November the United States made a loan of $1,000,000,000 to the U.S.S.R. and supplies began to flow to Russia from both America and Great Britain. The subsequent appointment on Nov. 6 of M. Litvinov as Ambassador to Washington was significant. He had suffered in the past for his advocacy of warmer relations between the U.S.S.R. and the democracies, and had lost his post of Foreign Commissar in March 1939, when the Soviet appeared to be moving closer to Germany.

In short, difficulties which a few months previously had seemed deep-rooted and irremovable vanished quickly in an atmosphere of good-will and community of purpose. On December 4 a Soviet-Polish Declaration was signed at Moscow, and on the 29th of the same month further talks took place in that city between M. Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, and Lieut.-General Nye, C.I.G.S.

It is now necessary to estimate the extent of the material and economic damage suffered by the U.S.S.R. through the loss of territory to the enemy. The main German advance in 1941 took place during the 10 weeks up to the end of August 1941, after which the pace was very much slower. By the end of August the line, from north to south, ran from Kingisepp, about 30 miles west of Leningrad, through Novgorod and Smolensk, to Kiev and Dnepropetrovsk, with Odessa invested. Excluding the Finnish front, the German advance had covered an area roughly 1,000 miles from north to south, and varying in depth from east to west from three to five hundred miles. The central part of this front was represented by the Pripet Marshes, the north by the Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and the south by the Ukraine.

Russia's Ravaged Territories

In normal times the Ukraine provides 20 per cent of Soviet Russia's wheat and many other cereals. Here, also, is the Donetz Basin, a very rich area with



RUSSO-POLISH DECLARATION OF FRIENDSHIP

The good effect of the Russo-Polish Treaty of July 30, 1941 was reinforced by the joint declaration of friendship between the two Governments signed at Moscow on December 4. Here is the scene three days earlier when M. Kalinin (Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet) received General Sikorski (second from left) and General Anders (right), Commander of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. On extreme left, M. Kot, Polish Ambassador; third from left, M. Vyshinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

60 per cent of the Soviet Union's coal, 60 per cent of her iron ore, 50 per cent of her steel, and 70 per cent of her aluminium. The great industrial plants which had been erected in the chief cities of the Ukraine under Stalin's Five Year Plans—Kiev, Kharkov, Stalingrad, Dnepropetrovsk and Odessa—were supplied with power from the gigantic hydro-electric scheme on the Dnieper. Pursuing the policy of "scorched earth" as set forth by Stalin in his speech on July 3, the great dam at Zaporozhe, masterpiece of Soviet creative imagination, was sacrificed on August 28. The blowing up of this immense engineering work stopped the wheels of most of the Ukrainian industry.

Stalin's speech was a magnificent call to arms. He said that in the areas occupied by the enemy

"foot and horse guerilla detachments must be created, as well as groups of saboteurs entrusted with the launching of guerilla warfare everywhere, with blowing up of bridges and roads, with wrecking telephone and telegraph communications, and with setting forests, depots and trains on fire. It is necessary to create in the invaded area conditions unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices.

"In the event of retreat of the Red Army all railway rolling stock must be brought away. . . . We must not leave a single pound of grain or a single gallon of petrol to the enemy. . . . All valuable materials, including non-ferrous metals, corn and fuel which cannot be taken away, must be completely destroyed."

This, then, was the spirit in which the Russian people met the invader. Hitler was faced with totalitarian resistance, but it exacted a dire toll upon the resources of the Soviet.

There stood in the path of the invader a second and equally important area of the U.S.S.R.—the Caucasus. Here were coal, nickel, iron and manganese, while 75 per cent of Russia's oil came from the famous Baku wells. It will be plain that Germany's rapid advance involved Russia in a major problem of supply. The contingency had been foreseen, and provision made to minimize the loss while rendering the conquered territory of little or no value to the enemy. The term "leap-frog industries" (which is Stalin's) describes precisely what happened throughout 1941 as the Germans advanced into the rich industrial south-west. The system is based on the proposition that the worker and his machine are inseparable, individually, considered as factory units. Therefore, as the enemy approached, Soviet industry went back to safer territory, there to continue war production.

The Voroshilov factory was situated at Dnepropetrovsk. Between September 30 and October 11 the complete plant was removed to the Urals together with the workers. On the latter date the wheels were turning again. By December 1 the factory was actually improving on the output at the time of the leap-frog jump from the Ukraine to the Urals. The herculean character of the enterprise is obvious when one considers what such removals involve by way of rail transport; in one case 7,000 trucks were necessary. The Voroshilov factory was assigned to the Urals because it needed steel. Precision plants in need of electric power were sent to the Volga; chemical industries leap-frogged to Karaganda and Kuznetsk. Plants that could not be saved were destroyed by the Russians.

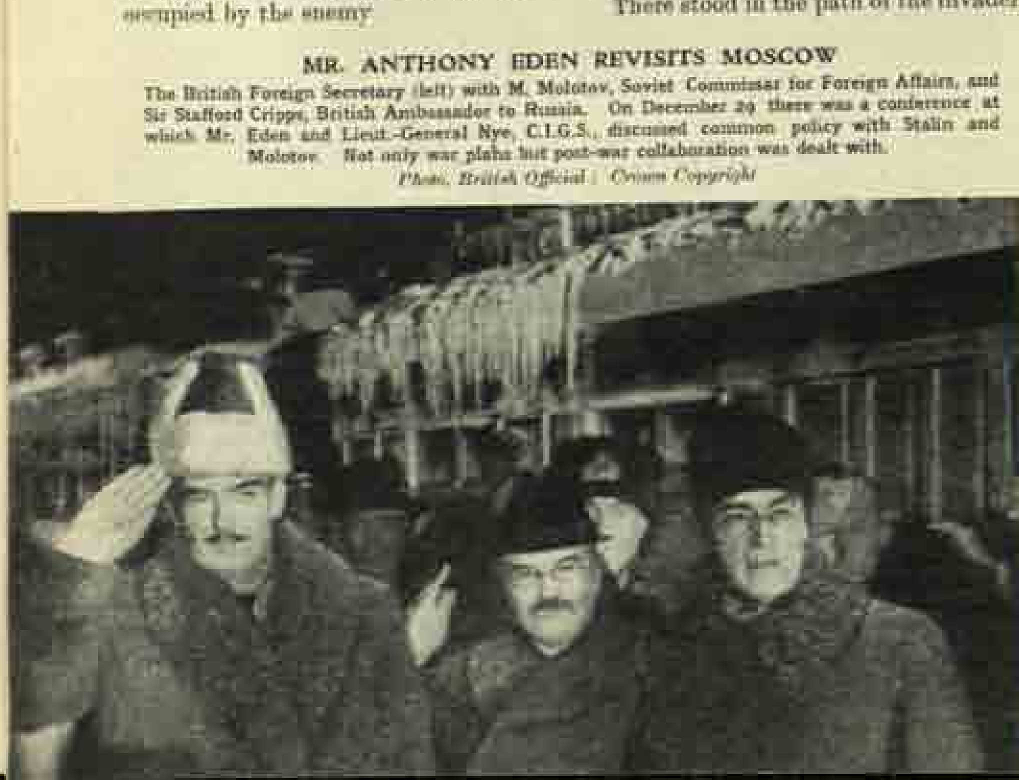
In 1914 the Urals, in the east, were almost entirely agricultural. Today the area is industrial. The main work, done with the help of American technicians, was accomplished since 1931, in which year Magnitogorsk, today a city of nearly half a million workers, was founded on an empty site. In such new towns as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Magnitogorsk are the main metallurgical and armaments plants which largely replace those destroyed in the west. Within this area is about a quarter of all the mineral resources of the U.S.S.R. and from its mines come one-fifth of her iron and one-quarter of her steel. But the duplicate industrial communities in the Urals are not self-sufficing, for their coal must come from Kuznetsk, western Siberia, and from Karaganda in Kazakhstan. The switch-over was not without disadvantages and hindrances to production.

Stalin's call to the civil population was obeyed with enthusiasm and a

MR. ANTHONY EDEN REVISITS MOSCOW

The British Foreign Secretary (left) with M. Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador to Russia. On December 29 there was a conference at which Mr. Eden and Lieut.-General Nye, C.I.G.S., discussed common policy with Stalin and Molotov. Not only war plans but post-war collaboration was dealt with.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright







WARE GUERILLAS! KEEP YOUR WEAPONS READY!

(Bottom right): German military police erect a notice forbidding Nazi vehicles to advance alone on account of guerilla activity: they are to proceed in twos. The other photographs show the Russian side: top, partisans pledge themselves to defend their homeland to the last drop of blood. Left, Soviet poster: (1) "Stir up guerilla warfare in the enemy's rear!" Destroy (2) communications; (3) bridges and roads; (4) warehouses; (5) enemy parties. Partisan operations, combined with the ruthless application of the "scorched earth" policy, caused the diversion of large numbers of German troops from front-line duties.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; "News Chronicle"



dogged resolve. On the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution (November 7, 1941) the Central Committee of the Party adopted 30 slogans for the people. The first of these runs:

"Mercilessly exterminate all enemy man-power. Destroy German tanks and lorries. Blow up bridges and roads. Block the roads for supply trains. Cut the enemy's telephone and telegraph communication lines. Burn the stores and baggage trains of the German invaders. Long live the heroic Soviet guerillas!"

The guerilla groups and bands which sprang up knew that they could expect no mercy from the enemy, but they continued to attack transport columns, tanks and groups of Germans by day and night. When the enemy persecuted men and women remaining in occupied villages and hamlets the guerillas generally took a terrible revenge. Soon the German forces felt the effect of guerilla and partisan warfare and the obstructive tactics of the remaining civil population. Large forces had to be strung out along the tenuous supply lines to protect lorry convoys. Every mile of the German advance into Soviet territory increased the danger. Sentries went in fear and trembling, for they knew not when and whence the surprise attack might come. Improvised petrol grenades were used to wreck tanks and other armoured vehicles. "Booby traps" and impediments were devised to hold up advancing columns.

The effect was twofold. First, it caused great damage to the enemy's materials and communications; secondly, it undermined his morale. Nazi troops became increasingly nervous in the conquered areas as the guerillas became more numerous, more daring and more skilful. For example, one partisan detachment in Byelo-Russia swooped on a town, destroyed the garrison, held the place until German reinforcements arrived, and then retreated. Another detachment permitted German infantry to cross a river, then set fire to the pontoons to prevent retreat, and killed 300 soldiers thus isolated. Tanks were fired, bridges blown up, villages burnt and columns of troops ambushed. These activities were organized and directed from the forests. The fury of the invader may be measured by the ferocity of his revenge upon captured guerillas. Men, women and children were hanged, tortured and shot. His fear of these patriots may be gauged by a German army order which forbade troops to halt in forests and ordered, where such halts were unavoidable, that the forest was to be raked by machine-gun fire before taking up positions. Yet another most valuable activity of the partisans was the bringing of food and ammunition by night to bodies of Soviet troops isolated or cut off by the enemy. Wounded men were rescued and taken away to secret hide-outs; even damaged tanks and lorries were repaired and driven away.

Before the end of 1941 guerilla activities had become largely systematized and organized, and these men and women formed a "shadow army" directed by recognized leaders. It was these same people who applied the "scorched earth" policy laid down by Stalin. The summer crop in the Ukraine was mostly gathered in and removed before the Germans could seize it. What remained was destroyed by driving cattle through the growing wheat. In some areas tractor-drawn rollers completed the work of destruction. The military importance of this aspect of this vast campaign lay in the circumstance that it deprived the advancing German armies of the traditional advantage of the invader—namely, opportunity to live on the country overrun.

A passage in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of July 30, 1941 reflects the disillusionment of Germany. "The war in the East," said this journal, "has developed upon quite different lines from the war waged last year in the West. It has become the most hazardous war in history. There is no longer any front line, and fighting goes on over a considerable depth . . ."



CITIZENS OF LENINGRAD GIVE UP CLOTHING FOR RED ARMY

Though their own conditions were hard, with little fuel and a Spartan ration of food, the people of Leningrad collected vast quantities of warm clothing for the use of Red Army men defending the great city. Here is a scene at one of the receiving depots during October 1941. (Note the thick felt boots—*valinki*—on left.)

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

In a German attempt to organize the conquered territory two methods were brought to bear. German landowners were brought in to take over collective farms whose workers had fled to forest or marsh as guerilla fighters. Then reactionary Russian elements were mobilized to create anti-Communist groups throughout the occupied territory. Prominent among these were expatriated "White" Russians and the Kulaks—the former peasant proprietors who had withstood collectivization. These latter were promised the return to private ownership of the land. Behind the German lines there went on breathlessly the military engineering activities of the Todt organization in making and improving roads and railways. Dr. Todt, a distinguished engineer, had been given high military rank for this task. His major problem was due to the circumstance that the U.S.S.R. railway gauge was broader than the standard gauge used generally in Europe, thus necessitating the prodigious engineering task of relaying the track to take German locomotives and rolling stock. Later, in October, Hitler created the "Eastern March." It included the Baltic States, Western Poland, White Russia and the Ukraine. Alfred Rosenberg, a Balt, and the philosopher of "race purity," was put in charge. Berlin proclaimed this creation as a development as important as the discovery of America. "There will be an explosion of energy from the East," it was predicted.

Nazi Exploitation Methods

September brought the tide of battle to the gates of Leningrad. Berlin

announced that the city would fall by September 5. Against this objective, with the purpose of capturing the city before the early winter of the north, both army and Luftwaffe were hurled. The strategy aimed at starving out Leningrad. The Nazi radio threatened Leningrad with the fate of Warsaw and Rotterdam.

Non-Russian estimates of the potentialities of the Soviet had been based on a memory of conditions prevailing in Tsarist days. But Stalin's Five Year Plans and the immense enthusiasm of a dynamic people had brought about a vast change. Soviet Russia had become competent and highly organized, both industrially and militarily. Nazi Germany discovered the power of the Soviet military machine when Marshal Voroshilov gave battle from Leningrad. This bold and stout defence disconcerted Berlin, whose spokesman said on September 10: "The defence of Leningrad grows every day more desperate. Day by day fresh Russian divisions seem to spring out of the earth to attack our German lines without respite." Later in the month Berlin prophesied the end of the Russian campaign and the collapse of Stalin's regime during that winter.

In Leningrad the population faced with fortitude the rigours of a winter siege. By Lake Ladoga ships brought supplies to the city until, in November, the lake froze. Thereupon, the invaders intensified their attack, hurling 40 divisions against the city. Propaganda leaflets were dropped in an attempt to sow dissension. The defenders, however, every man, woman and child of whom was assigned a duty, constructed a railway over the frozen lake, a feat without parallel in engineering history. The Ladoga iceway saved the city.

Ordeal in Leningrad

There was no electricity, and hence no public transport. All came and went on foot in 30 degrees of frost, living on an attenuated diet. There was no coal, but fuel gathered from fences and old wooden buildings took its place. The bread ration dropped to 3 oz. There was no farm produce, no milk, butter or vegetables. Even under such conditions, and battered day and night by bombing planes and artillery, Leningrad contrived to continue its cultural activities. Shostakovich composed his Seventh Symphony between spells of fire fighting. Theatres gave performances. There were concerts.

On October 1 Hitler launched his fifth offensive. As we have seen in Chapter 181, he had taken Smolensk. Now he coveted Moscow, hoping to succeed where Napoleon had failed. By October the Nazi leaders were hard put to it to explain to their people the protracted nature of the Russian war. On the 3rd Hitler went to Berlin, where Goebbels had prepared the way by an article in "Das Reich," in which he said: "This war is our last chance, but it is the greatest." Hitler then promised "tremendous happenings." Fifteen thousand miles of railway had been relaid, and 10,000 miles of standard gauge laid by Dr. Todt's organization. On October 9 Hitler issued an Order of the Day to all troops. They were to deliver the last great blow before winter. Three weeks were to bring "the greatest victory in the world."

Some days later the Russians retook Kalinin. The old capital stood



ROYAL AIR FORCE WING IN NORTH RUSSIA

In August 1941, No. 151 Wing of the R.A.F. went to Russia with a dual purpose: to assist Russian pilots in repelling the German drive through Northern Norway and Finland against the Arctic port of Murmansk, and to instruct pilots and ground-crews in the handling of Hurricane aircraft which were shortly after sent to Russia in quantities; the Soviet personnel in turn became instructors. Top, Hurricanes at a Russian landing ground. Below, left, Wing Commander G. R. Isherwood takes a light from his opposite number in the Soviet Air Force; right, Headquarters of No. 151 Wing, R.A.F., in Russia.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright











MOSCOW UNPERTURBED

Heavy raids on Moscow began in the last weeks of July 1941. British A.R.P. experts had arrived to coach the Russians in fire prevention, etc., but Soviet officials soon evolved a system of their own. Inevitably there was damage by incendiaries and H.E. bombs, but Moscow was ready. (See illus., p. 1853.) Top, left, a damaged church; right, the New Jerusalem Monastery after a raid. Underground stations had been designed with a view to use as shelters (centre, right). Below, typical scene during the winter of 1941: Manezhnaya Square and Gorky Street.



secure. To Mr. Harry Hopkins Stalin said: "The front will remain west of Moscow. . . . Russia is very large. . . . Russia is pitiless. . . . Russia will not fall back into slavery. . . . Russia will win the war."

There followed the great drive towards Moscow, described in Chapter 183. By October 19 the onrush was slowed. Moscow did not fall, and Hitler's boast about "the greatest victory in the world" proved an empty one. Within Moscow the people were well organized for defence, and A.R.P. obligations applied to all. The great collective farms to the east continued to pour produce into the city. Theatres, cinemas, concerts and exhibitions carried on. By the end of the year it was said that not one working hour had been lost during the raids, and but one case of looting was on record. For the civilian, life became more grim and tense—but men and women had become accustomed to total effort during the long years of the successive economic Plans which put Russia on her feet and steeled her for the impending conflict. Women had long taken a great part in commerce and industry and in the professions, so that they naturally stepped into the breach when their menfolk went to the battle fronts.

In Moscow there was a splendid organization for the care and treatment of wounded. Eminent surgeons treated the many brain and spine cases, and other complicated lesions due to the murderous effects of modern warfare. Upwards of 1,500 blood donors—many of them women and girls—attended daily at the three transfusion institutes to give new life to wounded soldiers.

The ravages of German bombs were soon made good by repair workers, many of them women. Moscow had many basemented buildings, and in the lowest storey safe and efficient shelters were established (see illus., p. 1850). Everywhere there was evidence of steady nerves and a dogged determination to see the job through to victory.

There were months of suspense and imminent danger; women not on essential work were sent away, together with children, in mid-October. Government and diplomats left for Kuibyshev; a state of siege was proclaimed. But towards the end of the month the Russian counter-attacks gave new heart to the people of the capital, and three weeks later there were successes at Kalinin and Tula to cheer them still more. Another Nazi offensive began on November 25, but was short-lived; two weeks later the Germans abandoned the great drive against Moscow. The bravery of its defenders and the fortitude of its citizens had defeated Hitler. The limited success of the Luftwaffe against Moscow, as elsewhere, was attributed to two things: the quantity and quality of the defence, and the excellent organization of the fire-fighters. Between June 22 and August 31 the losses of the invaders were estimated at 7,200 planes and 20,000 air personnel. The attack on Moscow cost 2,200 tanks.

The resistance of the old and new capitals of Soviet Russia was matched by that of other beleaguered cities. Odessa, normally, was a holiday resort. It had no armament factories. The people defended the city with what they had. Mines were made out of cinema-film tins, and makeshift armoured cars and tanks were contrived. The front line was only a tram ride out of Odessa. Women and children crowded the trams with rations for the men in the front line. To the end Odessa fought on. It became a city of the dead.

On October 24 Stalin declared Hitler's blitzkrieg a failure. He gave the Russian casualties as 1,750,000 killed and wounded, estimating that Germany had lost 4,000,000 men. He lamented the absence of a "second front." Hitler disputed these figures in his speech of November 8 and put the Russian losses at eight to ten million.

On November 22 Rostov-on-Don fell to a concentrated attack synchronized with the most critical assaults on Moscow, but by then the force of the German drive was spent. Stories of the suffering of her troops filtered through to a Germany less sure than six months earlier. On December 19 Hitler took over as Supreme Commander from General von Brauchitsch. There were rumours of dissensions between the German army command and Hitler, and it is possible that the conflict between the demands of political warfare and straightforward campaigning had indeed caused uneasiness. The belated renewal of the German attack in November may have been due to the need to demonstrate to Japan—then almost ready to strike against British and American outposts—that Hitler and his armies were still able to pin down Russian armies and, further, could compel the Soviet to bring reinforcements westward from Siberia and Manchuria.

A vastly conceived and well organized assault like the German many-pronged invasion, carried out with the surprise made possible by diplomatic turpitude, was bound to achieve big initial successes. The first six months of the German campaign in Russia gave Hitler great material gains, and made it clear that in the armies and people of Russia the Nazis had redoubtable antagonists who would resist to the last.



READY TO DEFEND THEIR FACTORY

In many armament centres the Russian workers turned out on occasion to repulse advance units of the enemy; there are recorded cases where newly completed armoured vehicles were driven straight out by the operatives to attack the invaders near by. This photograph shows munition workers of the Kirov factory in the Leningrad area, armed with rifles and grenades.

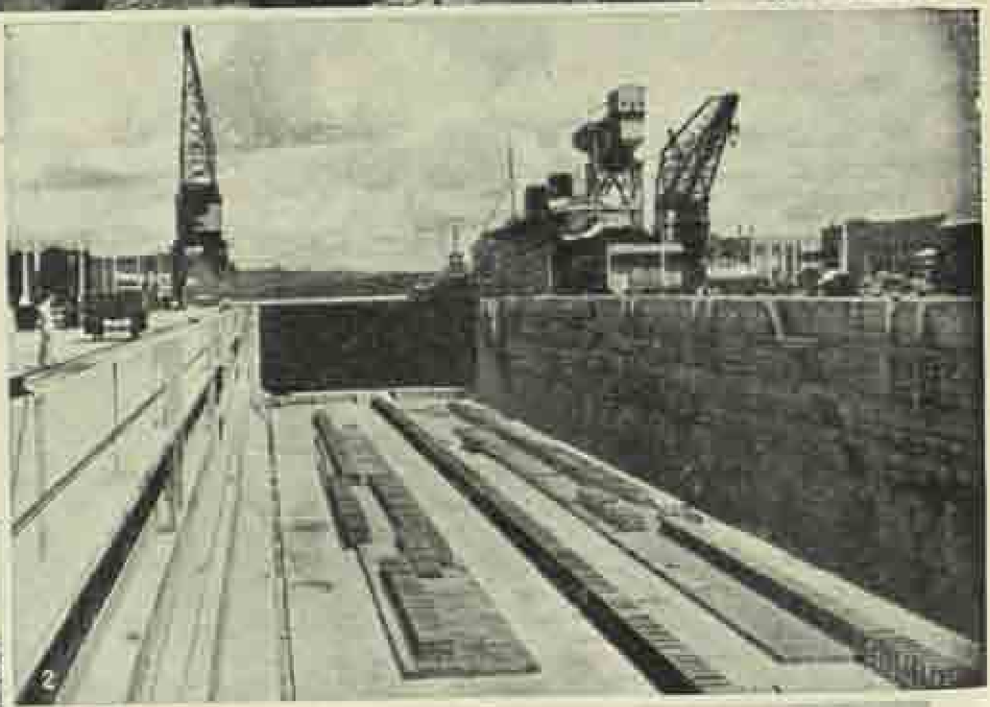
Photo, British Official: Crown copyright



DEFENCE MEASURES AT SINGAPORE

A special correspondent of 'The Times' in Singapore described the great naval base as the core of British strength in the Far East. That strength was contingent, of course, on the Allies retaining naval control of the Pacific in that area. (1) Constructional work in progress at the docks; on left is the immense floating dock, big enough to take the largest battleship. (2) The King George V graving dock, 1,000 ft. long and 130 ft. wide, the world's largest dry dock. (3) Thousands of coils of barbed wire just unloaded for the landward defence line. (4) Floats and chains constituting the boom defence guarding vital channels to the harbour.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press; Planet News







Chapter 195

JAPAN MAKES READY TO STRIKE: PRELUDE TO THE PACIFIC WAR

Penetration in Indo-China and Thailand—Anti-British Propaganda—Konoye Cabinet Resigns: General Tojo Takes the Helm—'Unpardonable Crimes' of Britain and the U.S.A.—Tense Autumn Days: Churchill's Speech—Tojo and Togo on National Policy—Setbacks in China—Burma Tweaks the Lion's Tail—Kurusu's Delaying Action—War Breaks Out in the Pacific

By her occupation of Indo-China at the end of July 1941 (see Chapter 178) Japan in effect threw down the gauntlet to Britain and the United States. To acute-minded observers in Tokyo and Washington, in London and Berlin, it was clear enough that the decks were being cleared for action: war was an ever-increasing probability. Henceforth the question was not so much, will Japan strike, but when? As yet, however, and for some months still, Japan was hesitant. For the moment "peaceful penetration" was her best card to play.

Siam (Thailand) was the next victim of Japanese "squeeze." At the end of July the Tokyo press and radio waxed indignantly eloquent over allegations that Britain was concentrating troops in large numbers on the Siam-Burma frontier and that British warships were parading off the Siamese coast. These demonstrations, supported by the hostile attitude of the Chinese in Siam, were intended (so it was averred) to induce Siam's submission to Anglo-Saxon demands. But Siam was not without friends, said the Japanese newspapers. Let her follow the excellent example so recently set by Indo-China and accept Japanese protection; let her cooperate with Japan in building up the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Otherwise, warned the gentlemen in Tokyo, the fate of Siam could but be the fate of Syria.

Thailand's Blindness

At first these warnings and conjurations fell on deaf ears: Marshal Luang Bipul Songgram, the Prime Minister, seemed to be more mindful of the fate of Indo-China than of that of Syria when, on July 29, he declared that his Government was intent on maintaining friendly relations with all nations, and had been subjected to no pressure, military or economic, from any quarter.

Speaking in the House of Commons on August 6, Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that Anglo-Siamese relations had been friendly for over a century, and Britain asked for nothing better than that they should remain so: any action which would threaten the independence of Siam would be a matter of concern for Britain, more particularly since it would constitute a threat to the security of Singapore; and Sir Robert Craigie, H.M. Ambassador in Tokyo, had been instructed to draw the Japanese Government's attention to the anti-British campaign in the Tokyo press and to emphasize the baseless character of the charges of British designs on Siam.



JAPAN'S NEW WAR LORD

The Konoye Cabinet resigned on October 16, and a new Cabinet was sworn in on the 19th. Lieut.-General Hideki Tojo, above, became Premier, Home Minister and War Minister. After reporting his assumption of office to the Sun Goddess at the Grand Shrine of Ise General Tojo told the Press that Japan's policy would remain substantially unchanged

Photo, Wide World

In his representations to the Japanese Government Sir Robert Craigie was joined by his American colleague, Mr. Joseph Grew; official intimation had been given that any action compromising Siamese independence would be a matter of direct concern to both Britain and the U.S.A. Although Prince Konoye's Government reiterated its declaration that Japan wanted peace, the Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo seemed to be not altogether convinced that the Siamese Government had not been subjected to outside pressure.

Meanwhile in Siam itself the Government maintained its stand. Siam would resist any and every aggression on the part of a foreign power, it was asserted; and the Bangkok radio declared that the Siamese forces would not yield an inch of territory—they would adopt a scorched earth policy if need be, they would use poison gas, they would fight to the last man. Any invader who succeeded in overrunning Siam would find the country a "vast cemetery of the Siamese nation."

National General Mobilization

Japan had to be ready for any emergency, declared Prince Konoye on July 30; his Government was doing all in its power to mobilize the resources and man-power of the nation; and three weeks later the Japanese Cabinet adopted a programme of national general mobilization, providing for the speeding-up of the production of war materials, the establishment of a régime of self-sufficiency within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere so far as iron, steel, coal and other vital materials were concerned, the maximum utilization of merchant shipping, and the guarantee of a minimum standard of life for the Japanese people. Next month all Japanese males between 14 and 40 and females between 14 and 25 (except those with dependants) were made liable to national service in farms, factories and mines.

In spite of these and many equally vigorous measures the Konoye administration failed to weather a political storm that blew up a few months later. On October 16 the Cabinet resigned, and the next day the Emperor, after consultation with the Elder Statesmen and Marquess Kido, Lord Privy Seal, called upon General Tojo to form a Government. The new Cabinet, announced on October 18, included Gen. Tojo, who assumed the portfolios of Home Affairs



FIRST AUSTRALIANS TO REACH MALAYA

Taken in April 1941, when war still seemed a long way from the Malay Peninsula, this photograph shows Australian troops marching along a Malayan road. Commonwealth forces which took part in the disastrous campaign included the Eighth Australian Division (22nd and 27th A.I.F. Brigades). *Photo, Wide World*

and of War in addition to the Premiership, Mr. Shigenori Togo, Foreign Secretary, and Admiral S. Shimada, Minister for the Navy. The selection of a soldier as Premier was hailed in Japan as a logical one enough when the country was "encircled by hostile powers"; General Tojo had the reputation of being an advocate of a forward policy, while the new Foreign Minister was said to be possessed of Axis sympathies.

Mabuchi's Denunciation

The substitution of a general on the active list for a comparatively pacific civilian was noted with some concern by the ABCD Powers, as America, Britain, China and the Dutch East Indies were called for short. Not that they had been left in any real doubt of the militant character of Japan's designs, since a month before his fall Prince Konoye had warned Japan that she was "facing the gravest crisis in her history"; and in a broadcast on September 2 Colonel Mabuchi, chief of the Army Press Section at the Imperial Japanese H.Q., had denounced Britain and the U.S.A. for their "unpardonable crimes," declaring that they were attempting to strangle Japan by depriving her of raw materials and freezing her assets; this "strangulation" must be broken "by diplomacy if possible, by force if necessary."

As the autumn drew on the situation grew more tense. British and American nationals in Japan were urged to leave, and large numbers of Japanese were repatriated from America. Every speech of General Tojo was phrased in terms of a bellicose nationalism; Japan, he declared time and again, was at the cross-roads and must rise or fall. The Japanese newspapers continued to fulminate against Britain and still more against the U.S.A. America must cease giving aid to China, she must acknowledge Japan's leadership of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, she must lift the freezing order, she must recognize Manchuria. To these demands and declarations America and Britain presented a firm front. Colonel Knox, Mr. Roosevelt's Navy Secretary, said on October 24 that the situation in the Far East was severely strained, and that if Japan persisted in her expansionist aims a collision was inevitable. America had been long-suffering and patient, but it might well be that to go farther along the path of liberality and forbearance would be misunderstood. "Grave questions are about to be decided," he said; "the hour of decision is here." On the same day Mr. Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, expressed the opinion that "at any moment war may be forced upon us by the criminal paranoiac Hitler or by Japan."

Then in London Mr. Churchill, speaking at the Mansion House on November 10, referred in no uncertain terms to the increasing tension in the Far East.

"Having fought for the Japanese alliance nearly 40 years ago," he said, "and having always done my very best to promote good relations with the Island Empire, and having always been a sentimental well-wisher of Japan and an admirer of her many gifts and qualities, I would view with keen sorrow the opening of a conflict between Japan and the English-speaking world. The United States' time-honoured interests in the Far East are well known. They are doing their utmost to find a way of preserving peace in the Pacific. We do not know whether their efforts will be successful; but if they fail, I take this occasion to say—and it is my duty to say—that should the United States become involved in war with Japan the British declaration will follow within the hour."

A few days later the Emperor called an Extraordinary Session of the Diet, which met in Tokyo from Nov. 15 to 21. Speaking as Minister of War, Premier Tojo said that Japanese forces were stationed in a vast area of East Asia from Manchuria to Indo-China; they were making heroic efforts to destroy the Chungking regime and to accelerate the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japanese "punitive" forces had greatly reduced Chiang Kai-shek's fighting strength, so that he was no longer able to take the offensive. None the less, the Chungking army was still estimated to number 2,000,000 men, "thanks partly to a wealth of man-power and partly to the assistance of third Powers." The Japanese occupation of China was

making great progress, and sufficient coal, iron ore, salt and cotton had been secured to countervail the economic restrictions imposed by Britain and America in pursuit of their "freezing" policy.

On the next day General Tojo delivered a speech on national policy. Britain, the U.S.A. and the Netherlands Indies, he declared, by their military measures and economic blockade, had created a state of unprecedented national crisis, which Japan was striving to overcome not only in her own interest but for "the cause of peace in East Asia and the world." To resolve this crisis he propounded a three-point programme on the fulfilment of which depended the success of the mission to Washington undertaken a few days before by his Government's emissary, Mr. Saburu Kurusu. The Japanese Government, he said, would expect "that third Powers would refrain from obstructing the successful conclusion of the China affair; that countries surrounding the Empire would refrain from constituting themselves a direct military menace, but would nullify such hostile measures as the economic blockade and restore normal economic relations with Japan; and that the utmost efforts would be exerted to prevent an extension of the European War and the spread of disturbances into East Asia.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Togo, also spoke. He, too, expressed the view that Japan was at the cross-roads of her 2,600 years of history, "for which reason she was contemplating a high degree of defence and the building up of the national morale." Then came a reference to the Kurusu mission.

"There is naturally a limit to our conciliatory attitude," he said, "but I think an amicable conclusion is by no means impossible if the Government of the United States are on the one hand as genuinely solicitous for world peace as are the Imperial Government, and on the other hand understand Japan's natural requirements, her position in East Asia, and consider the situation as it exists there in the light of realities." But, he concluded, "should a situation arise that would menace the very existence of the Empire or compromise Japan's prestige as a great Power, it goes without saying that Japan must face it with a firm and resolute attitude."

With unprecedented speed the Diet passed the Bill for authorizing military expenditure to the tune of 3,800,000,000 yen; and in both the House of Peers and the House of Representatives resolutions were acclaimed supporting the Government in its declared policy. "We are pleased with your labour in cooperating in the execution of State affairs, in conformity with our wishes," said the Imperial message to the Diet.

The "China affair" showed no sign of being brought to a speedy conclusion. Many hundreds of thousands of Japanese troops were still bogged in the Chinese morass, and the swaying tide of battle swept here and there across the vast countryside. During July there was a lull in the military operations, but on the 30th Chungking was savagely bombed, and during the first fortnight of August air raids on the capital of Free China went on almost continuously by day and by night. A thousand Japanese aircraft were said to be employed in these attacks, some of the greatest and most devastating to date. In the raid of July 30 a U.S. gunboat, the "Tutuila," was hit and the affair gave rise to another dispute with America, which was only settled by the payment by Japan of an indemnity for the damage done. Foochow was evacuated by the Japanese early in September, but later in the month they launched a new offensive in Northern Hunan with a view to the capture of Changsha, capital of the province and an important railway junction. Some 80,000 men were reported to compose the attacking force, and for days there was bitter fighting, with heavy casualties on both sides.

Japanese Trapped at Changsha

At one time the Japanese claimed to have occupied Changsha, but the city was held throughout by the troops of General Hsueh Yueh, who had lured the enemy into a trap. On October 2 the Japanese announced their "voluntary withdrawal" from Changsha, although a few days later they claimed the capture

BREWSTER BUFFALO FIGHTERS DEFENDED MALAYA

In the air over Malaya Britain was at a disadvantage, and instead of the speedy and magnificent Hurricanes and Spitfires our pilots flew slower aircraft like the Buffaloes—here seen in formation over the Malayan coast. The top speed of this American single-seat fighter was 330 m.p.h., and it was armed with six machine-guns.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright







CHINESE VICTORY AT CHANGSHA

The Japanese attack on North Hunan during the last week of 1941 was intended to stop Chiang Kai-shek sending troops to the aid of the Allies, but it failed. Instead, four Japanese divisions were trapped and about 30,000 were killed or wounded. Top, Chinese attacking the enemy between the Laotao and Liuyang rivers. Right, General Hsueh Yueh, nicknamed 'Little Tiger,' Governor of Hunan Province and field commander of the Chinese armies there. Left, one of a 'suicide squad,' which killed seven of a Japanese advanced post. Below, Japanese troops surrender. In the previous September Japanese forces reached the suburbs of Changsha, but were then driven back.

Photos, Pictorial Press





of Chenchow. The Chinese countered with the recapture of Ichang, the Treaty port on the Yangtze above Hankow, but less than a week later were expelled by strong Japanese forces. However, early in November they had a new success in the recapture of Chenchow. Local fighting continued in many places, and after more than four years of war there was not the slightest indication of any desire on the part of Chiang Kai-shek to come to terms with the invader. Before the year's end China's war had become merged in a world-wide struggle, and so far from being alone in her resistance to the Japanese aggressor she was hailed as a principal member of the United Nations.

In Burma the authorities did their best under the pressure of events to put the defences in a state of readiness.

Burma's Defence Measures

New aerodromes were constructed; Brewster Buffalo fighters were brought from America and Blenheim bombers from Britain; troops were assembled on the Siamese frontier. A new Defence Council was set up in August, with the Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, and Premier U Saw as President and Vice-President respectively. At the end of November large troop reinforcements were reported to be arriving at Rangoon. As in India so in Burma, however, there was considerable political unrest; and U Saw went to London to discuss the grant to Burma of Dominion status. After talks with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, U Saw expressed himself not at all pleased with the situation.

"It is my desire," he said in a statement to the press on November 3, "to see that both Burma and Great Britain pull well together, and that is why I brought a message of good will from the people of Burma. . . . The British Government has given an assurance to India and Burma that it will give those countries self-government one day, but when that day will come is another question. . . . I only want a definite assurance that Burma will be placed on the same level as other members of the Empire."

At a luncheon given in U Saw's honour the next day Mr. Amery stated that constitutional controversies could not be entered upon at that juncture. So U Saw left London a disappointed man. Later he was arrested and interned on the charge of having been in contact with Japanese authorities since the outbreak of war with Japan.

In India, too, political questions were well to the fore. Since July 1 General Wavell had been Commander-in-Chief, and under his able direction much progress was made. On September 3 it was announced at Simla that



WILY PREMIER OF BURMA

Mr. U Saw, Prime Minister of Burma, came to London in November 1941 to discuss Dominion status for his country. Before he left for home, on November 5, he said the result he had achieved was not satisfactory. On January 18 it was announced that U Saw had been detained by the British Government, en route to Burma, for negotiating with Japan after war had been declared.

Photo, Wide World

the Indian Army now numbered 700,000 men, representing a growth of 460,000 during the past twelvemonth; while on the supply front Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan was able to give an impressive report of recent achievements. This was in spite of the fact that all the political parties, Congress in particular, remained ostentatiously aloof from participation, while subversive and revolutionary activities of the more extremist groups continued to receive the attention of the police.

Then at Singapore there were the same signs of preparation, of readiness to accept the challenge. Large convoys of Australian, Scottish and Indian troops arrived in August and right up to late November; the R.A.F. also received considerable reinforcements. Early in September Mr. Duff Cooper, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Minister charged with the investigation of British defences in the Far East, arrived at Singapore. Here he was visited by General Wavell.

Hongkong, too, resounded with the clatter of war preparations. Maj.-Gen. Maltby, the G.O.C., stated that the Colony's defences had been considerably strengthened, and that for its size it probably had more big guns than any other place in the Empire.

Hongkong Prepares

On November 16 Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, announced that a Canadian force under Brig. J. K. Lawson had arrived in Hongkong. (*See* illus., p. 1885.)

Japan meanwhile was proceeding with her plans. Late in November reports were current that Japanese warships were sailing off the coast of Siam, that Japanese troops were massing in Indo-China over against the Siamese frontier—reports which led Marshal Luang Bipul Songgram to invite, and receive, fresh assurances from the Japanese ambassador that Japan had no hostile intentions against Siam. All the same, a Siamese High Command was constituted, and several classes of reservists were called to the colours. The Kurusu talks were still proceeding in Washington, but only the most incorrigibly optimistic could persuade themselves that they were likely to bear any substantial fruit. On November 26 Mr. Cordell Hull handed to the Japanese Ambassador, Admiral Nomura, a document which was believed to



THE BATTLES FOR CHANGSHA

In September 1941 the Japanese tried to capture Changsha, capital of Northern Hunan, but failed and withdrew on October 2. A little later they held Chenchow for a short time, but were driven out early in November. Ichang, too, changed hands, being occupied by Chinese forces for some days. In a later mass attack on Changsha at the end of the year the enemy suffered a colossal defeat.



MOMENTOUS CONFERENCE WITH CHINESE LEADERS

Eleven days after the arrival of Sir Archibald Wavell (9) and Lieut.-General George Brett (8) at Chungking on December 22, 1941 came news of the setting up of a unified Allied Command in the South-west Pacific, with General Wavell as C.-in-C. and General Brett as his Deputy. Here the British and American leaders are seen with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (5), Madame Chiang Kai-shek (4), Sir Archibald Clark Kerr (2), then British Ambassador to China, General Lancelot Dennys (1), head of the British Military Mission, Brigadier-General John Magruder (7), head of the American Military Mission, General Ho Ying-chin (6), of the Chinese Staff, and Mr. Owen Lattimore (3), personal political adviser to the Generalissimo.

Photo, Pictorial Press

contain the American terms for a settlement. The Japanese reply was evasive, and there were many who suspected that Kurusu was playing for time; and their suspicions were confirmed by a fighting speech delivered by General Tojo on November 30. "Japan, China, and Manchukuo," he declared, "are completely united in their efforts to establish a New Order in East Asia based on justice and morality, as well as the formation of an axis for permanent peace." The Powers of Europe and America were trying to exploit the thousand millions of East Asia "to satisfy their greed," and Japan would "proceed over the corpses of our comrades in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Japan was about to strike: that now seemed clear. But still the direction of her aggression was uncertain. In Malaya and Hongkong they stood to arms; in Australia Mr. Curtin called a War Cabinet; in Washington Mr. Kurusu still exchanged notes with Mr Hull. . . .

December 6 came and President Roosevelt, in a final effort for peace, sent a personal message to the Emperor Hirohito. But the time had gone by for such exchanges. Japan was bent on war. At 7.55 a.m. on December 7 the U.S. Fleet in Pearl Harbour was bombed and put out of action, and before the day was out the Philippines, Malaya, Hongkong and the American islands in mid-Pacific had all been attacked. Shortly after this news reached Washington Admiral Nomura and Mr. Kurusu appeared at the State Department with Japan's reply to the latest American note. Mr. Cordell Hull read it with rising indignation. "In all my fifty years of public service," he declared, "I have never seen a document more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any Government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

The swift march of events after this is described in following Chapters, but there are certain facts which, relating to the later weeks of December, should be told here. On December 22 General Sir Archibald Wavell and Lieut.-General George Brett, U.S. Army, visited Chungking to confer with the Chinese Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. General Brett had held the post of Chief of Staff, U.S. Army Air Corps. Five days later General Wavell took over the defence of Burma, and Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton was appointed G.O.C. Burma. On January 2 it was announced that Chinese troops had entered Burma to serve under Wavell. Next day came the announcement of the setting up of a unified Allied Command in the S.W. Pacific, with General Wavell as C.-in-C. and General Brett as his Deputy. On December 26 Air Chief Marshal Sir R. Brooke-Popham was replaced as C.-in-C. Far East by Lieut.-General Sir Henry Pownall, whose selection for a special command had been made known on November 18.

Japanese forces made another determined attempt to capture Changsha at the end of the year, but were heavily defeated and sustained 30,000 casualties.

AMERICA PREPARES TO MEET THE JAPANESE CHALLENGE

President Roosevelt's Warnings—Billion-Dollar Loan to Russia—Occupation of Iceland—Mission to Moscow—Stern Economic Action Against Japan—'Shoot First' Order in the Atlantic—Mid-Ocean Meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt—Neutrality Act Amended—Worsening Relations With Japan—The Kurusu Talks—'Infamous Falsehoods and Distortions'—Japan Strikes

President Roosevelt's task in the first months of 1941 (*see* Chapter 172) had been mainly that of bringing home to the American people the reality, extent and urgency of the world war situation as it menaced the United States. His clear vision and sincere idealism had to a large extent achieved his purpose, but even after the sinking of the "Robin Moor" (*see* Chapter 172) the world war still remained for the masses remote and only indirectly their own concern.

This reaction was reflected in the nation's trade and industry, which continued to be mainly concerned with luxury production. For example, between January and June of 1941, despite the dynamic drive of Production-Controller Knudsen, only 15 per cent of the total American production was for the export of war materials. The sales of such luxury articles as refrigerators, electrical cookers and private motor vehicles all increased—from 35 per cent to 51 per cent. Coupled with the labour disputes mentioned in Chapter 172 were such inimical factors as overlapping, administrative interference, acrimony between munitions manufacturers and government departments.

This initial lag was steadily overcome. Thus by mid-May the steel industry was operating at 99.2 per cent of capacity—80,000,000 tons a year—and by July 1 the President of the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, Mr. J. J. Honett, announced that aircraft production was nearing the 1,500 per month mark. On Labour Day (September 1) the President reiterated his warning to the nation: "The danger," he said, "which threatens the world is not past." He foreshadowed the imminence of war, saying: "The United States is undoubtedly at peace, but will she be so next year?"

By the end of June national sentiment already marched ahead of national performance. This change may be measured with fair accuracy by numerous polls taken about this date. On June 22 came Hitler's invasion of Russia, followed the same day by Britain's whole-hearted affirmation of support for the latest victim. Mr. Sumner Welles, endorsing Mr. Churchill's policy, condemned the Nazi onslaught as "treacherous, dire and murderous." "We are going to give all aid we possibly can to Russia," he added. On the same day the same spokesman announced that the President had lifted the ban on the export of arms under the Neutrality Act and that henceforth American ships would carry war materials to Vladivostok.



SPEEDING AMERICAN AID TO RUSSIA

In July 1941 President Roosevelt sent Mr. Harry Hopkins (right) to Moscow as his personal representative to confer with Premier Stalin about the acceleration of supplies from the U.S.A. As supervisor of the Lease-Lend programme, Mr. Hopkins was in a special position to deal with the question.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

On June 23 M. Maisky, Russian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Mr. Winant, American Ambassador, and members of the British Cabinet went into conference. These events oriented American public opinion. In early spring the Gallup Institute had conducted an inquiry which resulted in 81 per cent of those questioned declaring against any United States expeditionary force to Europe, and only 41 per cent in favour of convoys. Figures so low are less surprising when the racially complex character of this cosmopolitan State is borne in mind, with its large blocks of Axis nationals. A second poll, in early summer, revealed the swing of the pendulum; already 62 per cent answered that they would rather go to war than see Great Britain defeated by Hitler.

Despite this upward curve of the belligerency graph the German attack on Russia did not altogether assist the President in solidifying opinion against Germany. The subversive elements in the land became immediately active. Old prejudices against the Russian way of life were stimulated by unscrupulous propaganda. Roman Catholics were reminded that Russia was "the godless state." The industrialists were not allowed to forget that their way of life could not exist under Stalin's regime. Yet, so courageous was Mr. Roosevelt, and so high did his personal prestige stand, that by July 11 he was able to grant a credit





BRITISH AIR CADETS TRAIN IN U.S.A.

In connexion with the Empire Air Training Scheme numbers of Royal Air Force personnel went to the United States as well as to the Dominions for training. Top, young cadets at the civil aviation school in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, report for duty. [Later, after the U.S.A. became a belligerent, the American authorities took over the flying schools.] On passing out our cadets were given American 'wings' (right) to wear beneath those of the R.A.F.

Photos, Associated Press; Fox

of 1,000,000,000 dollars to the Soviet without notable political repercussions. On the day before the invasion of Russia he had already called on Congress to authorize the extension of military service, thus securing 900,000 trained men for further service beyond their allotted period. General G. Marshall, Chief of Staff, called for conscription. And Wendell Willkie, the President's opponent in the presidential election, rallied whole-heartedly to his side.

Steadily, as heard from Washington, the cacophony of total world war increased in volume and tempo. Colonel Knox, Naval Secretary—from the first the opponent of the Isolationists and a firm friend of Britain—said that the time had come to strike. Among the Isolationists Senators Nye and Wheeler solicited the President to secure a peace by negotiation, while Col. Lindbergh openly advocated an alliance with Hitler. A Gallup poll at this date provided evidence of the violent turmoil created by the new war development. Asked if their country should now enter the war, 79 per cent answered "No." On Independence Day the President used grave words:

"We cannot wave our flag," he said, "reassert our belief in the cause of freedom and let it go at that. We know, too, that we cannot save freedom in our own land if all around us our neighbour nations have lost their freedom. . . . It must be our deep conviction that we pledge as well our work, and will and, if it be necessary, our very lives."

General opinion in the United States, including that of the military experts, anticipated a speedy collapse of Russia. This estimate of the military situation resulted in an intensification of the desire to prevent a like fate befalling Britain—the shield of America against the Axis Powers. Before this clear-cut issue the Isolationists, with their battle cry: "We don't want to fight for Britain," fell silent.

On July 7 Mr. Roosevelt announced that he had decided to occupy Iceland as a defensive measure, that island being a strategic outpost of prime importance in the Battle of the Atlantic. Two days later, in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill hailed this event. It was the logical sequence to the occupation of Greenland on April 26. A Gallup poll held at this time resulted in 72 per cent giving an affirmative reply to the question: Do you desire Russia to beat Germany?

The President sent Mr. Harry Hopkins, as his personal representative, to confer with Stalin. A Soviet Military Mission was received by Mr. Roosevelt. On August 14 Lord Beaverbrook (since May 2 Minister of State) went to Washington to place before the American Government the needs of Britain, with the object of securing increased and immediate deliveries. On the 29th Mr. Harriman was sent by the President to Moscow, Mr. Hopkins having meanwhile visited London. These were weeks of close cooperation between Russia, Britain and the United States for the pooling of war resources and the co-ordination of the war effort.

While these events were directing the eyes of the American people to the drama of the Battle of the Atlantic, the activities of Japan were causing grave apprehension. The trend of events is reviewed in Chapter 195, so that only a brief outline need be given here. Japan was obtaining further territory in Indo-China: this was admitted by the Vichy Government on July 23. On July 24 Mr. Sumner Welles said: "The Japanese Government is giving a clear indication that it is determined to pursue an objective of expansion by force or threat of force." He added that his Government could only conclude that the action taken was because of the estimated value to Japan of bases for a further and more obvious movement of conquest in adjacent areas. Speaking the same day (July 24), President Roosevelt said that the policy of appeasement towards Japan was at an end. Next day, simultaneously with similar action in Britain and the Dominions, Japanese assets in the United States were frozen. On the 26th Mr. Roosevelt created a new army command—U.S. Forces in the Far East. The Philippines were put under American military command.

'Shoot First' Order to U.S. Navy

A curious feature of American public opinion at this time was the tendency to underestimate the purpose and power of Japan. Her inability to settle her four-year-old "incident" with China was cited as evidence of military limitations. The President and his advisers had a shrewder judgement. In August Japan began to move into Siam and, simultaneously, the Press of Japan opened a campaign against Mr. Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister. It was plain that for America the tide of war was rising, east and west. Germany now threw off all pretence and attacked United States shipping as though a state of war existed between these countries (see Chapter 190). On September 11 the President gave the order to the U.S. Navy to "shoot first." (Since April 26 the American Fleet



LIEUT.-GENERAL A. G. L. McNAUGHTON, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Commander-in-Chief of the First Canadian Army in Britain from October 1939, he was Chief of the Canadian General Staff from 1929 to 1935, and G.O.C. Heavy Artillery of the Canadian Corps in the First Great War. President of the National Research Council of Canada. On December 27, 1943, it was announced that Lt.-Gen. McNaughton had asked to be relieved of his command on grounds of ill-health. This was granted.

Direct colour portrait by Karsh, Ottawa



GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army since April 27, 1939. In 1902 and 1903, and from 1913 to 1916, he served in the Philippines. He was with the American Expeditionary Force in France in 1917, on the general staff of the First Division. After the war he was aide-de-camp to General John J. Pershing for five years. From 1924 to 1927 he was stationed in China. In 1941 he endorsed aid to Britain and early in the summer urged Congress to extend the period of training of conscripts and to raise the ban on overseas drafts outside the Western Hemisphere. In July 1942 he visited London with Admiral King (below) and reached agreement with British Chiefs of Staff on plans for the subsequent Mediterranean offensive



ADMIRAL ERNEST J. KING

Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations. He served in the Spanish-American war, and in the First Great War was assistant to the chief of staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Fleet. In 1933 he was promoted to Rear-Admiral, and he was Vice-Admiral in command of the Fleet's aircraft battle force, 1938-39. On February 1, 1941, Admiral King was made Commander of the Atlantic Fleet and on December 20, thirteen days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, he was designated Commander-in-Chief of the whole Fleet. On March 9, 1942 he succeeded Admiral Harold R. Stark as Chief of Naval Operations, thus combining the two highest ranks in the U.S. Fleet.

Direct colour photographs by Pictorial Press

had been patrolling—not convoying—a thousand miles east of the Atlantic seaboard.)

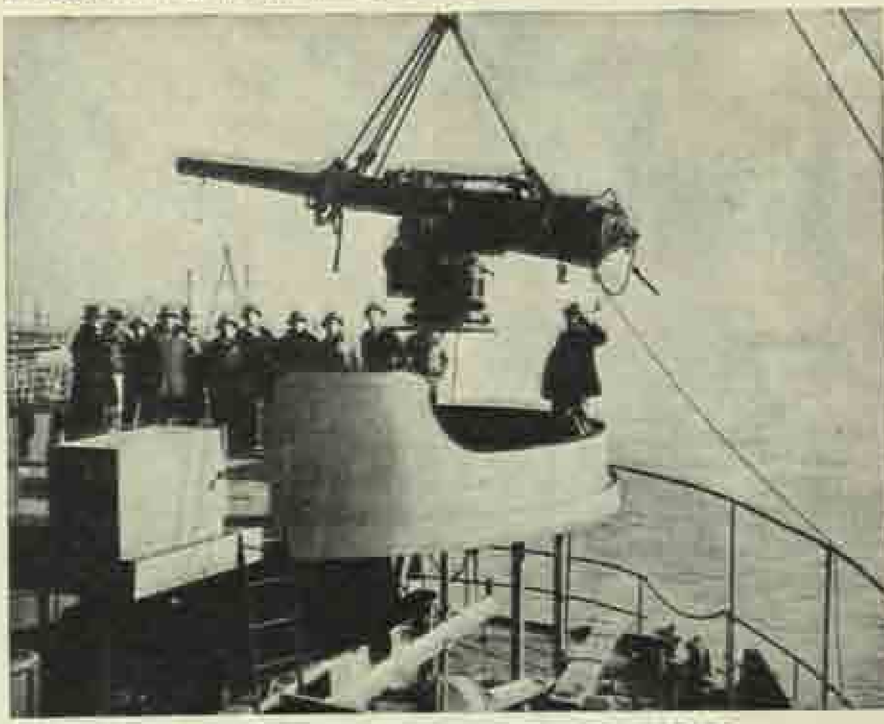
In the second week of August there came the historic meeting of the British Prime Minister with President Roosevelt in mid-Atlantic on board the battleship "Prince of Wales," at which was drafted the declaration of Allied aims known as the Atlantic Charter. An account of this event is given in Chapter 191; the text of the Charter is printed in page 1920. Broadcasting on August 24, Mr. Churchill described the Charter as "a simple, rough and ready wartime statement of the general goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way."

The presence of the heads of the fighting forces at this conference alarmed the Isolationists and others, too, in America. Coupled with the President's pledge to destroy Hitlerism and Nazism, it led them to fear he was pushing the country into the "shooting war." On August 21 Mr. Roosevelt adroitly defended his action. The Declaration, he averred, could be rejected only by those prepared to compromise with Hitler. "Such a peace," he told Congress, "would be a gift to Nazism to take breath, armed breath, for a second war to extend its control over Europe and Asia, to the American hemisphere itself."

Plain Words to the Isolationists

The Charter clarified the salient war aims, and defined the ideals in national and international life towards which both democracies were striving. Further, it demonstrated to Nazi Germany the solidarity of the English-speaking world. It is fair to say that the President had gone as far as his country approved, and it is certain that nothing he could say or do could carry the country farther at the moment. It was on August 15, shortly after the Atlantic meeting, that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt sent a joint message to Stalin offering him the utmost possible aid against Germany, and also proposing a tripartite conference in Moscow to discuss the use of war materials and how best their countries could apportion their resources. (*See* page 1856.)

For the performance of the programme upon which he had determined President Roosevelt had to secure first



LAST SHRED OF 'NEUTRALITY' DISAPPEARS

With the revision of the Neutrality Act in November 1941 there disappeared some of the hindrances to American cooperation in the fight for freedom. U.S merchantmen were armed for defence (top, lowering a gun to its platform), and were allowed to enter belligerent ports. British warships had been given the use of U.S. shipyards by the Lease-Lend Act passed in March, and the lower photograph shows the battleship 'Malaya' leaving New York harbour after refitting.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone



an amendment to the Neutrality Act of November 4, 1939. (This law provided for the sale of armaments to belligerents on the cash-and-carry basis, but forbade American ships to carry them into combat zones.) Secondly, he had to secure Congress's consent to the suspension of the cash-and-carry clause of the Lease-and-Lend Bill of March 12, 1941. On November 17 (when the President signed the new Bill) the law was revised: American ships were ordered to be armed, and were no longer prohibited from entering belligerent ports. At the same time the President secured from Congress authorization to increase the loan to Russia, at that date standing already at $13,000,000,000.

The Atlantic conference was not without its effect upon Tokyo. On August 25 the Japanese Ambassador told M. Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that the sending of war supplies from the U.S.A. to Russia via Vladivostok placed Japan "in an extremely delicate and difficult position." Molotov assured his questioner that any such war materials would be used against Germany alone. A simultaneous protest to Washington resulted in a temporary suspension of American shipments to Vladivostok. "The United States," said Mr. Churchill on August 24, "are labouring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost assurance for her legitimate interests." These words had reference to the protracted and inconclusive talks between Admiral Nomura, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, and Mr. Cordell Hull. On August 26 Mr. Roosevelt sent a military mission to China. On the 29th Prince Konoye, Prime Minister of Japan, sent a personal letter to Mr. Roosevelt and the President undertook to handle matters personally.

But no such talks were likely to produce agreement. Japan was merely manoeuvring for position, and it is questionable whether anything more



U.S. NAVAL FORCES IN ICELAND

In view of the threat of a German occupation of Iceland, and the fact that British defence troops there were required elsewhere, President Roosevelt sent a Naval force to the island on July 7, 1941—on the invitation of the Icelandic Government. Below, American fighter aircraft are landed, together with defence supplies. Right, Major-General Bonesteel, in command of the U.S. forces in Iceland, greets the British Commander (right), Major-General H. O. Curtis, after the arrival of an American contingent. *Photos, B.I.P.P.A.; P.N.A.*





WINGED MESSENGER

Lord Halifax, visiting an aircraft works on the Pacific Coast, chalks a message to Mr. Churchill on a new Consolidated B-24 bomber about to leave for Britain. It read : 'There are hundreds more like this on their way to help you finish the job.'
Photo, Keystone

was expected from the talks with the U.S. than a few months gained for preparations. The discussions with Nomura petered out. On September 2 came an outspoken broadcast by Colonel Mabuchi, head of the Japanese Army Press Section. (*See* p. 1956.)

Relations rapidly deteriorated, and by the middle of October an agreement was concluded with Tokyo for the repatriation of American and Japanese nationals.

Japan sought to make a robber's bargain with the United States. She suggested as the basis of a settlement retention of Manchuria, the exploitation of China and a partial evacuation, recognition of her interests in Indo-China in exchange for the status quo in the Pacific. In reply, Japan was reminded of the principles of Stimson's doctrine, enunciated in 1937, namely, that no recognition would be given to states taking territory by force of arms. On October 16 the Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, resigned and a new government was formed three days later under General Tojo, whose militaristic ambitions were common knowledge (*see* Chapter 195). Yet Tojo offered peace by negotiation—though to him this meant peace only at the price of satisfying all Japan's far-fetched ambitions—and on November 5 he dispatched to Washington Mr. Saburu Kurusu to assist the Ambassador in the new discussions. The Press of Japan became more and more provocative. The Foreign Minister (Mr. Togo) accused both Britain and America of plotting against Japan (*see* p. 1957). The new Premier, General Tojo, added further conditions—"hands off Japan's Chinese enterprise." On November 17 the Japanese envoys visited the President. That evening news from Tokyo told of vast votes for war purposes.

In Tokyo Mr. Grew, U.S. Ambassador, was under no misapprehension as to the danger. On November 3 he had telegraphed to Washington a warning against acceptance of any theory that the weakening and final exhaustion of Japanese financial and economic resources would result shortly in Japan's collapse as a militarist power. He also spoke of the possibility of Japan's adopting measures with dramatic and dangerous suddenness which might make war with the United States inevitable. Again, a fortnight later, Mr. Grew in a cable called attention to the necessity for vigilance against a sudden Japanese naval and military attack.

On November 20 Kurusu terminated the talks. Six days later Mr. Hull handed the Japanese envoys his reply. The next day the envoys saw the President. Washington—and indeed the whole world—waited. But not



JAPANESE 'PEACE' ENVOYS

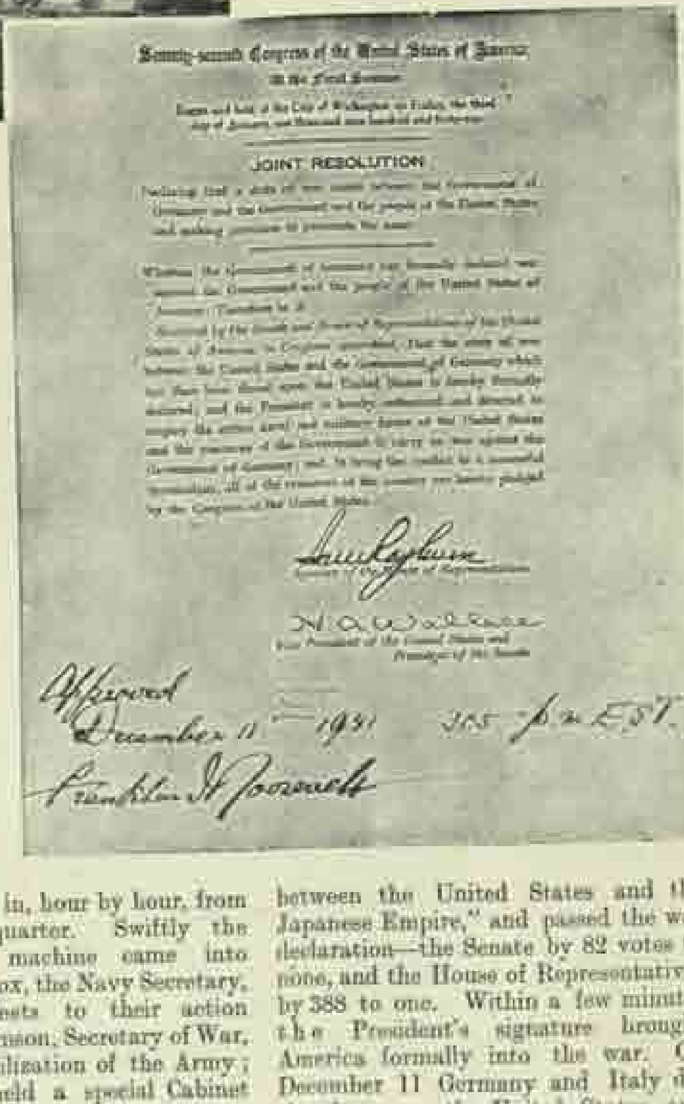
In mid-November Mr. Saburu Kurusu (right) came to Washington as an additional envoy to assist the Ambassador, Nomura (left). Mr. Cordell Hull (centre) is conducting them to the White House. Their true mission was to throw dust in the eyes of U.S. diplomats.
Photo, Associated Press



MR. CHURCHILL ADDRESSES THE U.S. CONGRESS

On December 12, 1941 (the day after Germany and Italy declared war upon the United States) Mr. Churchill arrived at Washington for conferences with the American leaders. On the 26th he addressed both Houses of Congress in the Senate Chamber. His oration—inspiring and realistic, in his best vein—is printed in Historic Document, page 1968.
Photo, Keystone




Seventy-seventh Congress of the United States of America

JOINT RESOLUTION

Approved December 11 1941 3:05 p.m. E.S.T.

Franklin D Roosevelt

AMERICA GOES TO WAR, DECEMBER 8, 1941

President Roosevelt signs the Declaration of War against Japan, who the day before had attacked Pearl Harbour and other American bases in the Pacific. Left to right, S. Bloom, Chairman of House Foreign Affairs Committee; Charles Eaton, New Jersey; Luther Johnston, Texas; S. Rayburn, Speaker; J. W. MacCormack, House Majority Leader; Senator C. L. McNary, Minority Leader; Senator A. W. Barkley, Majority Leader; Senator Carter Glass; Senator T. Connally, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Right, facsimile of the Declaration of War against Germany, December 11, 1941

Photo, Topical Press

Japan made a formal declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain. In London Mr. Churchill met his Cabinet at 12.30 a.m. on December 8, when news had been received that the Japanese had not only bombed Singapore and Hongkong, but had attempted a landing in Malaya; Britain's declaration of war, "in view of this wanton act of unprovoked aggression committed in flagrant violation of international law," was a foregone conclusion. Shortly afterwards, at 3 a.m., the Netherlands Government followed suit.

Later in the morning the Congress of the United States met in Washington, listened to the President's eight-minute declaration with its dramatic: "I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed

for long. On the 30th General Tojo accused Great Britain and the United States of exploiting the Far East for gain. On December 2 President Roosevelt, informed of the movement of Japanese warships and troops, called for an explanation. On December 5 came an evasive reply from Tokyo. In a personal message to the Emperor of Japan, dispatched on the 6th, the President asked the Emperor to "dispel the dark clouds."

On the following morning (December 7) Kurusu and Nomura called upon Mr. Hull with the reply to the American note of November 26—a reply which by its "infamous falsehoods and distortions" aroused Mr. Cordell Hull to fury (see p. 1960).

Last of Kurusu and Nomura

At or about that hour Japan launched a mass attack by air upon Pearl Harbour, without warning or declaration. While the attack was still in progress the news was flashed to Washington, where the Japanese envoys had just finished another consultation with the U.S. Secretary of State. Early in the afternoon Mr. Stephen Early, Mr. Roosevelt's secretary, announced that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbour from the air, and a few minutes later the President issued the statement that a second air attack had been reported, this time on the Manila bases of the American Army and Fleet in the Philippines. Then the ill tidings flowed in, hour by hour, from quarter after quarter. Swiftly the American war machine came into action. Col. Knox, the Navy Secretary, ordered the Fleets to their action stations; Mr. Stimson, Secretary of War, ordered the mobilization of the Army; Mr. Roosevelt held a special Cabinet meeting.

Hours after hostilities had begun (on the evening of December 7 British time, morning of December 8 Japanese time), between the United States and the Japanese Empire," and passed the war declaration—the Senate by 82 votes to none, and the House of Representatives by 388 to one. Within a few minutes the President's signature brought America formally into the war. On December 11 Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and the wheel had turned full circle. Next day Mr. Churchill with Lord Beaverbrook went to Washington. On the 26th the

Prime Minister addressed Congress, in an oration which won America entirely (*see* Historic Documents, page 1968).

"Some might be depressed," said Mr. Churchill, when he spoke, like the President, of "a long and hard war. But their peoples would rather know the truth, however sombre." In concluding he remarked that the catastrophe of a second war in one generation might have been averted if the United States and Great Britain had kept together after the last war and had taken common measures for safety. "I avow my hope and faith that in the days to come the British and American peoples will, for their own safety, walk together in majesty, in justice, and in peace."

In a statement on Mr. Churchill's visit Mr. Roosevelt said: "There is of course one primary objective in the conversations to be held . . . that purpose is to defeat Hitlerism." Overall unity in the conduct of the war was the goal, and conferences were held with Dominion representatives, with representatives of the free Governments of Europe, and with the heads of missions of 20 Latin-American Republics.

On December 28 Mr. Churchill left for Ottawa, where he addressed the Dominion Parliament (*see* illus., p. 1917). On the first day of 1942 he arrived back in Washington, and on this day there was the first fruit of the conferences just referred to. A joint declaration was signed by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, the British Dominions, India, the free Governments of eight European countries overrun by the Nazis, by Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and San Salvador. These Governments subscribed to the programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter; they pledged themselves to employ their full resources against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which they were at war, and to cooperate with each other and not to make a separate peace with the enemies.





WARTIME IN NEW YORK

Left, after the staggering news of the Japanese attack a crowd watches the electric news sign in Times Square for the latest tidings (night of December 7, 1941). Top, on the 9th there were two air raid alerts in New York City—both soon followed by all-clear signals; in Battery Square people gaze up wonderingly at the sky.

Photos, Associated Press; Planet News

PREMIER'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON

Crossing the Atlantic in the battleship "Duke of York," the British Premier arrived in Washington on December 22, 1941. Next day he attended the first War Council. He spent Christmas Day with President Roosevelt, and on the 26th addressed both Houses of Congress in the Senate Room. That part of his oration which was concerned with the Japanese attack on Britain and America is given below

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, IN AN ADDRESS TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 26, 1941:

MR. CHURCHILL spoke of his American forebears and his American mother, and said that throughout his life he had been in harmony with the tides which had flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly. He had "steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of 'the government of the people by the people, for the people.'" He spoke of the immense strides that had been made in the conversion of American industry to military purposes, and said that the broad flow of munitions in Britain had already begun. There followed a tribute to the glorious defence of their native soil by the Russian armies and people. Mr. Churchill said that the "boastful Mussolini" had crumpled already, and was now but a lackey and a serf. He reviewed the course of events in Libya and spoke of his hopes for General Auchinleck's success. Then he turned to the attack recently made upon Britain and America by Japan.

Consequences of the Japanese Onslaught

THE onslaught upon us, said Mr. Churchill, so long and so secretly planned by Japan, has presented both our countries with grievous problems for which we could not be fully prepared. If people ask me—as they have the right to ask me in England—why is it that you have not got ample equipment of modern aircraft and weapons of all kinds in Malaya and the East Indies I can only point to the victories which General Auchinleck has gained in the Libyan campaign. Had we diverted and dispersed our gradually growing resources between Libya and Malaya we should have been found wanting in both spheres.

If the United States has been found at a disadvantage in the Pacific Ocean, we know that is to no small extent because of the aid you have given us in munitions for the defence of the British Isles and for the Libyan campaign, and above all because of your help in the Battle of the Atlantic, upon which all depends, and which has been in consequence successfully and prosperously maintained.

Of course it would have been much better, I freely admit, if we had had enough resources of all kinds to be at full strength at all points. But, considering how slowly and reluctantly we brought ourselves to large-scale preparations, and how long these preparations take, we had no right to expect to be in such a fortunate position.

The choice of how to dispose of our hitherto limited resources had to be made by Britain in time of war and by the United States in time of peace. And I believe that history will pronounce that upon the whole—and it is upon the whole that these matters must be judged—the choice made was right.

Now that we are together; now that we are linked in a righteous comradeship of arms; now that our two considerable nations, each in perfect unity, have joined all their life energies in a common resolve; now, since that has happened, our steady light will glow and brighten.

Many people have been astonished that Japan should in a single day have plunged into war against the United States and the British Empire. We all wonder why if this dark design, with its laborious and intricate preparations, had been so long filling their secret minds, they did not choose our moment of weakness 18 months ago.

Viewed quite dispassionately, in spite of the losses we have suffered and the further punishment we shall have to take, it certainly appears an irrational act, but it is, of course, only prudent to assume that they have made very careful calculations and think they see their way through.

Nevertheless there may be another explanation. We know that for many years past Japan has been dominated by secret societies of subalterns and junior officers of the Army and Navy who have enforced their will upon successive Japanese Cabinets and Parliaments by the assassination of any Japanese statesman who opposed or did not sufficiently further their aggressive policy. It may be that these societies, dazzled and dizzy with their own schemes of aggression and the prospect of early victories, have forced their country against its better judgement into war.

They have certainly embarked upon a very considerable undertaking. And after the outrages they have committed upon us at Pearl Harbour, in the Pacific also, in the Philippines, in Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies they must now know that the stakes for which they have decided to play are mortal.

When we compare the resources of the United States and the British Empire with those of Japan, when we remember those of China, which have so valiantly withstood invasion and tyranny, and when also we observe the Russian menace which hangs over Japan, it becomes still more difficult to reconcile Japan's action with prudence and sanity.

What kind of a people do they think we are? Is it possible that they do not realize we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?

Members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives, I will turn for one moment more from the turmoil and convulsions of the present to the broader basis of the future. Here we are, together facing a group of mighty foes who seek our ruin; here we are, together defending all that which to free men is dear.

Twice in a single generation the catastrophe of world war has fallen upon us, twice in our lifetime has the long arm of fate reached across the ocean to bring the United States into the forefront of battle itself. If we had kept together after the last war, if we had taken common measures for our safety, then this renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us.

Do we not owe it to ourselves, to our children, and to mankind to make sure that these catastrophes do not engulf us for the third time? It has been proved that pestilences may break out in the Old World which carry their destructive ravages into the New World, from which, once they are afoot, the New World cannot escape.

The Pestilence of Nazism Must be Controlled

DUTY and prudence alike command first that the germ centres of hatred and revenge should be constantly and vigilantly starved and treated in good time, and that an adequate organization should be set up to make sure that the pestilence can be controlled at its earliest beginnings before it spreads and rages throughout the entire earth.

Five or six years ago it would have been easy, without shedding a drop of blood, for the United States and Great Britain to have insisted on the fulfilment of the disarmament clauses of the treaties which Germany signed after the Great War, and that also would have been the opportunity for assuring to the Germans those raw materials which we declared in the Atlantic Charter should not be denied to any nation, victor or vanquished.

That chance has passed. It is gone. Prodigious hammer strokes have been needed to bring us together again. If you will allow me to use other language I will say that he must indeed have a blind soul who cannot see that some great purpose and design is being worked out here below of which we have the honour to be faithful servants.

It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still, I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together in majesty, in justice, and in peace.

WAR IN THE PACIFIC: THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOUR

Unheeded Warnings and Inadequate Preparations—Knock-out Blow at Naval and Army Airfields—American Warships in Pearl Harbour—First Phase of the Air Attack—Fatal Seven-Minute Lag in A.A. Fire—Second Phase: Coup de Grâce—Remarkable Salvage Work—Guam, Wake Island and Midway

(The campaign in the Philippines is described in Chapter 210)

It was on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, at 7.55 a.m., that a fleet of Japanese aircraft attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, with bombs and torpedoes. A Japanese declaration of war on the U.S.A. (and Britain) did not come until hours later, on the evening of December 7, British Summer Time.

So war came to the Pacific. From the very first the pace was set by Japan, who possessed many solid advantages. She was fighting on interior lines; her bases were numerous and excellently placed for the aggressive strokes she contemplated. The mandated Caroline, Marshall and Mariana islands in the central Pacific lay right athwart America's communications with the Philippines; the occupation of the Chinese coast, of Indo-China and now of Siam—whose resistance to the invader was of only a few hours' duration—made Japan's descent on Hongkong, Malaya, and the Netherlands Indies a matter of no great difficulty. At the same time her own islands lay well removed from the main battle-zone, remote beyond hundreds of miles of sea across which ranged the squadrons of a navy that had long ranked third in the list of the world's navies.

Japan Set the Pace

Strategically, then, Japan was excellently placed. The Japanese armies were numerous, well-trained and practised in the art of war, fanatically zealous. It is true that economically Japan was weak in many of the raw materials that are also war materials—coal and iron and oil in particular; but she had used the years of preparation to good purpose. So it was that Japan struck hard, with swift efficiency, not in one place but in many. Her aim, it was clear, was to cripple her foes at the outset by seizing or putting out of action their principal bases; this done, to proceed with the conquest of those territories which were rich in all the natural wealth which Japan herself lacked.

The attack on Pearl Harbour was a knock-out blow. This was made clear even in the preliminary report issued by Secretary Knox after a visit of investigation. The report of the commission charged by the President to allocate responsibility accused the two responsible commanders of dereliction of duty and stated that they had received many warnings of possible hostilities for months past. Admiral Kimmel had been warned by Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, ten days before the attack that Japan was expected to make an aggressive move within a few days. On the same day the U.S. Chief of Military Intelligence advised Army officials in Hawaii that peace negotiations with Japan "have practically ceased; that hostilities might ensue, and that subversive activity might be expected." There were subsequent warnings, the report continued, in the next few days, but these "did not create in the minds of responsible officials in the Hawaiian area apprehension as to the probable imminence of air raids." (Admiral Kimmel and Lieut.-General Short were relieved of their commands nine days after the Japanese attack; later it was announced that they would be court-martialled.)

The preparations at the great American naval base were woefully inadequate. Admiral Kimmel and Lt.-Gen. Short lived and moved (it would seem) in almost watertight compartments; what the one did was seemingly of little or no concern to the other. An attack by Japanese submarines and the possibility of sabotage by Japanese in Hawaii had been envisaged and guarded against to some extent, but the chances of Japanese air raids were thought by the

Slackness at Pearl Harbour

MIDGET TWO-MAN SUBMARINE SUNK AT PEARL HARBOUR

This frail underwater craft was shelled and rammed by U.S. warships during the attack on Pearl Harbour. Left, the aft compartment, where the motor was fitted. Right, the submarine after being raised. It may well be described as a death-trap. Similar vessels were used in a Japanese raid on Sydney Harbour on the night of June 1, 1942

Photos, Associated Press







THE ENEMY TOO HAD CASUALTIES AT PEARL HARBOUR

Left, a Japanese dive-bomber comes down in flames on December 7, 1941. At the right, an enemy torpedo-bomber after salvage from the bottom of the Harbour later in the month. In all, the Japanese lost at least 48 aircraft on the morning of the 7th—28 by naval action and 20 destroyed by army fighters.

Photos, Keystone ; Associated Press

local commanders to be slight. The attack when it came was therefore a complete surprise.

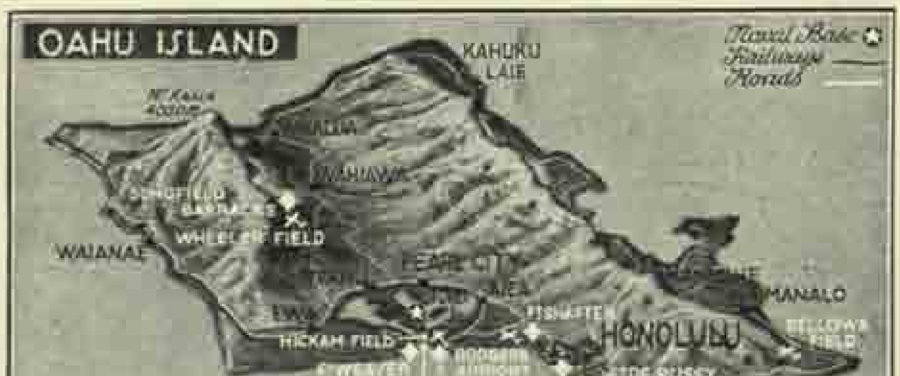
Shortly after 6.30 a.m. on December 7 a small Japanese submarine was sunk by a U.S. patrol plane and the U.S.S. "Ward" in the prohibited area off Pearl Harbour. Yet though a destroyer was dispatched to investigate no alert warnings were issued. Even the anti-torpedo net across the entrance of the harbour, normally closed during the hours of dark, was left open after permitting the entrance of two U.S. minesweepers just before 5 a.m., with the result that a midget Japanese submarine of a novel type was able to penetrate the harbour, where it was sighted at 7.45 a.m. and sunk about an hour later. A third small submarine grounded in Kaneohe Bay and was captured. Still no alert was issued, but at 8.40 a.m. the net was closed.

No permanent installations of aircraft warning systems had yet been completed, and the temporary systems which had been provided had shut down at 7 a.m. One N.C.O. under training had remained at the listening-station, and at 7.02 a.m. he happened to pick up what he thought was a large flight of aircraft slightly east of north of Oahu, at a distance of about 130 miles. This was reported 18 minutes later to an inexperienced lieutenant at the central information centre, who "assumed that the planes were friendly planes and took no action." Actually they were Japanese planes—in the first phase of the devastating assault on Pearl Harbour and all air bases on Oahu.

Much of the account that follows is taken from a report on the Pearl Harbour disaster issued a year later by the U.S. Government. At 7.55 a.m. Japanese dive-bombers swarmed over the Army air base at Hickam Field and the Naval air station on Ford Island. A few minutes earlier the Japanese had struck at the Naval air station at Kaneohe Bay. Some seconds later enemy torpedo-planes and dive-bombers swung in from various sectors to concentrate their attack on heavy ships at Pearl Harbour. The enemy onslaught, based on exact information and aided by surprise, was very successful.

Hickam Field and Ford Island

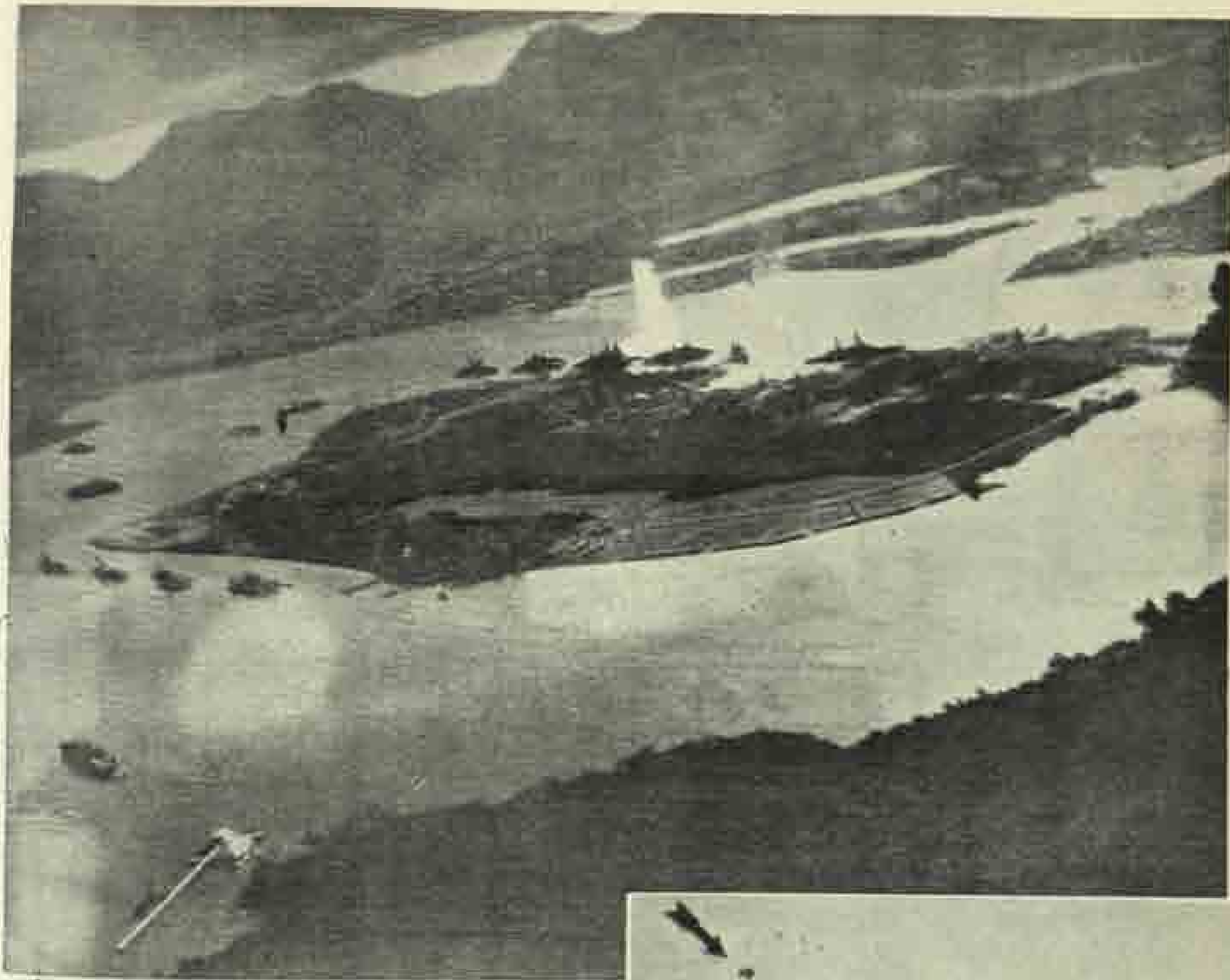
In the first phase 21 torpedo-planes made four attacks, while 30 dive-bombers came in in eight waves. Fifteen horizontal bombers also took part. A battleship ready with its machine-guns opened fire at once, and was progressively joined by the remaining A.A. batteries as all hands were called from General Headquarters. The machine-guns brought down two and damaged others of the first wave of torpedo-planes. Practically all the battleship A.A. batteries were firing within five minutes; cruisers within an average time of four minutes. Destroyers, opening up machine-guns almost immediately, averaged seven minutes in bringing all anti-aircraft guns into action. The lag of some minutes in building up fire power



WHERE SUDDEN DISASTER OVERTOOK THE PACIFIC FLEET

Nineteen warships were sunk or disabled in Pearl Harbour by the Japanese surprise attack of December 7, while 80 naval aircraft were destroyed. In addition, on Hickam and Wheeler airfields 97 army aircraft were bombed to destruction. The number of Japanese raiders was estimated as 105. American aircraft on Oahu numbered 475.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Felix Gardon*

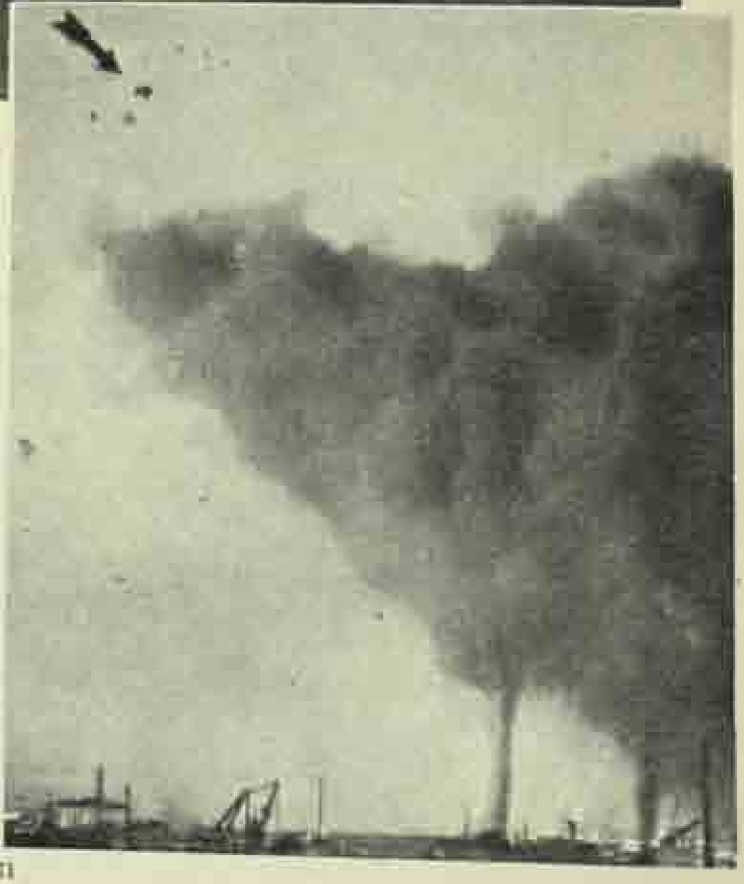


CRUSHING DISASTER AT PEARL HARBOUR

This unique photograph, taken on December 7, 1941, from one of the attacking enemy aircraft, shows the Ford Island base at the height of the onslaught; in centre background is the battleship 'Utah' lying on its side (close-up at left, below). On far side of island smoke rises from an aircraft carrier (two cruisers near by, one leaking oil); a towering column of water is visible at centre, thrown up by an exploding bomb. Below, right, pall of smoke from the burning battleship 'Arizona'; arrow shows an enemy bomber evading the A.A. shell-bursts.

Photos, Associated Press; Wide World, Planet News





spelt disaster. Sufficient damage was done by the enemy in those precious minutes to prevent any adequate defence by gunners thus taken at a disadvantage. Fighter defence had been ruled out by the prior enemy attack on Naval and Army air stations. Out of 202 Naval aircraft on Oahu Island 150 were permanently or temporarily disabled by the enemy's concentrated assault, most of them in the first few minutes. Thirty-eight took to the air, the others being blocked off from runways or being ready "too late in the day" as the official statement puts it. By a remarkable coincidence 18 reconnaissance-bombers from a U.S. aircraft carrier en route arrived at Pearl Harbour during the attack; four were shot down and the rest (except one) immediately took off again to meet the enemy. On the Hickam and Wheeler airfields of the Army Air Force 66 fighter aircraft were destroyed, besides 23 bombers and eight other types. There were 202 Army aircraft in all on the island, but owing to damage to hangars and runways very few were able to take off in defence of the Harbour.

At Pearl Harbour there were 86 warships of the Pacific Fleet not counting small craft (no aircraft carriers were present). They included the battleships "Arizona," "Oklahoma," "California," "Nevada" and "West Virginia"—all of which were either sunk or damaged so severely that they would be out of action for some time.

JAPANESE STRATEGY IN THE PACIFIC

This unusual map of the Pacific shows that vast ocean as it might be viewed by an observer on another planet, and illustrates in striking fashion the immensity of Japan's task and the greatness of her daring in simultaneously attacking British and American territories early in December 1941. It also suggests how the tables might later be turned on the aggressor.

Drawn by Felix Gardon and based on material from "Life Magazine," New York





LAST SUPPLIES TO REACH WAKE ISLAND GARRISON

Wake Island, the mid-Pacific U.S. Naval base, was first bombed on December 8, 1941, simultaneously with attacks on the other ocean outposts of Midway and Guam (see relief map in page 1972). The tiny Wake Island garrison held out until December 22, in face of merciless bombing.

Photo, Wide World

In addition the destroyers "Shaw," "Cassin" and "Downes," the minelayer "Oglala," the target ship "Utah," and a large floating dock were in like plight. Three other battleships—"Pennsylvania," "Maryland" and "Tennessee"—and the cruisers "Helena," "Honolulu" and "Raleigh" were damaged.

The first phase of the Japanese attack lasted half an hour. From 8.25 a.m. to 8.40 a.m. there was a comparative lull, though there was a sporadic assault by dive-bombers and horizontal bombers. The respite of 15 minutes was ended by the appearance of horizontal bombers, which crossed and recrossed their targets from various directions and caused serious damage. While the horizontal bombers were thus engaged dive-bombers reappeared—probably the same ones that had taken part in the earlier attacks. This second phase, lasting about half an hour, was devoted largely to what the report calls "strafing." All enemy aircraft retired by 9.45 a.m. The number of Japanese aircraft engaged was estimated at 105 (torpedo-planes, dive-bombers and horizontal bombers). "Undoubtedly," says the report, "certain fighter planes were also present, but these are not distinguished by types and are not included in the above figures. The enemy lost 28 aircraft due to Navy action, and the few Army pursuit planes able to take off shot down more than 20 of the Japanese. In addition, three enemy submarines of 45 tons were accounted for."

Second Onslaught

Casualties among personnel amounted to 2,117 Naval and Marine officers and men killed and 876 wounded; a year later 960 more were still reported missing. Army casualties totalled 226 killed and 396 wounded.

Eight days after the disaster a brief official report by the Secretary of the U.S. Navy announced that the battleship "Arizona" (26 years old), the destroyers "Shaw," "Cassin" and "Downes," the target ship "Utah" and the minelayer "Oglala" had been



FORD ISLAND NAVAL AIR STATION, DECEMBER 7, 1941

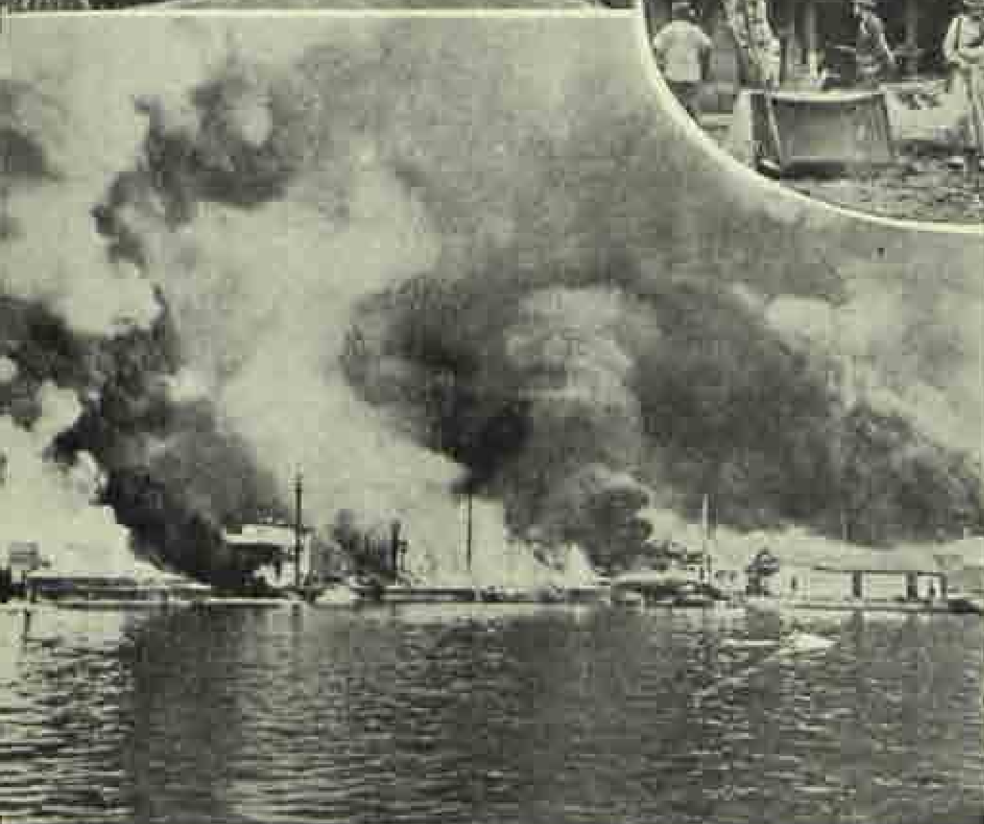
At 7.55 a.m. Japanese dive-bombers swarmed over the U.S. air stations at Pearl Harbour and in a few minutes destroyed most of the grounded aircraft. Here is the scene at Ford Island: wrecked and burnt aeroplanes show up against a lurid background of flames from an explosion

Photo, U.S. Navy Official











TRAIL OF THE RAIDERS IN LUZON

When Manila was bombed for three hours on December 27, 1941 the ancient church of Santo Domingo (1), in the walled city, was wrecked and set on fire. Cavite, the U.S. Navy Yard, headquarters of the Asiatic Fleet, was attacked on the 10th; a stream of civilian refugees is seen in (2), and burning barges at the dockyard in (4). Instances of attacks on non-military targets are given in (3), where U.S. soldiers examine wreckage at Paranaque, outside Manila; and (5), the market place at San Pablo, about 40 miles from the capital, after a very heavy attack on Christmas Day.

Photos, Keystone; Associated Press; Planet News

lost at Pearl Harbour; that the battleship "Oklahoma" had capsized, and that other vessels had been damaged. Security reasons had prevented any fuller account at this time, "when," in the words of the report published a year later, "there was an immediate possibility of the enemy coming back." He did not come back, and the battered dockyards began at once the colossal task of salvage and repair. Much was done on the spot, and the 1942 report pays tribute to the inspired, unceasing efforts of naval and civilian personnel at the various repair yards.

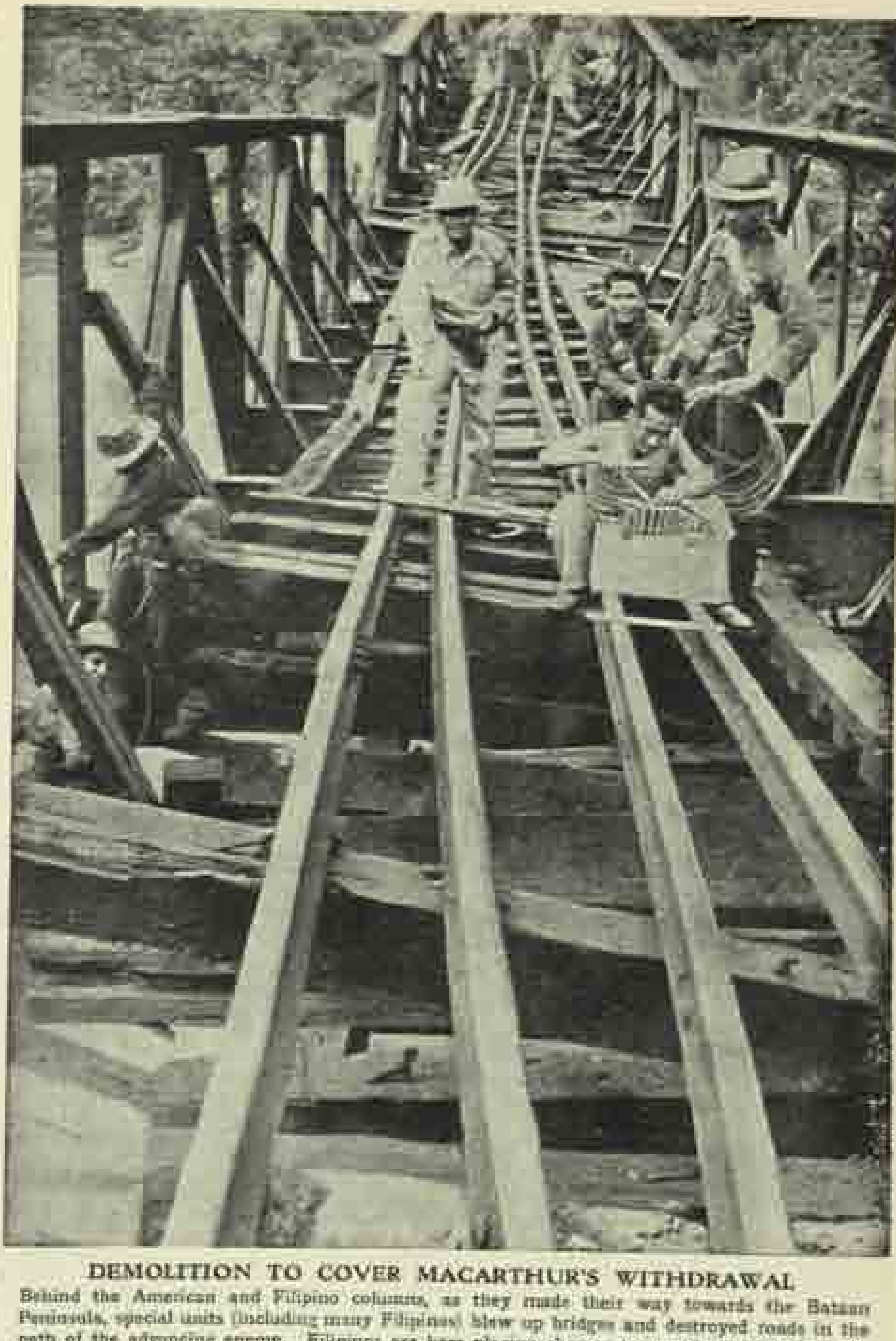
A remarkable feat was the raising of the destroyer "Shaw" (see photographs in pp. 1976 and 1980). A temporary bow portion was made and fitted, and under her own steam the "Shaw" made her way across the Pacific to an American shipyard, where a new permanent bow was built on and she was made ready for active service. The main and auxiliary machinery of the two destroyers "Cassin" and "Downes" was saved, representing about 55 per cent of the value of the warships. Out of the 19 naval vessels listed as sunk or damaged only the battleship "Arizona" was a total loss. By December 1942 most of the others had been salvaged and repaired, and of the rest it was said that such operations were in good progress. Preparations had been made to right the capsized battleship "Oklahoma," but there was a possibility that this work would be deferred. Of the ships listed as damaged but not sunk all had returned to the Fleet some months previously. A number in the "sunk" category had also gone back to service by December 1942; others which needed more extensive overhaul of machinery and electrical equipment were still in shipyard hands. The opportunity was taken to modernize machinery, armament and equipment in these ships.

Raising of U.S.S. 'Shaw'

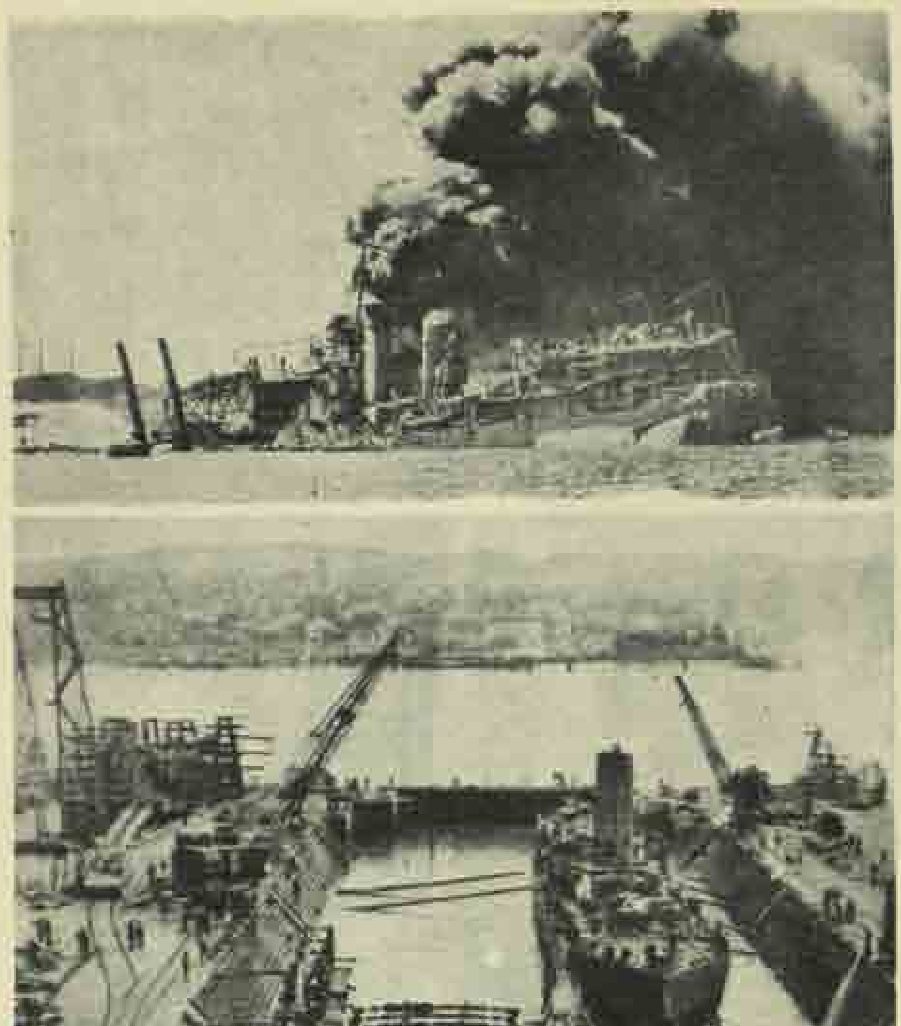
Though in the ensuing months enormous efforts were made to repair the disaster and reconstitute the lost Pacific Fleet, nothing could rob the Japanese of the initial advantage gained by a surprise attack upon an unprepared victim. On the sea and in the air Japan was now master, and the catastrophe of December 10, 1941, which cost Britain the loss of the new battleship "Prince of Wales" and the battle-cruiser "Repulse," set the seal on this predominance.

An important part of the Japanese plan was the seizure of the island outposts of the United States in the Pacific—Guam, Midway and Wake. Guam, southernmost of the Mariana Islands, of which the rest were held by the Japanese under mandate, was a naval and air station. The Washington Treaty had precluded fortifying it, and though this Treaty expired in 1937 it was not till early in 1941 that the United States began construction in earnest. The garrison was about 600 military and marines. Guam was attacked by air on December 8, and its last message was received on the 10th. From Japanese claims it appears that the port of Apra was taken on the 10th, and that Agaña (the capital) fell next day; 350 prisoners (including the Governor, Admiral McMillan) were taken. The minesweeper "Penguin" was sunk in the opening attack, which also demolished the cable office.

Wake Island was a fuelling station for warships and aircraft, and had an area of about a square mile. Situated roughly midway between the Philippines and Hawaii, it was an emergency landing ground, armed with a few 5-inch guns and having a garrison of about 400 Marines, with a dozen aircraft. Eight aircraft were destroyed by the first Japanese raid, on December 8. After two further air attacks next day there was a naval bombardment on the 10th,



DEMOLITION TO COVER MACARTHUR'S WITHDRAWAL
Behind the American and Filipino columns, as they made their way towards the Bataan Peninsula, special units (including many Filipinos) blew up bridges and destroyed roads in the path of the advancing enemy. Filipinos are here placing charges to complete the destruction of a railway bridge on Luzon.
Photo, L.N.A.



MASTERPIECE OF SHIP SURGERY

Though the U.S. Fleet at Pearl Harbour was crippled by the surprise attack on December 7, 1941 it made an amazing recovery. The destroyer 'Shaw' (top) received a direct hit and settled down awash. A temporary bow was built on and she steamed across the Pacific to an American shipyard: centre, in dry dock there, temporary bow removed, just before floating her in position to join on the new bow. Bottom photo, on active service again. (See also Illus., p. 1980.) *Photos, Associated Press; Sport & General*

preceded at dawn by another raid from the air. The defenders' guns put up a brave show, sinking three destroyers and a light cruiser. One more of their own aircraft was destroyed. The enemy made another attempt at a landing on the 11th, but retired with the loss of a submarine. But bombing attacks went on by night and day, and soon every building on the tiny outpost was demolished. The final and overwhelming assault came on December 22; many bombers took part, and Japanese destroyers shelled the defenders. Out of the two remaining aircraft one was destroyed and the last came down with its pilot wounded. In their last message outwards the garrison said that they had disabled two enemy destroyers. The Japanese landed on the morning of the 23rd.

At Midway Island the story was different. A Japanese cruiser shelled the station for half an hour and withdrew. A Naval force was built up and the enemy, preoccupied by other more urgent operations elsewhere, made no serious attempt to capture Midway until six months later. Then on June 4, 1942 a large-scale naval attack was repelled by U.S. forces under Admiral Nimitz, who inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. An account of this will be found in a later Chapter.

Landings on Luzon Island

Concurrently with the operations against Hawaii and the mid-ocean American outposts there was a lightning attack upon the Philippines. Aerodromes on Luzon, about 40 miles from Manila, were bombed, and most of the parked aircraft destroyed on December 8. Two days later the principal Naval base, at Cavite, was wrecked. Airfields had been seized by the enemy in the north; on the 22nd large numbers of Japanese (estimated at 50,000) were landed in the Gulf of Lingayen and the main assault began. American and Filipino forces under General Wainwright fought a delaying action and retreated slowly southward, covering the withdrawal of the main defending forces into Bataan. A few days later the enemy landed at Antimonan, on the isthmus, about 70 miles south-east of Manila, and at two places even nearer the capital. Though Manila was declared an open city on the 26th it was heavily bombed for days afterwards. Corregidor, the island fortress in Manila Bay, was bombed on December 29. Manila was evacuated on the first day of 1942, and the Japanese occupied the city on January 2. A detailed account of the campaign in the Philippines is given in Chapter 210.

Chapter 198

BRITAIN AT BAY IN THE PACIFIC

In this Chapter we give a broad though brief survey of the strategic background of the many-pronged Japanese attacks in the opening weeks of the campaign, with special reference to the assault upon British possessions and protectorates. The disaster at Pearl Harbour has been described in Chapter 197, while the campaign in the Philippines is the subject of Chapter 210. For the Battle of Hongkong see Chapter 199, and for the Malayan campaign Chapter 205

The stealthy moves by which Japan made ready for open war upon British, American and Dutch possessions in the Pacific and the Far East are described in Chapter 196. The sudden onslaught upon American outposts is the subject of the Chapter that precedes the present one. After Vichy's acceptance of Japan's proposals for the settlement of the dispute between Siam and Indo-China on March 2, 1941, the advance of Japanese policy to attack in the south-west Pacific became clear. The surrender of more bases in Indo-China to Japan after an ultimatum on July 23 completed the move which had begun in the previous September, when Indo-China, helpless since the collapse of France, had given way to Japan's first demand.

The storm was about to break, but still it seemed that the Japanese might really be looking to the north in the hope that Russian preoccupation in the west would give them occasion for attacking in Manchuria. Moreover, it was thought that until Germany's Russian campaign had been crowned with success Japan would refrain from embroiling herself with the two greatest naval powers in the world. So Mr. Cordell Hull's warning to Japan on August 6 and, eventually, the dispatch of Mr. Kurusu as special peace envoy to Washington were taken to imply a reluctance in Tokyo to proceed to extremes. The accession of General Tojo to the premiership on October 18 was ominous: for the first time the militarists had been able to put one of themselves at the head of the Cabinet and thus to set the seal on complete control of Japan's foreign policy.

Gathering Storm Clouds

Even then it is doubtful whether the two English-speaking democracies credited Japan with so cynical a disregard of decency as to couple Mr. Kurusu's mission with lavish preparations for war. Yet, as the Chinese could have told them, such duplicity was true to form. The event showed that elaborate plans, which enabled Japan to strike simultaneously on December 7 at the Hawaiian Islands, at Midway Island, Wake Island, Hongkong, the Philippines, Siam and Malaya, must have been in train even before Mr. Kurusu departed from Tokyo. The chief blow in this multiple thrust fell at Pearl Harbour on December 7, when Japanese aircraft effected a surprise and inflicted heavy losses on the U.S. Pacific Fleet stationed there.



BRITISH C.-IN-C. FAR EAST

Lieut.-General Sir Henry Royds Pownall, K.B.E., D.S.O., succeeded Air Chief Marshal Sir R. Brooke-Popham on December 26, 1941 (with acting rank of General). Previously he had been Lord Gort's Chief of Staff, then Inspector-General of Home Guard, and from May 1941 Vice-Chief of Imperial General Staff. When, in January 1942, General Wavell became Supreme Commander in the S.W. Pacific area, General Pownall was appointed his Chief of Staff. *Photo, Walter Stoneman*

The attack in the Philippines was directed against Luzon Island and included the landing of troops. Eventually, on December 20, the Japanese landed in Davao, and two days later large forces were poured ashore 150 miles north of Manila. The attacks on Midway and Wake Island were held, but Guam fell on December 10.

The Japanese invaded Siam on December 8, and on December 11 announced an alliance with that country, this being formally embodied in a ten-year Treaty on December 21.

On December 8, too, the Japanese made their first raid from the air on Singapore. By landing just north of Kuantan they were able to make a double attack in North Malaya, owing to the rapid advance of troops through Siam, the railway being used to bring their forces right up to the Malayan border. Effective fifth-column work and long thought-out arrangements for coping with the Malayan terrain (which held no secrets for the Japanese) enabled them to overrun Kedah and the northern region and throw out an early feeler into Burma, where, in its southernmost tip, the British garrison had withdrawn from Victoria Point after destroying the aerodrome. On December 17 a mass air raid was launched against Penang. The comparatively small garrison in the north of Malaya was involved in confused fighting, but could not hold the invaders.

Attack On Malaya

In this theatre of war the Japanese had profited by a major success at sea. On December 9 H.M.S. "Prince of Wales," flagship of Admiral Sir Tom Phillips, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern Fleet, and H.M.S. "Repulse," with four small destroyers, had penetrated into the Gulf of Siam in the hope of meeting the Japanese fleet and destroying transports. Unaccompanied by an aircraft carrier, this naval force sought to surprise the Japanese. The risks were great; but great, too, would have been the achievement of sinking Japanese transports and putting capital enemy ships out of action.

Unhappily the risks materialized. Bombers and torpedo aircraft attacked and both the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" were sunk. (See Chapter 189.)

The disappearance of British naval power in the Far East—for that was the consequence of the loss of those two fine ships—removed the last obstacle to Japanese invasion. In Borneo three enemy landings were reported on December 17. Gallant work was done by the small naval and air forces of



COMMANDING AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCES, MALAYA

Lieut.-General Gordon Bennett, C.B., D.S.O., is here seen reviewing Australian troops at Kuala Lumpur. When Singapore fell on February 15 he was taken prisoner but escaped to Johore and eventually made his way to Sumatra, whence he managed to reach Sydney, N.S.W.

Photo, Pictorial Press

the Netherlands East Indies—their submarines struck at the enemy in the South China Seas and in the waters around the Philippines.

The loss of Kota Bharu in Kelantan with its airfield on December 10 was a severe blow to the defence of Malaya. The invaders were now pressing down the west coast of the peninsula as well as the east. Heavy fighting was reported in Kedah on December 12; then on December 18 it was announced that the defenders had withdrawn from Kedah and Province Wellesley and were reorganizing south of the river Krian. Thus Penang was uncovered, and on December 19 it was stated in Singapore that a complete evacuation of the island had been carried out. So far as possible it was "scorched," but the process was rendered difficult by what Mr. Bisseker, a member of the Penang Legislative Council, described as the "evaporation" of the native civilian population in the face of continuous Japanese bombing; the essential services were disrupted, and there ensued "looting, pollution, dirt, stink, debris, rats, blood—innumerable horrors which cannot be mentioned." Throughout the campaign in Malaya, indeed, the native populations, with the honourable exception of the Chinese colony, for the most part performed the role of largely disinterested spectators.

By December 29 Ipoh had fallen, and at the end of the year the Japanese had Kuantan and Selangor in their hands. Penang had fallen on December 13, giving the Japanese command of the northern end of the Straits of Malacca and an outlook on the Bay of Bengal. Tenasserim received its first air raid on December 11—the harbinger of the attack on Burma, where on December 25 the Japanese raided Rangoon from the air. They were brilliantly checked by the combined operations of the Royal Air Force and the American Volunteer Guard attached to the Chinese Command.

Hongkong Island is about 32 square miles in area. The Colony includes an additional 390 square miles of leased territory on the mainland barely a half-mile away. The total population of nearly 2,000,000 had been swollen by the influx of refugees since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The Island consists of a ridge of hills rising to 2,000 ft. In peacetime Hongkong, with excellent sea, air, radio and telegraph communications, was one of the big Far-Eastern world ports. By rail from Kowloon (the leased territory) it was within two hours' journey from Canton, which, however, had been in Japanese hands since the end of 1937. Communication with Chungking had been since established and maintained by air, despite occasional Japanese attack.

Under the Washington Treaty, 1922, Great Britain undertook to refrain from heavy fortification of Hongkong, but Japan's refusal in 1935 to adhere to the limitation of naval strength freed Great Britain from that obligation. The time factor and the necessities of diplomatic exigency prevented adequate attention to Hongkong's defence needs in the light of the conditions created by Japan's occupation of China, and the development of aerial warfare.

Hongkong's Handicap

Hongkong had no aerodrome capable of housing the fighter planes which alone could deal with a Japanese threat from the mainland. Unless Kowloon could be held the task of defending Hongkong was impossible. Moreover, the capture of Canton and the advance of the Japanese troops to within easy reach of the Kowloon frontier in the course of Japan's operations against China had accentuated the danger to Hongkong if Japan should enter the war on the side of the Axis. The seizure of Hainan Island, in violation of Japan's treaty engagements with France, and the occupation of the Spratley Islands (brought under the administration of Formosa in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War) further accentuated Hongkong's danger.

Reinforcements of the garrison by the dispatch of Canadian troops to supplement the British and Indian troops stationed on the Island and in Kowloon had indicated a desire to hold Hongkong as long as possible, but if a



INVASION OF MALAYA

Aerial reconnaissance on December 6–7, 1941, disclosed Japanese transports and escorts approaching the Gulf of Siam. On the 8th enemy troops landed at Singora, Patani and Kota Bharu. Others invaded Kedah from the Kra Isthmus. A smaller expedition seized a foothold N.E. of Kuantan.



U.S. COMMANDERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

General Douglas MacArthur (right) had served in the Philippines for years and had acted as President Quezon's adviser in building up a native defence force. When he was ordered to Australia in February 1942 he handed over the command to Major-General Jonathan Wainwright (left), who by a fighting retreat had held off the enemy while the main forces were withdrawn into Bataan.

Photo, Keystone





PEARL HARBOUR VICTIMS

The U.S.S. 'Shaw' was one of three American destroyers put out of action at Pearl Harbour on the morning of December 7, 1941; the top photograph was taken as her magazine exploded. Yet, despite the destruction of her bows, she was salved and later put again into active service (see illus. in p. 1976). The battleship 'Arizona,' seen below on fire after the bombing, was the only warship to become a total loss out of 19 sunk or badly damaged on that occasion

Photos. U.S. Navy Official; Planet News



PROUD WARSHIPS REDUCED TO WRECKAGE AT PEARL HARBOUR

In a few minutes on the morning of December 7, 1941, Japanese dive-bombers and torpedo-planes destroyed battleships and lesser craft and damaged scores of others. Here, in foreground, are the destroyers 'Downes' (left) and 'Cassin,' the latter a jumbled mass of wreckage. Behind, the flagship 'Pennsylvania,' which suffered relatively light damage.

Photo, U.S. Navy Official



AIR STRATEGISTS' GRIM PROPHECIES COME TRUE

Between 7.55 and 9.45 a.m. on December 7, 1941, the American Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbour was put out of action by Japanese bombers and torpedo-planes, every battleship and most of the aircraft being disabled. In white circle an enemy bomber is diving down through the column of smoke rising from the shattered battleship 'Arizona.' At the left other smoke clouds rise from the floating dock, where the magazine of the destroyer 'Shaw' had just exploded, and from the Navy Yard. Farther left are Hickam Airfield and Schofield Barracks

Photo, U.S. Navy Official

siege of three months could have been maintained that probably was the limit set to its endurance. The air factor and the use made by the Japanese of their control of the Chinese littoral in Kuantung and Fukien rendered even that modest claim untenable. Hongkong Island had been in British hands since January 1841, when, a small fishing community of a few thousand inhabitants, it had been handed over by the Chinese Government under treaty agreement, Kowloon being included in the Colony by the Peking Convention of 1860 with a leasing of further adjoining territory on a 99 years' tenure in 1898. So the centenary year of Hongkong's history coincided with its tragic fall to Japanese attack.

When the enemy moved on December 7 the situation in Hongkong developed adversely for the defence with catastrophic rapidity. Within twenty-four hours after the first attack Kowloon, the leased territory on the mainland, was overrun by Japanese invaders after a gallant defence in which Rajput troops distinguished themselves. Retirement to the island fortress of Hongkong transformed defence into a forlorn hope. Naval craft had had to be withdrawn, and the Japanese occupation of Kowloon made Hongkong's position desperate. The Kowloon garrison held out until December 15, but before then—on December 9—Japanese aeroplanes had already started to attack the island, and Japanese troops to assault it under cover of artillery located on the mainland. On December 19 Hongkong was isolated and Japanese forces had already made a landing, to meet with heavy opposition from the British, Canadian and Indian troops composing the little garrison, in which, too, British and Chinese volunteers played their gallant part. Chinese forces behind Kowloon attempted to create a diversion from Canton, but events moved too fast for this effort to succeed. (*See* Chapter 199 for detailed account.)

On December 22 the Japanese managed to get a foothold on the north-east of the island and, with the other forces already in position, to make a triple attack which split up the defending forces. By December 23 the water-supply was virtually finished. A last stand on Mt. Cameron proved of no avail. Heavy bombardment on December 24 brought resistance to an end. On December 25, at Kowloon, the Japanese received the surrender of the Governor on their own terms. Hongkong depended for its water-supply mainly on Kowloon, across the water—far more than Singapore did in respect of the waterworks on the mainland at Johore Bharu. To both places this remote water-supply proved the Achilles' heel of the defence.



FIRST AIR RAIDS ON SINGAPORE

Singapore was bombed for the first time on the night of December 7–8, while the Japanese were attacking the aerodrome of Kota Bharu, 350 miles away in N.E. Malaya. In the Singapore raid 60 civilians were killed and 133 injured. Above, Tamil workmen clearing away wreckage of a bombed building.

Photo, Keystone



BELATED CONSTRUCTION OF LANDWARD DEFENCES

Since the defence of Singapore and the Malay Peninsula had been based upon British Naval power, the landward side of the great Naval base on Singapore Island was poorly protected. As the political situation worsened large numbers of concrete pill-box defences were built; this photograph shows Indians placing the *form-work* into which concrete is afterwards poured.

Photo, Keystone

Tale of Disaster

Summing up the position at the turn of the year, it may be said that resistance in the Philippines was coming to an end; Hongkong had fallen; Singapore had yet to be added to the Japanese bag, but martial law had already been declared in the doomed city—the actual order being issued on December 30. Four days earlier General Pownall had taken over the Far East Command from Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham. The attack on Burma could not be fully developed until the Japanese had disposed of Singapore and had made good their intention to occupy Sumatra and Java.

There remains China. For a full understanding of the Allies' strategy some knowledge of China's long struggle

against Japan is necessary, and an account of this conflict is given in Chapter 200. The primary objective in Japan's attack on the British and American possessions in the Pacific was undoubtedly the Burma Road. The "liquidation" of the "China incident" was plainly declared to be the chief aim of Japanese war policy. The fall of Hongkong and the completion of Japanese hegemony in the International Settlement of Shanghai were serious blows to the Chinese, who had been actually at war with Japan ever since July 1937, and had been the victims of Japanese aggression since September 1931. In Hongkong had been gathered the headquarters of the Chinese Maritime Customs and other organs of the Chinese administration. Through Hongkong, for a long time, China had had a precarious but definite link with the outside world. That link being cut, the Burma Road and the thin and uncertain highway to Russia in the north-west remained.

Chinese troops were promptly made available to join in the defence of Burma, but the absence of land communication between Burma and India was a grave handicap. A railway survey had been made in the distant past, but construction had not been sanctioned because the cost made it improbable that the line could be commercially profitable in view of the cheapness of sea communications. Moreover, the defence of Burma had not been regarded as a formidable problem owing to the difficulty of the north-east frontier and the good relations existing between the Chinese and the British Empire. In 1909, when Kelantan and Trengganu had been transferred from the protection of Siam to that of Great Britain and became part of Malaya in return for abandonment of extraterritorial privileges in Siam, it had been thought that a similar agreement could be arrived at in respect of Patani, thus making the boundaries of Malaya and Burma conterminous. This would have given British control to the isthmus of Kra and to Singora, the only port on the China Sea on the east coast. The defence of the Malayan peninsula would have been greatly facilitated thereby.

After the war of 1914-18, when railway communications from India extended into Persia, there was for a short time discussion of the possibility of building a trunk line through Baghdad from Constantinople to Quetta, across India and Burma to Singapore. Diplomatic reasons led to the withdrawal of the Duzdap extension of the Indian railways into Persia, Patani remained in Siamese hands, and the Indo-Burma railway project was pigeon-holed. Thus the position of the Burma Road after the Japanese occupation of Malaya was bound to become serious. It was plain that Burma would be frontally attacked with the object of putting the Road out of commission and so inflicting on the Chinese a further deadly blow. The hope behind this objective was none other than that of so discouraging General Chiang Kai-shek that he would be amenable to overtures on lines which he had stoutly rejected when he and his countrymen were alone in their struggle against Japan.



HERO OF KOTA BHARU

With 12 Indian troopers, Lieut. John Christopher Close (Royal Regiment of Artillery) formed the rearguard to cover the withdrawal from Kota Bharu aerodrome in the early morning of December 8. He fired the guns of his mountain battery until they were red-hot. Some of his men got away, but he was reported 'missing, believed killed.' He was awarded the Military Cross.

Photo, Planet News



RANGOON RAIDER BROUGHT DOWN

Burma had its first air raid on December 11 at Tenasserim, and 14 days later came the first heavy attack on Rangoon, where the docks were the target. Some 600 people were killed, and much damage was done to houses in the neighbourhood. Here are the remains of a Japanese bomber shot down.

Photo, Keystone

Japan's drive to the south-west Pacific had begun with a startling series of successes in which surprise was the chief ingredient. It is admitted that at Pearl Harbour the Japanese caught their opponents off guard. That could not be said of Hongkong or Malaya. But deft use of diplomatic pressure at all points of contact with British authority in the Far East had given the Japanese considerable advantage. Observers in Japan knew that the Germans and Italians, ever since the war in Europe had broken out, had been gaining an ever-increasing ascendancy over the Tokyo Government. Japan had made a blustering attempt to overawe the Netherlands East Indies without success. Yet she had other strings to her bow. Relying on the unwillingness of the British Government to add to its war commitments, especially after the collapse of France, she exploited to the full the technique of what came to be known as fifth column work in every

Japan's Swift Success

British possession where she had consular offices.

In Malaya and Burma (and in a less degree in India) Japanese traders, and especially barbers and photographers, had long established themselves. In Shanghai Japan had rapidly developed plans for control of the International Settlement, and some of the foreign press received direct or indirect subsidies from her. In Singapore there was the Japanese golf club, stimulated by the ban on Asiatic membership in other institutions. There was also an evening English-language newspaper edited by an Englishman with a Japanese Foreign Office diplomat openly at his elbow. Japanese owned estates in Malaya, Borneo and Java. Japanese fishermen went far afield, not only to the coast of western America, but even to the verge of Singapore's littoral. Penetration in Siam had been rapidly increased, especially after Japan's mediation between that country and Indo-China.

In this crisis British administration in Malaya was at a grave disadvantage. It was many-headed, and covered territory not all of which was directly under British control. There were curious complications in both military and civil jurisdiction.

Administrative Muddle in Malaya

Into this variegated picture came the British Ambassador at Tokyo, fighting a diplomatic rearguard action, the British Ambassador at Chungking, the British Minister at Bangkok and the British Consul-General in Batavia, none of whom would take exactly the same view of the Malayan authorities' needs. Late in the day a Minister of State was sent out to Singapore, but he arrived just as the curtain was about to ascend. On the top of all this the menace to Australia had to be taken into account. Reinforcements had been sent to Singapore from India and Australia during 1940. The impregnability of the naval fortress had been publicly affirmed. The arrival of these reinforcements was taken to mean that measures to secure the hinterland had been effected. Burma also received a certain addition to her defences in the air and on land. At the end of the year, therefore, the belief existed that Burma might hold out. Even Singapore's swift surrender was not foreseen by the general public.

Burma's position deserves examination, although its desperate plight did not become evident until 1942 had arrived. Separated from India administratively in 1937, the country had been given the status of an Indian autonomous province without the support of a central government. "Burma for the Burmans" was the political axiom on which successive Burmese Ministries endeavoured to work. Political malaise—chiefly showing itself in hostility to the large Indian element in the population, necessary though this was for the trade and commerce of a people who preferred leisurely ways of life—handicapped the administration. The main difficulty was the inadequacy of the garrison once the outer bastions of British power in the Far East had gone. The defence of Burma came within the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief Far East. It was transferred to India after the Japanese had struck.



STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF JAPANESE STRATEGY

Within a radius of 3,500 miles Japan struck simultaneously at Hawaii, the Philippines, Siam and Malaya; at Hongkong; and at America's mid-ocean outposts of Guam, Wake Island and Midway. But when the first advantage of surprise and treachery had been capitalized the many far-flung expeditions would be in grave danger of isolation from Japan itself. (See also relief map in p. 1972.)

By courtesy of "The News Chronicle"

How was it that the admitted significance of Singapore as a key to Indian defence (including that of Burma and Ceylon) and to the security of Australia found such scant reflection in the ability of its defenders to retain it? The fall of France is the answer. That disaster not only presented Great Britain with an urgent need to preserve her own security and to restore the situation in the Middle East, where French naval and military support had been so vital, but it also created in Indo-China a menacing weakness of which the Japanese quickly showed their desire to take advantage. The entry of Russia into the War and the obligations falling upon Great Britain to help that hard-pressed ally still further complicated the problem of the Far East after July 1941.

Ever since Japan's attack on Manchuria British diplomacy had been making bricks without straw. In Tientsin, Peking and Shanghai Japanese aggression could be met only by steady calmness and the hope that dignity would cover inability to do more than remonstrate as the seeping of China's sovereignty proceeded to the ultimate

clash. Japan's seizure of bases in Indo-China revolutionized the position in Malaya. The heavy guns of the naval fortress might point sternly to the south and south-east across the Malacca Straits, but Japan thenceforward commanded naval and air bases which gave her access to the weak and immature airfields of Burma and the Malayan hinterland. Singapore's front had been well guarded, but the rear was open to the enemy.

No one could have imagined that Siam would prove a barrier once Indo-China permitted the Japanese to enter. The mischief went farther. Those responsible for India's defences could not be expected to foresee that, in the event of a Japanese attack, Indo-China would not be in the hands of a powerful neutral or ally, but, on the contrary, would be a ready accomplice for the enemy. When France fell and Japanese designs became apparent in September 1940 (when the first surrender was made by Indo-China), the need for bracing Great Britain to her own defence and the reinforcement of Egypt dominated British strategy. Later came the threat to India in Iraq and Persia—again helped by French defection. To have made Burma and Malaya secure, large-scale air reinforcements would have been necessary, to say nothing of mechanized land forces.

Plans for thus strengthening the British position in the Far East would undoubtedly have given occasion for the characteristic Japanese development of the theme that Singapore was designed to restrict the liberty of Japan in Asia. In this double dilemma it is plain that British statesmen felt bound to take risks which perhaps were not apparent even then in their full gravity, for reports on Japan's military and aerial adventures in China did not warrant belief in the existence of such an efficiently marshalled army of all arms as suddenly emerged in the south-west Pacific.

As the operations developed during the fatal month of December it was clear that gallantry was not enough to delay the enemy. In a tropical climate British, Indian, and Australian troops fought at a disadvantage against superior enemy forces. No help could be expected from the civilian population, Malay, Indian and Chinese. What they could do, on the basis of improvisation, was done, but in the event the first Japanese air raids on Singapore showed that the experience of Penang would be repeated. Reinforcements thrown into the island at the last minute did nothing to diminish the gravity of its plight.

Fatal December Weeks

So at the end of 1941 Japan's entry into the war had been crowned with spectacular success. She had introduced into naval warfare a new factor in the extended use of aircraft, either shore-based or carrier-borne, for attacks on warships at sea. By accurate timing of her offensive she had temporarily secured command of the sea. Her plan to wrest from the United Nations the resources of Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies and to secure a belt of islands from which aerial attacks could be launched on Australia, Burma and India was revealed. The Allies could not hope to rectify their position by a speedy stroke. They had first to decide upon their central plan and then take measures to execute it. Meanwhile their forces—diminished by disaster—would be fighting desperately until the momentum of the enemy's assault could be slowed down. This did not happen until further losses were sustained.



AFTER THE EVACUATION OF PENANG

Following the bombing and machine-gunning of Penang on December 11 and 12, European women and children were evacuated. They left on the night of the 13th, and some are seen (below) taking refreshments at Ipoh, during their journey by rail to Singapore. The Japanese proved themselves masters in jungle warfare; above, enemy pioneers form a living bridge over a stream.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press



Chapter 199

HEROIC DEFENCE OF HONGKONG, DECEMBER 8-25, 1941

'Stand By!'—Invasion of Kowloon Region—Kaitak Airfield Abandoned—Withdrawal to Hongkong Island—Refusals to Surrender—Enemy Landings Begin—Communications With London Cut—Grave Position on December 22—Brigadier J. K. Lawson Killed—Last Day of Resistance—Christmas Day Surrender—Ghastly Aftermath

HONGKONG, the strategic background of which is described in Chapter 198, was one of those outposts of Empire which were tenable only as long as Britain possessed sea and air supremacy—or at least parity. The disaster to the American Fleet in Pearl Harbour on December 7 and the sinking of the "Prince of Wales" and "Renown" in the Gulf of Siam three days later gave Japan the mastery at sea; in the air, over the Pacific, Britain never had command during those fateful months.

The relief map in page 1989 gives a clear impression of the terrain; the island covers about 32 square miles, and its heights rise up fairly steeply to about 2,000 feet. On the mainland were the leased territories, covering about 390 square miles. Here, at Kaitak, was the island's only aerodrome. Added to other handicaps there was the presence of nearly 2,000,000 civilians on the island, for the normal population had become swollen by many refugees after Japan's seizure of Canton in 1937. It was no wonder that there soon appeared, in the brief official communiqués, references to difficulties of rice distribution.

Hongkong Island

A "stand-by" order was issued on December 1; troops were recalled to barracks and Navy men were instructed to stand by at immediate notice. In the evening an official announcement stated:

> "The Government considers it desirable that persons not required for duty in the Colony in the event of an outbreak of hostilities, and who are able to remove themselves and their families from the Colony should take any existing opportunity to do so."

A special evacuation ship was chartered, but the response from people wishing to leave Hongkong was so small that it was cancelled, and passages were booked in other steamers for the few who had registered. All Hongkong's volunteer force was mobilized on December 7. Next day the Japanese attack began with two air raids; in the first 27 aircraft took part. They dive-bombed and gunned various places on the island and around Kowloon. Japanese troops could be seen massed near the frontier of the leased territories, and they were putting up field bridges at two points, ready to cross.

The Hongkong garrison was commanded by Major-General C. M. Maltby and comprised the 2nd Bn. Royal Scots and the 1st Bn. Middlesex Regiment; a battalion of the Winnipeg Rifles and another of the Royal Rifles of Canada (under Brigadier-General J. K. Lawson); the 2/14 Bn. Punjabis and the 5/7 Bn. Rajputs; the Hongkong Volunteer Defence Force; and the normal complement of artillery, engineers and signals units, together with Royal Navy and Royal Marine units.

During the morning of the 8th Japanese troops invaded the leased territories. There was a whole division, with another in immediate reserve, and in view of their own small numbers our troops withdrew after carrying out planned demolitions. Contact was maintained near Taipo and along the Castle Peak road, where a Chinese company of sappers took a leading part in the operations. One British Bren-gun patrol ambushed a Japanese platoon in this area and wiped out the enemy, while a Japanese scout, seen signalling from what he apparently took to be a normal mound, was blown sky-high when the concealed British mine beneath him was exploded.

There was no enemy advance during daylight on the 9th, but in the afternoon our troops withdrew into position on "Gindrinkers' Line"—named after Gindrinkers' Bay. Sing Mun Redoubt was taken by a surprise Japanese attack at 11 that night (it had been held by a platoon of Royal Scots); but elsewhere the line was intact. The enemy had thus been able to establish a pocket south of Jubilee Reservoir, and next day he tried to break through towards the Taipo road. Though he failed in this, it was clear that he was now in



AFTER CANADIAN REINFORCEMENTS REACHED HONGKONG

Ottawa announced on November 16, 1941 that Canadian troops had reached the Colony to strengthen its garrison. Here Major-General C. M. Maltby, G.O.C., chats with Brigadier J. K. Lawson (right), the Canadian Commander, who was later killed in the defence of the island. (See also illus., p. 1885.)

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



GOVERNOR OF HONGKONG

Sir Mark Aitchison Young, K.C.M.G., went to Hongkong in 1941 as Governor and C.-in-C. Since 1938 he had held a similar appointment in Tanganyika Territory. His repeated refusals to negotiate with the Japanese and his determination to hold out till the end and until he was taken prisoner made him for ever famous.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

greater strength and using reserves, so that a readjustment of our line was advisable. At dusk on the 10th, therefore, the Royal Scots drew back to the Golden Hill Line, near the Lai Chi Tok Peninsula, while the aerodrome at Kaitak was evacuated.

The positions on the mainland were weak, and on the morning of the 11th strong pressure on our left flank, held by the Royal Scots, caused a reverse which was only checked by prompt use of our scanty reserves, including a company of the Winnipeg Grenadiers. At midday the decision was taken to evacuate the mainland that night, except for the Devil's Peak position, so under cover of darkness the small and hard-pressed units were withdrawn. Enemy groups constantly tried to turn their flank, and there was some rioting in Kowloon itself. Two companies of Punjabis who lost contact with the rest made their way to Devil's Peak Peninsula, whence they were taken off next evening with the rest of the defenders—the 5/7 Bn. Rajputs and a mountain battery of Royal Artillery. Stonecutters' Island had been heavily bombarded all through the 11th by the enemy, and was evacuated that night. Thus by December 12 all our forces were back on Hongkong Island.

Mainland Territories Abandoned

There was artillery bombardment at intervals during December 12, with sporadic bombing from the air, and though the civil population remained calm their morale was shaken. It was on this day that the distribution of rice gave cause for anxiety. Next day was what the official communiqué described as "difficult"; shelling grew worse, and various gun and searchlight positions were put out of action, since the enemy had all the fixed defences accurately ranged. In Kowloon the Japanese could be seen collecting junks and launches with which to ferry troops across to the island. The enemy commander sent a delegation with an offer of terms, his ultimatum being due to expire at 3 p.m., but this was summarily rejected by the Governor, Sir Mark Young. Hongkong was not going to be presented to Japan; she would have to pay for its conquest in blood.

So it was made clear to all the world that Hongkong would play its allotted role without shrinking. As a leader in "The Times" put it 10 days later, the garrison held a large Japanese army in check; it inflicted on the enemy heavy loss of life and taxed his munitions and fuel; it postponed the opening, urgently desired by Japan, of a sheltered southward supply route beside the sea along the coast of China. There would be no surrender as long as the gallant British and Canadian troops, with the brave Indians and Chinese of the garrison, could obtain food and water to sustain them and munitions to fire at the enemy.

In a message to the Governor and defenders on December 14 Mr. Churchill said:

"We are watching day by day and hour by hour your stubborn defence of the port and fortress of Hongkong. You guard a vital link long famous in world civilization between the Far East and Europe. . . . All our hearts are with you in your ordeal. Every day of your resistance brings nearer our certain victory."

Artillery duels went on throughout December 14 and 15; the enemy's shelling grew heavier and was extremely accurate and only the more recently sited of our gun positions escaped. More than half the pillboxes between Lye-mun and Bowrington had been put out of action by the 15th, and on Lamma Island, where the enemy had been observed two days earlier, further troops were landed. Parties were seen approaching the High Junk and Clear Water Bay areas; near Customs Pass a column of enemy mechanized and mule transport was dispersed by our gun-fire, and also a troop concentration in Waterloo Road. Two further days of heavy shelling and bombing followed, and one Japanese raider was brought down into the sea on the 16th. On the 17th came further enemy proposals to enter into negotiations for surrender. Following is the text of Sir Mark Young's reply.

Second Demand for Surrender

"The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hongkong declines most absolutely to enter into any negotiations for the surrender of Hongkong and he takes this opportunity of notifying Lieut.-General Takaishi Sakai and Vice-Admiral Masaichi Niimi that he is not prepared to receive any further communication from them on the subject."

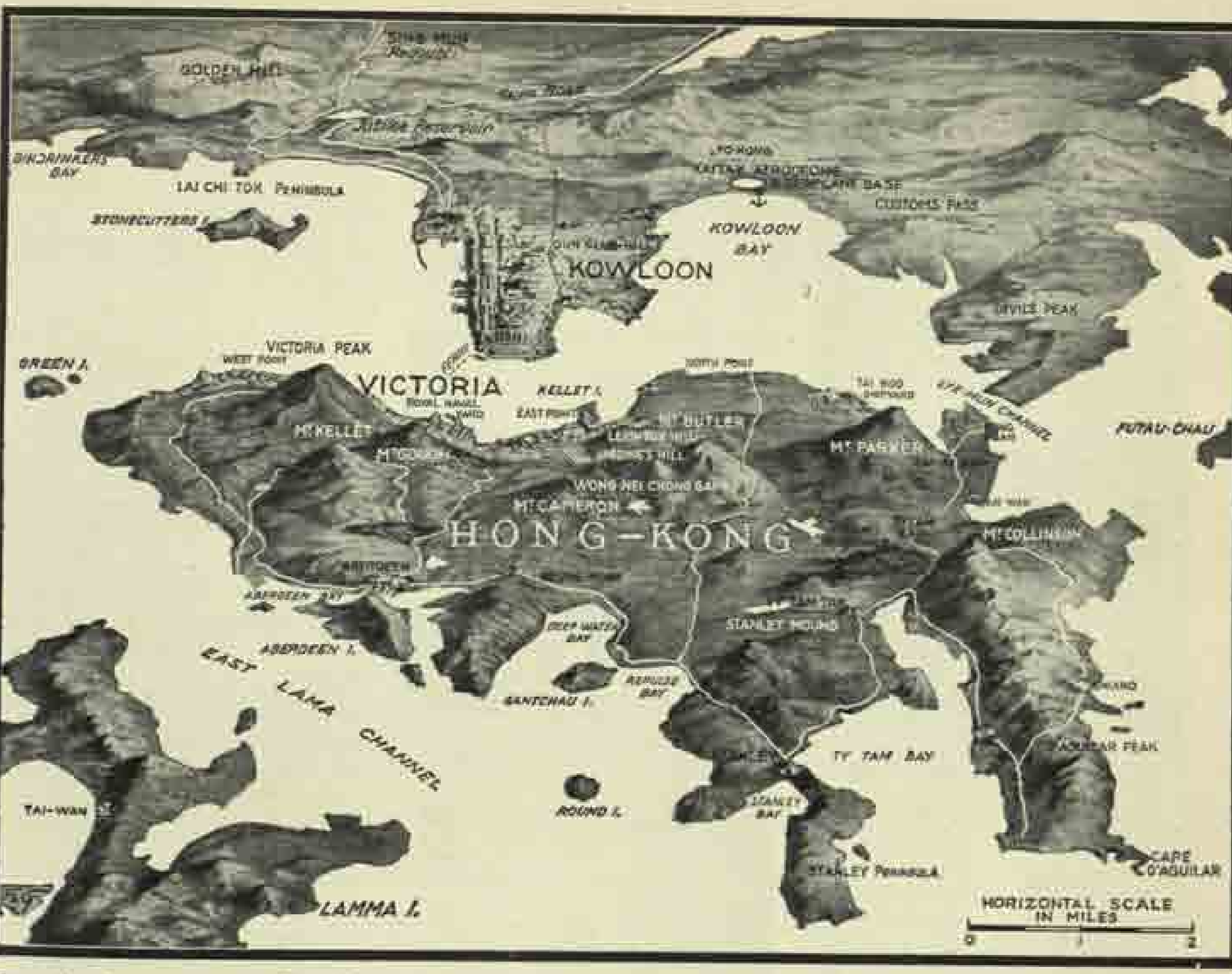
From Chungking there came news of a Chinese attack on the enemy in the Tamsui and Shumchün areas (only 40 and 27 miles north of Hongkong).



HONGKONG'S AIR RAID SHELTERS

The entrance to a shelter excavated in the rock. Hongkong had its first alert on December 8, when nine Japanese bombers attacked Kowloon, on the mainland. During the next 17 days there was little respite for the garrison and the civil population, and to the horrors of air attack were added those of artillery bombardment.

Photo, Planet News



EIGHTEEN-DAY BATTLE FOR HONGKONG

On the mainland the Japanese attack began on December 8, and our troops withdrew to Hongkong Island on the 12th. During the night of December 18–19 the enemy landed in some strength at Tai-koo and Lye-mun, and in the following days extended their hold despite a most gallant defence. Our resistance ceased at 7.5 p.m. on Christmas Day.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Félix Gardon*

where the Japanese were said to be pouring in reinforcements. From Chinese sources also came the tidings that the Japanese occupation of Kowloon had been effected only at the cost of heavy losses of mechanized equipment through British gun-fire. There were eight bombardments of Hongkong during December 17, according to the Japanese account, but rain, which began in the afternoon, prevented air raids during the night. Enemy mortars posted along the Kowloon water front kept up a heavy fire.

On the night of December 18–19 the enemy crossed the narrow Lye-mun Channel and landed on the island at Tai-koo and Lye-mun, whence he steadily infiltrated to Wong Nei Chong and Tytam Gaps. The line from Stanley Peninsula to Stanley Mound was defended by a battalion of Canadians, two companies of Indian infantry and a scratch force of gunners and machine-gunners. Lye-mun and Sai-wan were overrun, and Forts Collinson and D'Aguilar were abandoned after the guns had been destroyed. A gallant but unsuccessful counter-attack was made to regain Mount Parker, Mount Butler and Jardine's Hill in the afternoon of the 19th.



CHINESE DIVERSION

Chinese troops struck down southwards to relieve pressure on Hongkong, and at Shumchun were only 27 miles N. of Kowloon.

By courtesy of "The Daily Mail"

Telegraphic communication with Hongkong was cut in the morning and London lost touch with the garrison, but for a time Ottawa was able to communicate with Brigadier Lawson.

A Japanese account of the landing on Hongkong Island said that the first detachment embarked at 9.35 on the night of the 18th; units landed in the N.E. part of the island, also at points N.E. of Victoria City and at the foot of Jardine's Hill, which was taken at midnight. More Japanese detachments were ferried across later, while a 12-hour bombardment was maintained. Victoria City was occupied, and the British troops withdrew to Victoria Peak.

Communication with Hongkong was restored on the 21st, by way of Chunking, when messages were telegraphed to the British Embassy there. Sir Mark Young contradicted a Japanese story that he had left the island, and to the heroic garrison of Hongkong he gave this message:

"The eyes of the Empire are upon you.

Regiment, a determined enemy attack was thrown back.

Among Canadian casualties was the regrettable loss of Brigadier J. K. Lawson, who was killed by shellfire, together with the senior staff officer, Colonel P. Hennesey.

On December 24 raiders set alight the countryside all round Mount Cameron with incendiary bombs. Dive-bombers made unceasing attacks and there was heavy fire from mortars. Important reservoirs had fallen into the hands of the invaders, and though

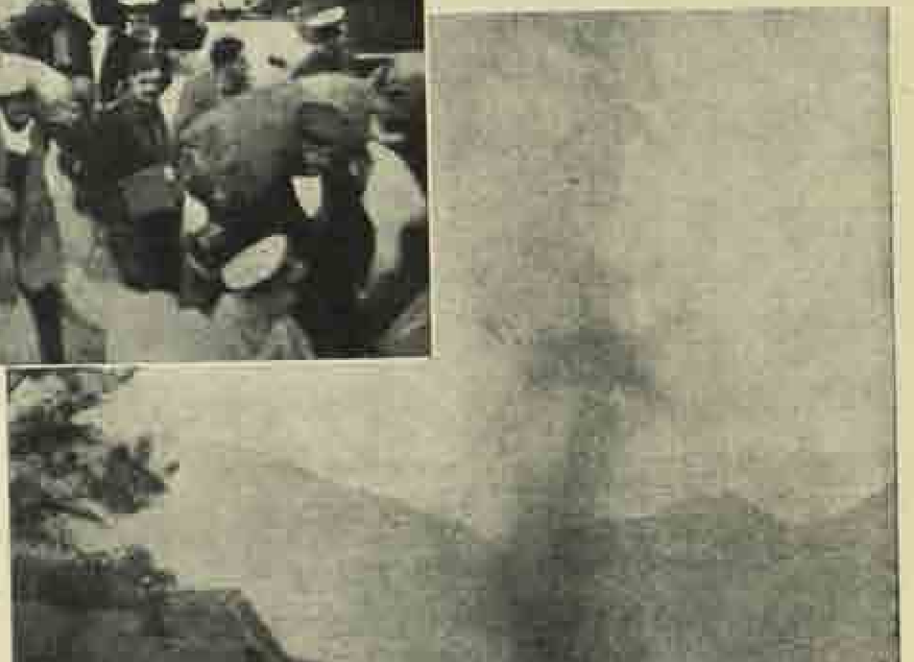


Be strong, be resolute, and do your duty."

Our forces made a counter-attack from Stanley towards Tytam Gap, but although many of the enemy were killed the operation was not a success and we sustained about a hundred casualties. The Winnipeg Grenadiers, in the face of concentrated fire from light machine-guns and mortars, made a bold and persistent attempt to retake Wong Nei Chong Gap, but were repulsed with heavy losses. Chungking was now in hourly contact with Sir Mark Young, who had stated that he would hold out till the end and until he was taken prisoner.

Defenders Counter-attack

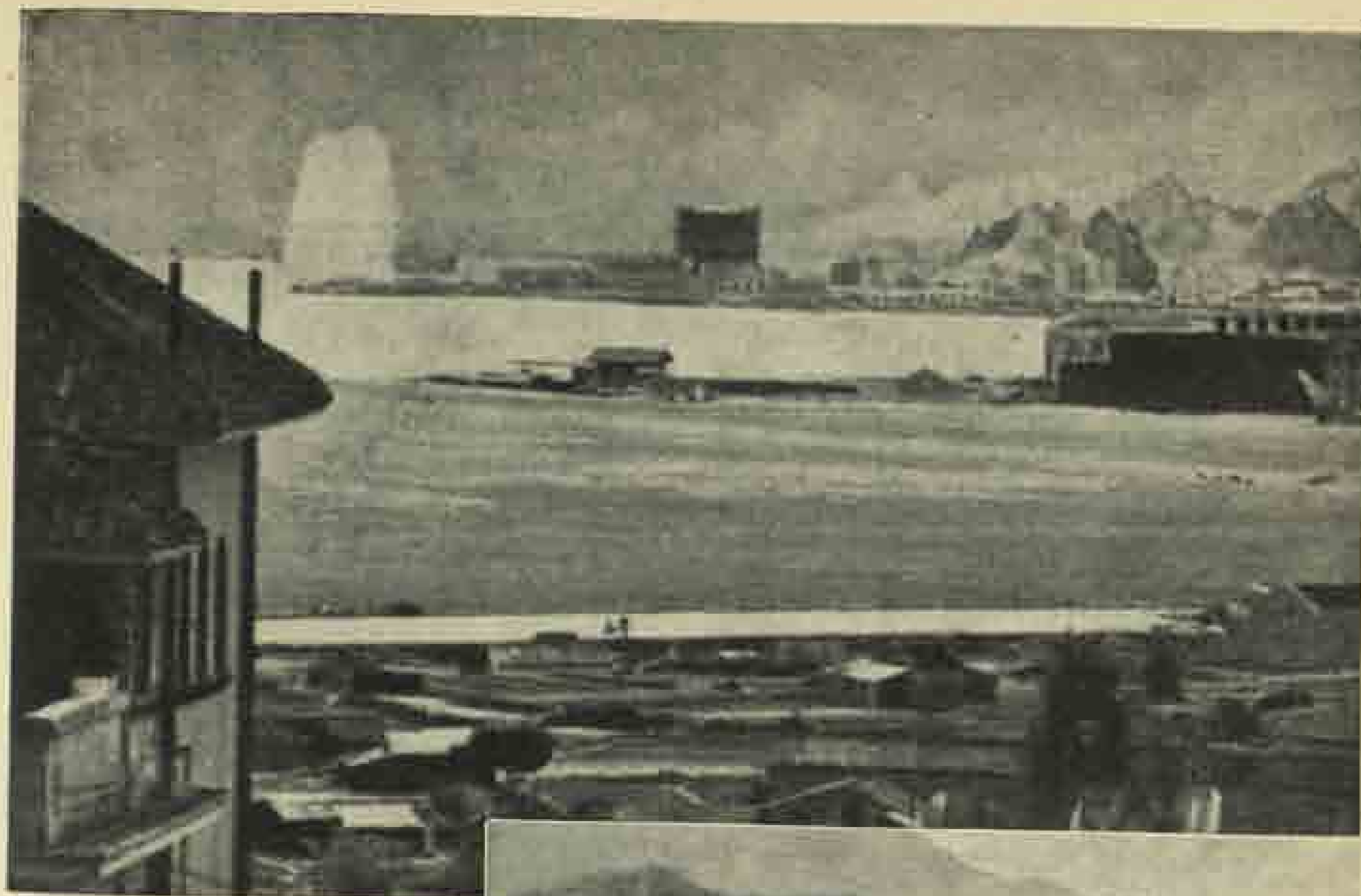
The position on December 22 was as follows: there was an isolated British force in Stanley; the enemy held ground to the east of the Gap and our own troops the ground to the west. Small groups of British soldiers were holding out elsewhere in isolated positions. Ammunition was running out and it was difficult to replenish it; the water and transport situation was now grave. All night and right up to the evening of the next day the island was bombed from the air and shelled by mortars and artillery. On Mount Cameron a position lost to the Japanese during the night of the 22nd was regained by Royal Marines, but all efforts by our troops at Stanley to drive back the Japanese towards Stanley Mound were unsuccessful. At Leighton Hill, held by units of the Middlesex



AFTER A DOGGED FIGHT AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS

Top photograph, from an enemy source, shows defenders of Hongkong being marched away to a Japanese prison camp; most of the men seem to be naval ratings. Below, Japanese artillery shelling positions on the Island from Kowloon.

Photos, Keystone



the Public Works Department made superhuman efforts to repair pipes, the enemy destroyed them again and again. The garrison and population had to face observed artillery fire not only from the mainland but from heights on the island itself. Food was very scanty, and the troops were tired out by their terrible struggle against enormous odds. The conflict could not last much longer, and in fact it ceased on Christmas Day at 7.5 p.m.

The last military action against the garrison, according to the Japanese, was taken at 5.50 p.m., when a bomber dropped its load on the besieged. The British Naval and Military Commanders had told Sir Mark Young that no further effective resistance could be made, and Sir Mark, after a parley at Kowloon with the Japanese authorities, tendered the unconditional surrender of Hongkong. The garrison was ordered to disarm at noon on the 26th.



ATTACK ON THE HONGKONG AERODROME

The Colony's only airfield was at Kaitak, on the mainland in leased territory (see map in p. 1989). It was bombed by the enemy on December 8, 1941: top, a wide shot (note wrecked British aircraft on ground at right); lower photograph, a bomb bursts just across the airfield. Kaitak aerodrome was evacuated on December 16.

Photos, Planet News

So the gallant defenders of Hongkong passed into captivity. They had deserved well of any honourable enemy and one would have expected to be able to state that they met with the treatment they merited. But it seems that the Japanese were infuriated by Hongkong's refusals to surrender, and vengeance was wreaked on the helpless prisoners. On March 10, 1942, Mr. Anthony Eden told a tale of stark horror to the House of Commons. He said it was known that 50 officers and men of the British Army were bound hand and foot and then bayoneted to death. Ten days after the capitulation wounded were still being collected from the hills and the Japanese were refusing permission to bury the dead. Women, both Asiatic and European, were raped and murdered.

At the end of February 1942 the Japanese Government stated that the prisoners numbered: British, 5,072; Canadian, 1,689; Indian, 5,829; others, 357.

CHINA AND JAPAN IN THE DECADE BEFORE THE SECOND GREAT WAR

In order to explain the sequence of events which brought Chinese troops into Burma, there to fight alongside British and Imperial forces under General Wavell's command in December 1941, a brief account of the renaissance of China and her long struggle with Japan is here presented

Western impacts on China in the 19th and early 20th centuries coincided with the decay of authority at Peking, where, since 1644, the Manchu dynasty had ruled. After Japan's crushing victory over China in 1894, when Korea passed into Japanese "protection," the forcible international intervention to suppress the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and, above all, Japan's victory over Russia in Manchuria in 1905, the fading power of the Emperor in China gave increasing stimulus to the activities of the revolutionaries who, under Sun Yat-sen's leadership, formed the Kuomintang Party at Canton nearly 40 years ago.

Revolution plunged the country into civil war in 1911. The Kuomintang was not the undisputed authority in the new Republic which in 1912—October 10, the "Double Tenth"—took its rise on the ashes of the Manchu Empire, when the young Emperor Hsuan Tung abdicated, after a rule of four years. Internal strife continued. Sun Yat-sen retired to leave the field to Yuan Shih-kai, whose decision to assume the imperial style was nullified by his death soon after, in 1916.

In August 1917 China's entry into the World War on the side of the Allies diverted attention from the dissension which prevailed. When the war ended China withdrew from the Versailles Conference in protest against condonation of Japan's tenure of former German possessions in Shantung.

In 1922 the Washington Conference, in which China, Great Britain, the U.S.A., Japan, France, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal took part, framed the Nine Power Treaty by which the sovereignty of China was guaranteed. Her position in Shantung was recognized, albeit in the subsequent negotiations with Japan certain claims which Japan had "jumped" in 1915 were not restored.

Meanwhile the contending ambitions of various war-lords, each of them with his separate army, delivered China over to the distractions of civil war. The masses of the people had not yet been moved by the reformist activities of the Kuomintang, whose leadership in 1924 was strengthened by reorganization. The Russian Borodin, member of the Communist International, had become adviser to the Kuomintang in 1923, and gained considerable influence. (He had spent several years in the U.S.A. and had graduated at an American university.) Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, bequeathing to the country a testament in which the constitutional progress of the new republic was outlined. First it was laid down that military operations would clear the ground by eliminating "war-lordism"; then there would be a period of political tutelage or consolidation, and when that was concluded the final establishment of constitutional government would emerge.

In 1926 General Chiang Kai-shek, who had been Sun Yat-sen's military lieutenant and the Commandant of the Whampoa Academy, put himself at the head of the Kuomintang's army to break the power of the war-lords. The campaign, which sought to create unity, lasted about five years. The seat of Government was set up in Nanking in 1928. In 1930 Chiang Kai-shek was able to regard himself as at the head of a unified China, although the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi in the South held aloof and a Communist regime had established itself in the fastnesses of Kiangsi. These Communist forces were eventually driven out, but succeeded in evading destruction. After a historic trek westward and then





FOUNDER OF THE 'NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY'

Dr. Sun Yat-sen founded the Kuomintang in 1905, and after the Revolution of October 10, 1912, became President of the new Republic with its capital at Nanking. Exiled soon after, he returned in 1917 and set up the South China Government, of which he became President in 1921. He reorganized the Kuomintang with the aid of Michael Borodin (inset), delegate of the Russian Soviet. Sun Yat-sen died at Peking on March 12, 1925.

Photos, Topical Press; E.N.A.



DEFENDERS OF JEHOL AGAINST THE JAPANESE

In 1931 Japan began the seizure of Manchuria and the Chinese province of Jehol, which she later turned into a puppet state under the name of Manchukuo (February, 1932). General Tang Yu-lin, Governor of Jehol (here seen leaving his H.Q. at Chengtehfu), commanded the Chinese troops defending the province.

Photo, Topical Press

eastward to the north, they settled in Shensi, where in 1937 they finally came to terms with Chiang Kai-shek.

Modern Japan dates from 1868, when victorious clans destroyed the feudal system and restored the Emperor to executive rule, but actually put themselves in the position of governing behind the façade of his authority, to which ever-increasing divinity was outwardly ascribed. A Treaty with Russia in 1875 recognized Japan's claim to the Kurile Islands—thus starting again an overseas expansion which had ceased some 300 years before when the death of Hideyoshi signalled the withdrawal of Japan's armies from China. In 1879 Japan annexed the Liuchiu Islands.

In 1895 victory over China gave Japan Korea as well as Formosa, the Pescadores and a foothold in Manchuria in the Liaotung Peninsula. Pressure by the German, French and Russian representatives in Tokyo induced Japan (on the advice of Great Britain) to return Liaotung to China. That decision was reversed after Russia's defeat 10 years later, when Japan secured the southern half of the island of Sakhalin (Russian sovereignty over the whole of which she had recognized in 1875), and took over the lease of Liaotung (which by treaty China had accorded to Russia in 1898). Korea was formally incorporated in the Japanese Empire in 1910. Meanwhile Japan had strengthened her hold on Southern Manchuria, where she acquired in 1906 complete control over a zone 17 miles each side of the South Manchuria Railway line from Dairen to Changchun. After the War of 1914-18, in which she sided with the Allies—and took advantage of the position to make on China the notorious "Twenty-one Demands" in 1915—Japan acquired some 2,400 small Pacific islands under mandate.

Thus, in less than half a century territory owned or controlled by Japan was increased in area from 147,000 to 765,000 square miles. Japan's foreign policy kept step with this expansionist trend. Her alliance with Britain lasted 20 years—from 1902 until Great Britain, in deference to the new faith in collective security and to the prevailing opinions of Canada and the U.S.A., allowed it to lapse in 1922. During its continuance Japan had exploited its value to the full. There were uneasy moments, especially at that period of the last War when a German victory seemed probable to the Japanese Army, and fears that they had backed the losers oppressed many Japanese.

Japan's Expansionist Aims

The Washington Conference (1922) left Japan with a feeling of soreness, but she was committed to the outward observance of the collective security idea. What was known as the Shidehara policy carried her a long way in co-operation with the Western Powers in their new treatment of China. In 1931 it seemed that this solidarity had reached a high-water mark, notably in the British negotiations for the abolition of extra-territoriality, in which not only the U.S.A. but also the other Powers (including Japan) showed sympathy.

Already the influences which were to destroy the jerry-built security of the Pacific had begun to work. In 1927 a conference of Japanese military and civil experts on Far Eastern problems



WHEN CHIANG KAI-SHEK TACKLED THE WAR LORDS

In March 1927 General Chiang Kai-shek, now leader of the Nationalist armies, broke up the Chinese Communists at Shanghai and shortly afterwards set up his own Government at Nanking. Here Nationalists at Shanghai are building a barricade; note the two-handed execution sword borne by the soldier at the right.

Photo, Topical Press

had been held at Tokyo in the premiership of Baron Tanaka, himself a specialist on Manchuria and Mongolia and the patron of Japan's stormy petrel, General Doihara. Tanaka's suicide in 1929 followed quickly on his resignation. Apart from the conference an important event during his term of office was the assassination of China's strong man of Manchuria, Chang Tso-lin—a crime committed under Japanese direction. In short, the real controllers of Japan were coming to the conclusion that Japan's position in the Far East had been served by a sufficiently long-sustained lip-service to the international ideals of the West. They noted with secret satisfaction the effect of disarmament on the physical strength of Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France in the China seas. They had been able to couple an unwilling acquiescence in the limitation of naval armaments—a limitation actually to Japan's advantage—with restrictions voluntarily accepted by Great Britain and the U.S.A. on the fortification of Hongkong and the Philippines. The spearhead of this movement against the Shidehara policy was in the Army, with the Navy a jealous yet not disapproving coadjutor.

The hoisting of the flag of revolt came on September 18, 1931, when a thinly veiled pretext—the probably "planted" destruction of a portion of the railway line near Mukden—gave the Japanese Army in Manchuria the signal for a lightning attack on the unready Chinese garrison and led to the eventual annexation of Manchuria. In due course the former Emperor of China, whose name Hsuan Tung had been changed to Henry Pu-yi, was made Japan's puppet Emperor of Manchuria under the name of Kang Teh. This Manchurian "incident" sounded the death knell of the world's peace. It directly inspired the reoccupation of the Rhineland by Hitler and Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia. It began the slide down the slippery slope to Munich, the invasion of Poland and the second World War. Japan's policy drew her away from the Anglo-Saxon nations into the uneasy company of German and Italy. She was playing as always for her own hand. The seizure of Manchuria was followed steadily by encroachment southward over the Great Wall of China. In January 1932 a Japanese attack on Shanghai was unexpectedly resisted by Chinese troops. After four months' desultory fighting the Japanese armies withdrew.

In the North, Japanese penetration held its ground. Jehol had been added to the Manchurian "bag," and a buffer state of East Hopei had been created under the guise of a demilitarized zone. From it Japanese goods poured into China in breach of all agreement and, supported by forcible restraint on Chinese preventive ships operating in the Gulf of Pechili, went to swell Japanese imports free of duty. By 1935 Peking and the surrounding province of Hopei were virtually under Japanese suzerainty, General Chiang Kai-shek's Government being desperately anxious to avoid an open clash in the precarious state of China's new-found unity. In January 1936 Japanese pressure and disregard of the sovereign rights of China had reached the limit.

Tokyo Militarists Seize Power

Relief came the next month when the Japanese military extremists temporarily overplayed their hand by a mutinous attempt to seize the Emperor's person. This exploit included the assassination of three Cabinet Ministers who had incurred the Army's displeasure. The outbreak was quelled, thanks to the prompt intervention of the Navy on the side of established authority. The Army soon recovered its power and in the process showed that the intentions of the mutineers were in tune with its own policy. Its grip on the police and, through the police, on public opinion tightened. All signs of parliamentary government disappeared. In developing support of their policy the militarists energetically assailed the organs of free speech. They exercised never-slackening pressure on the political parties to the point of eventual extinction. They secured control of the press and radio (short-wave sets and therefore access to outside opinion were denied to the Japanese people from 1932 onwards). They "built up" systematically the twin notion of the divinity of the Emperor and the divine origin of the Japanese people far beyond the range to which tradition had hitherto extended. This effort at hypnotizing and thus rendering more docile an always docile people was marked by increasing truculence towards foreigners within and outside Japan. In China it led to the full exploitation of the weakness of British and American military strength by outrageous attacks on these nationals.

Successive changes in the personnel of the Japanese Government showed a progressive subservience to the militarists' creed. Its basis had been devised at the Tanaka Conference already mentioned; the assumption by Japan of the overlordship of East Asia with a view to world dominance. The stages were to be by way of the conquest of North China, after the seizure of Manchuria and Mongolia, the eventual control of China and the advance to possession of the South-west Pacific Archipelago, including Malaya, Netherlands East Indies, with India and ultimately Europe and Central Asia as the goal. By wilfully concealing the fact that Japan had access to raw materials in the British Empire and elsewhere the propagandists tried to persuade their people to adopt the

BURMA ROAD WAS A MAJOR JAPANESE OBJECTIVE

Here Chinese labourers are working on a stretch of the road which formed the principal link between blockaded and invested China and the Allies (see map in p. 1477; also illus., pp. 1479 and 1485). The closing of this outlet was one of Japan's chief purposes in her drive to the S.W. Pacific

Photo, "The March of Time"





AFTER CHIANG WAS FREED

Late in 1936 General Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by troops of General Chang Hsueh-liang and Communists in Sian. After failure to make the captive agree to certain political proposals, the rebels released him. Above, Chinese in Suiyan read a poster announcing Chiang Kai-shek's release.

Photo, Topical Press

Germanic fallacy which misled world opinion in the early stages of Hitler's attack on the Versailles Treaty.

When in 1935 the Leith Ross Mission visited Japan on its way out to China for the purpose of assisting the Chinese Government's currency reform programme, Japan's financial experts were ready to cooperate in a plan from which Japan would have been the first to benefit, and indeed committed themselves to assurances in that regard. That did not suit the book of the militarists. As soon as the Mission set foot in China a military spokesman of the Japanese Army in Tientsin fulminated against it. After that no voice in Japan dared justify support of the Mission. Japanese policy was strongly marked by a vehemently expressed fear of "Communism." To that end General Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Government were constantly accused of favouring communist activities. Yet it can hardly be doubted that when she came formally to sign the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact" with Italy and Germany, Japan's leaders knew full well that they were challenging Great Britain, whose defeat at that time (September 27, 1940) they confidently expected. When, later, Germany attacked Russia, Japan was still disinclined to believe in an Axis failure. She had by the summer of 1941 made full use of technical assistance from her Axis partners; she had step by step prepared her spring board in Indo-China and South-eastern China; and she was ready to strike. Whether Germany won or lost Japan would be secure in her gains—that was the general view of her soldiers, sailors, and politicians. The record since 1931 had pointed to success after success by strokes invariably made at appropriate moments when her two chief naval rivals were otherwise preoccupied: in 1931 by the world economic depression, in 1937 by the menace of Hitlerism, in 1940 by the fall of France, and in 1941 by Germany's apparently successful invasion of Russia.

Bogey of Communism

How did Japan's aggression in China fit in with this picture? The necessity for consolidating the fighting services after the military mutiny of February 1936 eased her pressure on China in that year. There was much talk of economic cooperation. A mission of Japanese businessmen seemed to promise the establishment of better relations. The Chinese, looking to the never-ending erosion of their soil, only asked that political agreement should precede the economic rapprochement. This the Japanese regarded as putting the cart before the horse. The mission returned to Japan empty-handed.

In December 1936 Chiang Kai-shek was captured by the Chinese Communist Army and held a prisoner at Sian. His release, in dramatic circumstances, which evoked a remarkable demonstration of his hold on the imagination of the Chinese people, was subsequently found to presage a peaceful termination of the differences between his Government and the Communist leaders. He pledged himself to countenance no more fighting between Chinese, and the Communists agreed to put themselves and their forces under the orders of the Kuomintang, adopting the Kuomintang badges in place of the red sickle and hammer.

As the hitherto recalcitrant province of Kwangtung had already joined the rest of China under Chiang Kai-shek, and Kwangsi had been mollified though not converted, the Japanese saw that China's unity was becoming a real factor in the situation. Despite their flagrant dominance in Peking, Chiang Kai-shek was the leader to whom all China began to look. In July, after a clash between Chinese troops and the Japanese Army provocatively manoeuvring at Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, the Japanese struck. Quickly overrunning the north, they hoped that Chiang Kai-shek would accept the inevitable. But on July 20 at Kuling he bluntly told his people he was prepared to resist the invaders, provided he had a united nation behind him, and provided it was realized that defeat, blood and tears would be China's portion until time enabled her to eject the powerful invaders. He was joined in Nanking by General Pai Chung-hsi, the Kwangsi leader, and fears of disunity vanished. From that time, however much the Japanese might describe it as an "incident," war between China and Japan had begun—to be merged later in the world-wide struggle against the Axis Powers.

The Chinese made their main thrust in the Shanghai area, where the



PHASE OF THE 'CHINA INCIDENT'

On a flimsy pretext Japan in July 1937 began a large-scale invasion of China, which met with determined and resolute resistance. Here is the scene outside Pootung after retreating Chinese had 'scorched the earth' behind them (December 1937).

Photo, Topical Press



DURING THE DESPERATE BATTLES FOR CHANGSHA

Changsha (see Chapter 195) was one of Chiang Kai-shek's most important positions and its possession was fiercely contested. Above, at the end of November 1941, Japanese shock troops rush a burning camp. Seven weeks later the enemy suffered a crushing defeat here.

Photo, Keystone

superiority of Japanese air and naval forces met with a gallant resistance. Shanghai held out for three months, during which time 100,000 Chinese fell in the Kiangwan salient alone. So the campaign developed. In Shantung early in 1938 the Chinese gained a major victory at Taierchwang and delayed the Japanese armies by breaching the dykes of the Yellow River. Nanking fell soon after the Japanese entered Shanghai.

The Chinese people were powerless to resist the invaders by mere force of arms. They adopted the scorched earth policy to help their soldiers; and, better still, by mass migration to the west, they collected industrial and intellectual resources for the prosecution of the war in the remote hinterland when, by sheer weight of men and munitions, the Japanese had occupied the chief nerve centres of China's business and economic life. In addition to Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Shanghai, Nanking, Canton and Hankow were in Japanese occupation by the end of 1938. The Chinese coast had been under blockade from September 1937, but the fall of Canton left China with precarious outlets to the sea. In 1939 Hainan Island came into Japanese hands and in April 1941 Ningpo and Foochow fell.

This gave added importance to the road which had been opened between Burma and Chungking in January 1939. Temporarily closed in June–September, 1940, owing to British inability to throw down the gauntlet to Japan at that time, it became the focus of Allied assistance to China, but when Japan launched her attacks on Great Britain and America her successful invasion of Malaya and Burma again cut off the road from communications with the sea.

There is no doubt that the closure of this outlet was a major objective in Japan's South-west Pacific campaign. Thus isolated so soon after the entry of the two Anglo-Saxon nations into the war on her side, China was undoubtedly disappointed, but the firmness of Allied support enabled her to resist blandishments which the Japanese hoped would succeed in inducing Chiang Kai-shek to come to terms.

During 1942 Japan seemed to have been fully justified in her belief that entry into the war would be profitable. She had succeeded in further limiting China's command of outside resources. She had set up in the South-west Pacific a chain of defences which not only gave her abundant raw materials but also provided points of vantage from which her sea-borne attacks on India, Australia and New Zealand could be developed. Soviet Russia, grappling with Germany in the West, had not been able to face war with Japan. So the Pact of Neutrality signed by Mr. Matsuoka at Moscow in April 1941 continued to govern Japan's relations with Russia, although on the Manchurian borders and in Mongolia the two countries were constantly sparring under the guise of "Mongolia versus Manchukuo."

Japan had underestimated China when hostilities started in 1937. At the same time Japanese operations on the mainland were never allowed to divert attention from the major project of preparing with the utmost care and elaboration for the great adventure. So, having driven the Chinese forces into Szechuan, the Japanese High Command was content to use the campaign for training task troops and for testing methods of guerilla warfare. The troops which marched through Shanghai in December 1937 to celebrate the capture of the city were nothing like the first-line forces of a great Power. That was all of a piece with the systematic processes of deception whereby Japan sought to lull the Western nations into a false sense of security. Yet Japan also underestimated the strength of her adversaries—in particular, their power of recuperation. This resulted in heavy set-backs at sea when once the U.S.A. appreciated the reality of the grim and ruthless challenge offered at Pearl Harbour.

Japan's Ulterior Objective

Historic Documents. CCXLIII—CCXLVII

JAPAN MAKES WAR UPON BRITAIN AND AMERICA

On the day after Japan had struck simultaneously at Hawaii, the Philippines, Malaya and Hongkong, her Emperor issued a Rescript declaring war upon the British Empire and the United States of America (printed below). We also give the Resolution of the U.S. Congress declaring war on Japan, Mr. Churchill's communication to the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires in London, and Queen Wilhelmina's Proclamation to the Netherlands. There follows the Order of the Day issued by British Commanders at Singapore.

RESCRIPT OF THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, DECLARING WAR ON THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, DECEMBER 8, 1941 :

WE, by the grace of heaven, Emperor of Japan, seated on the throne of a line unbroken for ages eternal, enjoin upon you, our loyal and brave subjects : we hereby declare war on the United States of America and the British Empire. Men and officers of our army and navy will do their utmost in prosecuting the war, our public servants of various departments will perform faithfully and diligently their appointed tasks, and all other subjects of ours will pursue their respective duties. The entire nation, with united will, will mobilize its total strength so that nothing shall miscarry in the attainment of our war aims.

To ensure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to world peace is the far-sighted policy which was formulated by our great, illustrious, imperial grandsire and by our great imperial sire, succeeding him, and which we take constantly to heart. To cultivate friendship among the nations and to enjoy prosperity in common with all nations has always been the guiding principle of our empire's foreign policy.

More than four years have passed since China, failing to comprehend the true intentions of our empire and recklessly courting trouble, disturbed the peace of East Asia. Although there has been re-established a national government of China with which Japan has effected neighbourly intercourse and cooperation, the regime which has survived at Chungking, relying upon American and British protection, still continues its fratricidal opposition.

Eager for the realization of their inordinate ambition to dominate the Orient, both America and Britain, in giving support to the Chungking regime, have aggravated the disturbances in East Asia. Moreover, these two Powers, inducing other countries to follow suit, increased military preparations on all sides of our empire to challenge us. They obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally resorted to direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of our empire.

Patiently have we waited and long have we endured in the hope that our Government might retrieve the situation in peace. But our adversaries, showing not the least spirit of conciliation, have unduly delayed a settlement, and in the meantime they have intensified economic and political pressure to compel our empire to submission thereby.

This trend of affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify our empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of East Asia, but also endanger the very existence of our nation. The situation being such as it is, our empire, for its existence and self-defence, has no other recourse but to appeal to arms and to crush every obstacle in its path. Hallowed spirits of our imperial ancestors guarding us from above, we rely upon the loyalty and courage of our subjects in our confident expectation that the task bequeathed by our forefathers will be carried forward.

The Emperor concluded by expressing the hope that "the sources of evil will be speedily eradicated and enduring peace immutably established in East Asia, preserving thereby the glory *of our empire.*"

RESOLUTION OF UNITED STATES CONGRESS APPROVING THE DECLARATION OF WAR UPON JAPAN, PASSED ON DECEMBER 8, 1941 :

WHEREAS the Imperial Japanese Government has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and people of the United States of America ;

Therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that a state of war between the United States and the Imperial Japanese Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared and the President hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on the war against Japan, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

COMMUNICATION DISPATCHED TO THE JAPANESE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN LONDON AT 1 P.M. ON DECEMBER 8, 1941 :

SIR,—On the evening of December 7 his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom learned that Japanese forces, without previous warning either in the form of a declaration of war or of an ultimatum with a conditional declaration of war, had attempted a landing on the coast of Malaya and bombed Singapore and Hongkong.

In view of these wanton acts of unprovoked aggression, committed in flagrant violation of international law, and particularly of Article 1 of the Third Hague Convention relative to the opening of hostilities, of which both Japan and the United Kingdom are parties, his Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo has been instructed to inform the Imperial Japanese Government in the name of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that a state of war exists between the two countries.

I have the honour to be, with high consideration,

Sir, Your obedient servant,

(*Signed*) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

PROCLAMATION BY QUEEN WILHELMINA OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE PEOPLE OF HOLLAND, BROADCAST FROM BRITAIN ON DECEMBER 8, 1941 :

THE Kingdom considers itself at war with Japan because the aggression, which aims at the peace-loving nations one after the other, can, must, and will only be resisted in firm alliance. Now that the friendly American and British peoples are being attacked, the Kingdom of the Netherlands puts all its military power and all its resources at the disposal of the common war effort. The Netherlands did not hesitate to defend themselves with courage when they were wickedly assaulted in Europe.

ORDER OF THE DAY BY AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR ROBERT BROOKE-POPHAM, C.-IN-C. FAR EAST, AND ADMIRAL SIR GEOFFREY LAYTON, C.-IN-C. CHINA STATION, DECEMBER 8, 1941 :

JAPAN'S action today gives the signal for the Empire Naval, Army, and Air Forces and for the Forces of the Allies to go into action with a common aim and common ideals. We are ready ; we have had plenty of warning and our preparations have been made and tested.

We do not forget at this moment the years of patience and forbearance. We have borne with dignity and discipline the petty insults and insolences inflicted on us by the Japanese in the Far East. We know that those things were only done because Japan thought she could take advantage of our supposed weakness. Now, when Japan herself has decided to put the matter to a sterner test, she will find that she has made a grievous mistake. . . .

Let us all remember that we here in the Far East form part of the great campaign for the preservation in the world of truth and justice and freedom. Confidence, resolution, enterprise, and devotion to the cause must and will inspire every one of us in the fighting services, while from the civilian population, Malay, Chinese, or Indian, we expect that patience, endurance, and serenity which is the great virtue of the East, and which will go far to assist the fighting men to gain a final and complete victory.

AUCHINLECK'S OFFENSIVE AND THE SIDI REZEGH BATTLES

Eighth Army Advances, November 18, 1941—Opening Clash at Sidi Rezegh—Widespread and Confused Battle—Magnificent Stand of the South Africans—Rommel's Eastward Dash to the Egyptian Frontier—Tobruk Sortie—Rommel Breaks the 'Corridor'—Siege of Tobruk Raised—Tide of Battle Turns—Rommel in Full Retreat—Recapture of Derna and Mekili—Enemy Cut Off South of Benghazi—Cleaning Up at Bardia, Sollum and Halfaya—Enemy Stand at El Agheila

At first light on November 18, 1941, Britain's Eighth Army in Egypt, under the command of Lt.-Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, advanced into Libya from the positions they had occupied since the end of May. From the coast east of Sollum to the oasis of Jarabub far to the south they pushed ahead. British infantry and armoured formations, New Zealanders, South Africans and Indians, Free French and Poles; and before darkness fell they had effected a considerable penetration on a 130-mile front, establishing themselves along the escarpment from Sidi Omar to Bir el Gobi. "So skilfully had our fighting units been insinuated into their concentration areas," announced Cairo on the night of Nov. 19, "so good were the arrangements for deception, camouflage and dispersal, coupled with the support of our air forces, that enemy observation and interference from the air prior to and during the advance were negligible. By yesterday evening, in heavy rain, our forces had penetrated over 50 miles into enemy territory. Up to that time little or no enemy opposition had been encountered." The next day the advance continued with marked success, and the Prime Minister was able to give the House of Commons on Nov. 20 an encouraging picture of the operations. The offensive had been long and elaborately prepared, he said: they had waited nearly five months in order that the Army should be well equipped with all those weapons which had made their mark in this new war, in which, "as in a sea battle, all may be settled one way or the other in the course of perhaps two hours." Although it was far too soon to indulge in any exultation, the British and Empire troops engaged could be trusted to fight with the utmost resolve and devotion, "feeling as they all do that this is the first time we have met the Germans at least equally well armed and equipped. . . ."

Enemy Met on Equal Terms

That same afternoon the battle in Cyrenaica was joined in earnest. British armoured forces engaged German tanks in the vicinity of Sidi Rezegh, south of Tobruk, and the enemy lost 70 tanks and 33 armoured cars in the fray. In another clash between Sidi Rezegh and Sidi Omar a further British armoured formation successfully engaged German tanks advancing from the Bardia-Gambut area. The enemy were still holding their positions between Halfaya and Sidi Omar, but British pressure was steadily making itself felt. On the 20th



LT.-GEN. SIR A. G. CUNNINGHAM

Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham, K.C.B., D.S.O., who played a distinguished part in the East African campaign, was appointed G.O.C. of the Eighth Army newly created from the British Forces in the Western Desert. He was relieved of his command on November 26, 1941, eight days after the opening of the British offensive.

Photo: British Official: Crown Copyright

New Zealand forces continued their advance through heavy rain from their initial positions west of Sidi Omar. Rapidly capturing Sidi Aziz and Capuzzo, they pushed on westwards round the Capuzzo road, and by the evening they had reached positions south of Gambut, leaving a detachment to occupy Bardia, which was reported to be clear of the enemy. Meanwhile Indian troops captured Sidi Omar Nuovo, nine miles north of Sidi Omar, taking a large number of prisoners, and gradually extended their hold in the rear of the enemy's positions at Halfaya. Then the "Tobruk rats," moving out, strove hard to join up with the British battling at Sidi Rezegh.

Gigantic Tank Battles

For days and nights the tank battle raged in a vast parallelogram in the desert, bounded on the north by the Tobruk–Bardia road and on the south by the El-Abd track, some 40 miles to the south of Bardia. The battle was terrifyingly strange, such as had never been seen before in the whole long history of war. Said an R.A.F. fighter pilot who looked down on it from the air:

> "Guns were blazing on all sides as these land cruisers made for each other. It was impossible to pick out from our position which was which. Most of them were on the move, but there were several stationary and no longer firing. Several hundreds of them appeared engaged in a grim show-down. It must have been a concentrated hell of shell against shell and steel against steel. It was like looking down on some huge prehistoric arena with fire-breathing, scaly-hided monsters pitted against each other in a terrific struggle, lumbering slowly forward, swinging this way and that, each intent upon the destruction of the other."

At the close of each day's fighting there came from Cairo an account which, as it proved, was far too optimistic in its colouring. In fact, as Mr. Churchill admitted in the House of Commons on Dec. 11, "the Libyan offensive did not take the course its authors expected. . . . The picture that was made by the commanders beforehand was of a much more rapid battle. . . . They had the idea that the whole German armoured force would be encountered by our



FOR THE SECOND TIME BENGHAZI WAS OURS

On Christmas Eve, 1941, units of General Ritchie's Eighth Army entered Benghazi and armoured cars of the South African Field Force are here seen as they pass under a [illegible] arch into the city soon after. By January 29, 1942 our forces were again leaving Benghazi, in the face of Rommel's successful drive from El Agheila. Wavell's army had taken Benghazi on February 6, 1941, but the Germans were in again eight weeks later—April 3, 1941. (See illus., pp. 1576-7, 1593, 1595.)

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



AFTER THE SORTIE FROM TOBRUK

Many times the men of Tobruk sallied out to attack the enemy. At last, on December 10, 1941, a force from Tobruk made contact at El Adem with South African and Indian troops from the south-east, and the long siege was raised. Here, at a desert casualty clearing station, British wounded and enemy prisoners are being cared for by Red Cross orderlies both British and German, while a Highland piper entertains.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



CRITICAL STAGE IN AUCHINLECK'S OFFENSIVE

Taken early in December 1941, this photograph shows a small party of British troops taking cover from an enemy barrage. They lie behind a low barricade of rocks gathered from the desert around, waiting for the rush of German troops when the barrage lifts. At this period Rommel broke through the 'corridor' connecting Tobruk with the British troops outside, capturing Sidi Rezegh and Bir el Hamed

Photo. British Official · Crown Copyright

armour in a mass at the outset, and that the battle would be decided one way or the other in a few hours." But though "almost at the first bound we reached Sidi Rezegh, dividing the enemy armour and throwing them into confusion," there developed a very large number of fierce, detached actions over an immense space of desert country. "It became a widespread and confused battle of extremely high-class combatants mounted upon mechanized transport, and fighting in barren lands with the utmost vigour and determination. The commander of the 21st German Armoured Division, Maj.-Gen. von Ravenstein, whom we captured, expressed himself very well when he said: 'This warfare is a paradise to the tactician, but a nightmare to the quartermaster'."



GUNS BLAST A WAY FOR THE INFANTRY

A 4.5-inch gun of a Medium Regt., Royal Artillery, in action in the Western Desert during the opening stages of Auchinleck's offensive, which began on November 18, 1941. On left is the telephonist, in touch with a forward observation post.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

At Sidi Rezegh the New Zealanders and South Africans were heavily engaged. In a bloody encounter Brigadier Barraclough's New Zealanders of the 6th Brigade Group, temporarily attached to the 30th Corps and detailed to close the enemy's exit to the west, lost 13 out of 50 tanks, while half the 25th Battalion became casualties. The N.Z. 26th Battalion was sent to support the 5th South African Brigade at Sidi Rezegh, and were there attacked by a panzer division. The New Zealanders were able to hold their ground for a time, but after knocking out some 50 of the enemy's tanks had to be withdrawn. The South Africans, however, were overrun. From Friday to Sunday afternoon (Nov. 21-23), said General Smuts in a broadcast on Nov. 29, they fought an action comparable with the stand of the South Africans at Delville Wood in March 1918. In a struggle of the fiercest character they held their ground against repeated air, panzer and infantry attacks, made by greatly superior numbers, and kept on fighting until their ammunition was exhausted and resistance became physically impossible. They were reported to have lost 1,200 men dead, wounded and missing; but, said General Smuts, "let us not count our losses. They are the gain of South Africa."

Dominion Troops' Fine Stand



THROUGH THE WIRE AT DAWN

After artillery had prepared the ground the infantry went forward through the wire. The task before them was to seize and hold 'lanes' through which Cunningham's tanks could advance to breach the enemy's main defences. They were followed by sappers to clear the minefields.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

While the South African riflemen were being rounded up as prisoners, following a charge in which the German tanks had rushed on seven abreast and 10 deep, some British tanks broke through to their rescue; they were not in sufficient strength to turn the tide, but in the scrimmage a number of South Africans were able to take advantage of the confusion and made their way to the British lines.

Between November 25 and 26 what Mr. Churchill called the first main crisis of the battle developed. On the 24th General Auchinleck, the British generalissimo, proceeded to battle headquarters and on the 26th decided to relieve General Cunningham and to appoint Major-General Ritchie, a comparatively junior officer, to the command of the 8th Army in his stead. "Since November 26, therefore," said Mr. Churchill on Dec. 12, "the 8th Army has been commanded with great vigour and skill by General Ritchie, but during nearly the whole time General Auchinleck himself has been at battle headquarters. Although the battle is



FORT CAPUZZO CAPTURED FOR THE SECOND TIME

On November 20, two days after the opening of Auchinleck's offensive, Capuzzo was occupied by our forces. Here is a view from the air. The fort had been stormed by Wavell's men on December 17, 1940, and reoccupied by the enemy in the middle of the following April.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

not yet finished, I have no hesitation in saying that, for good or ill, it is General Auchinleck's battle."

One of the new commander's first acts was to issue an Order of the Day.

"There is no doubt whatever that the enemy will be beaten," it read. "His position is desperate. He is trying by lashing out in all directions to distract us from our objective, which is to destroy him utterly. We will not be distracted, and he will be destroyed. You have got your teeth into him. Hold on. Bite deeper and deeper, and hang on until he is finished. Give him no rest. There is only one order—attack and pursue. All out, everyone!"

While terrific fighting raged over the plateau near Sidi Rezegh, while the South Africans licked their wounds and the New Zealanders continued to make hard going along the shore and over the escarpment towards Tobruk, while the men in Tobruk fought to join up with their comrades battling in the desert just above them, and far to the south the 5th Indian Division, in cooperation with British and South African mechanized forces, captured Aujila and Jalo, while British mobile forces were making progress near Jarabub—Rommel on November 25 staged a diversion, possibly in the hope of relieving the pressure on his main body.

Tobruk Garrison Hits Out

A mechanized column raided eastwards across the frontier wire into Egypt south of Sidi Omar. But it was soon detected by the hawks of the R.A.F., and was continuously attacked from Gabr Saleh by bombers and low-flying fighters; then, as it proceeded to cross the frontier, British artillery and tanks were brought into action to stem its advance. Already the raiders had lost about a third of their tanks, and, harassed by mobile columns of British armour, they reversed their direction on November 27 and started to move westwards as if to rejoin the main body of Axis troops still so heavily engaged at Sidi Rezegh. A number of German elements succeeded in joining it from the positions they had been holding between Halfaya and Sidi Omar, but shortly after midday the enlarged body was again heavily engaged about 12 miles south of Gambut by British bombers, and subsequently it was severely mauled by armoured forces that had been dispatched to intercept it. After two hours of intensive fighting the enemy scattered, and the bulk of the surviving tanks and vehicles were reported to be moving towards Gambut.

If the raid had indeed been planned with a view to enticing the British armour from the vital battlefield of Sidi Rezegh it failed. The mass of Rommel's tanks and infantry remained closely engaged, contained within a ring of steel and fire. For a day or two there was a lull in the fury of the battle, but about midday on November 29 an intense conflict again developed. The remaining tank strength of the two German armoured divisions (15th and 21st), with the Italian Ariete armoured division in support, made another



SPOILS OF WAR AT LIBYAN OMAR

After the capture of Sidi Omar, on the Egyptian frontier, by British and Indian formations (November 23, 1941) there was a terrific battle for Libyan Omar, inside the border of Cyrenaica, and the town was taken by Indian units. Three Indian soldiers are here examining a Nazi flag captured during the attack.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright





BLOODY BATTLEGROUND OF SIDI REZEGH

During the tense battle that went on for a fortnight in this region Sidi Rezegh was taken from the enemy three times and lost twice. It was finally cleared of the Germans on December 7, 1941. Top, left, Maj.-Gen. von Ravenstein with a British staff officer after his capture on November 29. Since June he had commanded the 21st German Armoured Division. Top, right, surrender of an Italian tank. Centre, tanks and mobile workshops ablaze after capture by South Africans. Below, graves of South Africans on the Sidi Rezegh battlefield. General Smuts compared the heroic action of the 5th S. African Brigade with that glorious stand of two days at Delville Wood in March 1918.

Photos, British and South African Official; Crown Copyright









TOBRUK'S 200 DAYS OF SIEGE

On November 26, 1941, the Tobruk garrison struck fiercely at the investing German and Italian armies and sallied out to join the Imperial Forces. More than 2,000 of the enemy were captured, and 80 field guns; on the 27th, the men from Tobruk joined up with New Zealanders of the Eighth Army at El Duda (left, a New Zealand colonel and the commander of a Tobruk tank adjust the Union Jack at the masthead; see also illus., p. 1870). Right, a Londoner has fixed a homely sign to the 24-kilometre post at a Tobruk exit. Below, Afrika Korps prisoners on the shore at Tobruk

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright











THEY WON THE V.C. AT SIDI REZEGH, TOBRUK AND EL DUDA

2nd. Lt. G. W. GUNN, M.C., R.H.A. On November 21 in the Sidi Rezegh area his battery of 12 anti-tank guns engaged 60 tanks. When all but one of his guns had been knocked out he continued to work that one, though its ammunition portée had been set on fire, and hit many enemy tanks before he fell dead with a head wound.

Rifleman JOHN BEELEY, K.R.R. On November 21, during a sharp attack at Sidi Rezegh all but one of his company officers became casualties. Taking with him a Bren gun he charged a strong-point containing an anti-tank gun and machine-guns, and silenced it. His platoon could now advance. Beeley lay dead over his Bren gun.

Lieut. P. J. GARDNER, M.C. (Royal Tank Regt.) On November 23, near Tobruk, with two tanks he went to the aid of two armoured cars under heavy fire. After repeated attempts to tow one of the cars he picked up a badly wounded officer from it and took him to safety. Capt. Gardner was wounded in arm and leg.

Capt. J. J. B. JACKMAN (Royal Northumberland Fusiliers.) On Nov. 25, British tanks attacking a vital ridge at El Duda were held up by gunfire. Capt. Jackman led machine-gun trucks up the ridge into action on the threatened flank. Next he drove across the front between our tanks and the enemy and secured the left flank. He was later killed.

Photos, Fox; Keystone; G. P. U.; Philip Clarke

attempt to break out to the W. through those parts of the ring held by British and New Zealand troops in the area about Sidi Rezegh–Bir el Hamed. British tanks strove to take the Germans in the rear, steadily clearing the whole countryside between the main battlefield and the frontier. And all the time the R.A.F. were continuously in action, shooting up Rommel's roving columns, speeding the flight of the units retreating from the coastal areas, blasting their positions at Sidi Rezegh, their lines of communication across the desert, their bases on the Mediterranean shore.

By the beginning of December three "fronts," composed the Battle of Cyrenaica. First and most important was that south-east of Tobruk, where Ritchie's forces fighting their way from the east across the Sidi Rezegh escarpment had joined up, albeit precariously, with the garrison advancing from Tobruk. Secondly, there was the frontier area stretching from Halfaya to somewhat north of Sidi Omar. The south-western or Jalo region constituted the third.

"In this field battle," reported Cairo in the official communiqué issued on December 2, "which has ranged on the main front with local fluctuation over an area of some 1,000 square miles since November 20, the centre of gravity has altered almost daily as our or the enemy's main tank concentrations massed for attack or counter-attack. Yesterday the enemy threw into the battle all his available armour on a comparatively narrow front. Very heavy fighting throughout the day in the area Rezegh–Bir el Hamed–Zaafran resulted in a junction between the German forces which had advanced from the south and south-west with those originally disposed about Zaafran."

As a result of this operation, Rommel broke the "corridor" from Tobruk to the British outside, and also recaptured Sidi Rezegh and Bir el Hamed.



V.C. FOR BRIGADIER CAMPBELL

Brigadier (later Maj.-Gen.) John Charles Campbell, was awarded the D.S.O. for his leadership in Libya in the summer of 1940. In December, during Wavell's offensive, he gained a bar for the cool and steady manner in which he encouraged his command to beat off air attacks. The Victoria Cross (the ribbon of which General Auchinleck is seen pinning on his tunic) was awarded for gallantry and leadership at Sidi Rezegh on November 21-22, 1941. Twice Campbell himself manned a gun, and even after being wounded he acted as loader. He was later killed in a car accident.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

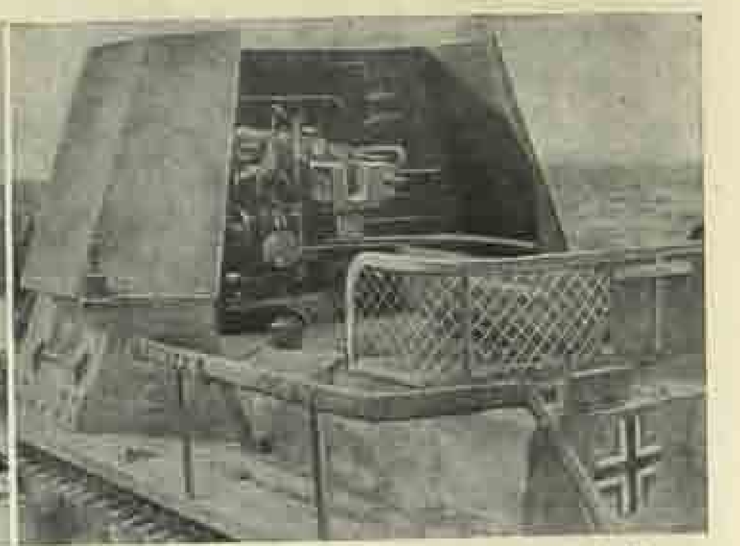
The German communiqué claimed that over 9,000 British had been made prisoners to date, including three generals, and that 814 tanks and 137 planes had been destroyed or captured; the Italians for their part claimed 1,500 prisoners taken at Sidi Rezegh.

Adverse weather made operations more difficult during the next few days, but nothing could deter the bombers of the R.A.F. and their comrades of the South African A.F. Supply dumps and columns were persistently strafed, and off the coast and in the Central Mediterranean supply ships were damaged or sunk. On December 5 Cairo gave out that "the tempo in eastern Cyrenaica has again quickened," the main incident being a series of attacks by the enemy on El Duda, south-east of Tobruk, in which the defenders had had to cede some ground; Indian troops were reported to have been in action near Bir el Gobi, a number of Italian tanks being destroyed; and New Zealanders shot up a German column west of Menastir.

Air Attacks on El Duda

Daily the communiqués mentioned small-scale engagements; El Duda featured often, and then El Adem, where Rommel had an important airfield. Near Bir el Gobi there was a clash in the moonlight on December 6. South-east of Tobruk patrols were active, encountering little or no opposition. In the frontier areas operations against





SHELL VERSUS ARMOUR—A GERMAN SOLUTION

To the age-old contest between projectile and armour the desert battles added another factor: the anti-tank gun, besides being powerful enough to pierce its opponent's armour at full range, must itself be as speedy as the tank. The enemy converted some of his tanks to self-propelled heavy guns, as seen above; but the United Nations soon countered this weapon with a mobile 105 mm. gun-howitzer, nicknamed "The Priest." *Photos, Associated Press*



isolated enemy garrisons still holding out were proceeding satisfactorily: in the capture of the three Omars, (Sidi Omar, Sidi Omar Nuovo, and Libyan Omar) Indian troops took 59 guns.

At length the situation began to show an improvement. In the communiqué of December 8 it was apparent that Sidi Rezegh was once again in British hands; here the Border Regiment were reported to have found 18 modern German tanks and much equipment lying abandoned on the ground. A New Zealand divisional dressing-station which had been overrun when the enemy rushed Sidi Rezegh a fortnight before was recovered, with some 700 wounded Anzacs still within.

Armoured patrols of the 11th Hussars working in the same area joined hands with patrols operating from Tobruk; on December 9 El Adem airfield, evacuated by the enemy, was occupied and the next day Cairo announced that "British troops from Tobruk joined hands in El Adem with South African and Indian troops from the south-east, although the enemy are still in strength on the western defences. The siege of Tobruk has therefore been raised, and road communication has been opened with the east." On the same day South African armoured cars and mobile columns of Buffs, Punjabi and Rajput troops worked round the enemy's flank at Acroma.

Already there had been some movement of the enemy. Now, "under the vigorous pressure of our forces, with the fullest and most effective cooperation of our air forces," it was accelerated. The tide of battle was on the turn. Rommel, it was clear, was in full retreat.

To quote again from Mr. Churchill's review given on December 11:

"The first stage of the battle is now over. The enemy has been driven out of the

NIGHT TANK BATTLE BEFORE TOBRUK

Below, German armoured cars taking part in a night engagement: the streaks of light are from tracer shells. Above, left, an American M-3 light tank racing across the Western Desert during the early days of Auchinleck's offensive; its crew was drawn from a famous Irish regiment. *Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; "News Chronicle"*





ADVANCED HEADQUARTERS IN WESTERN DESERT

Taken early in December 1941, this photograph shows (left to right) General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief; Air Vice-Marshal Arthur Coningham, A.O.C. Western Desert; Major-General Neil Methuen Ritchie, appointed Commander of the Eighth Army on November 26; together with senior Army and Air Force officers.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

positions which barred our westward advance, positions which he has most laboriously fought for. Everything has been swept away except certain pockets at Bardia and Halfaya which are hopelessly cut off and will be mopped up or starved out in due course. It may be definitely said that Tobruk has been relieved—or, as I prefer to state it, has been disengaged. The enemy, still strong, but severely mauled and largely stripped of his armour, is retreating to a defensive line to the west of the Tobruk fortress, and the clearance of the approaches to Tobruk and the establishment of our air power thus far forward to the west in new airfields enables the great supply depots of Tobruk, which have carefully been built up, to furnish support for the second phase of our offensive with great economy upon our lines of communication. Substantial reinforcements and fresh troops are available close at hand, and many of the units which were most heavily engaged have been relieved and their places taken by others, although we have to keep the numbers down strictly to the level which our vast transportation facilities permit.

"The enemy, who has fought with the utmost stubbornness and enterprise, has paid the price of his valour, and . . . I will go so far on this occasion as to say that all danger of the Army of the Nile not being able to celebrate Christmas and the New Year in Cairo has been decisively removed."

Once Rommel had been ejected from his stronghold on the plateau south of Tobruk he was given no rest; once Ritchie had secured the advantage, he exploited it to the utmost. The enemy endeavouring to withdraw in orderly fashion through Cyrenaica was harassed by land and air, and Rommel's rearguards were hard put to it to protect the mass of infantry and supply columns. In the pursuit a great part was played by desert Commandos (or "Jock columns," as they came to be styled, after their leader, Brigadier J. C. Campbell, awarded the V.C. for conspicuous gallantry at Sidi Rezegh on November 21 and 22, 1941), specially created by General Auchinleck to help the particular problems of the Libyan fighting. In an interview the General stated that these Commandos were new, highly mobile columns which conformed to no standard formation hitherto known in the British Army, but had proved an effective counter to General Rommel's desperate tactics of allowing small cells of tanks to circulate in the desert like raiders at sea. They varied in size and make-up, but a typical unit would consist of a few tanks, some armoured cars, a few powerful field guns, batteries of anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, and a detachment of motorized infantry. A force of this description could move about the desert at between 20 and 30

INDIAN TROOPS CHARGE THROUGH THE WIRE TO JALO

Far from the main battle area a mixed force of British and South African mechanized units with Indian troops pushed on across the desert to Jalo, about 220 miles W.S.W. of Jarabub and 250 miles S. of Cirene. Here the Indians are advancing through gaps made in the wire by carriers, in face of heavy fire from Breda guns and machine-guns. Jalo was captured on November 25. (See map in pp. 1656-7.) *Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright*





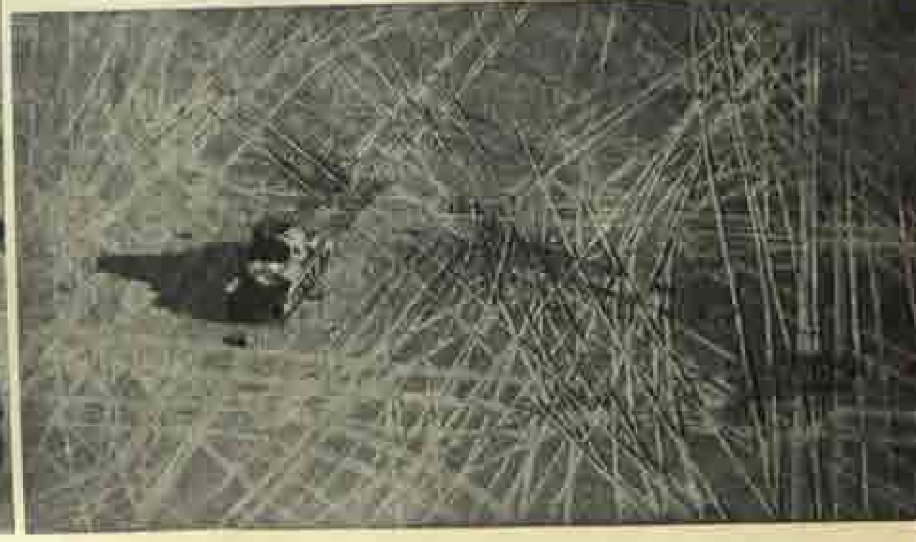


EIGHTH ARMY DRIVES ON TO BENGHAZI

Following the same course as Wavell's Army a year before, British and Imperial forces swiftly captured Derna (December 19, 1941), Cirene (December 21) and Benghazi (December 24). Top, left, the end of an Italian ammunition column caught by our artillery fire outside Derna. Right, armoured cars of the S. African Field Force on the road above ancient Cirene. Below, left, hoisting the Union Jack at Benghazi. Below, right, a wrecked enemy tank beside wheel and caterpillar tracks left by British armoured vehicles in pursuit of enemy columns.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright





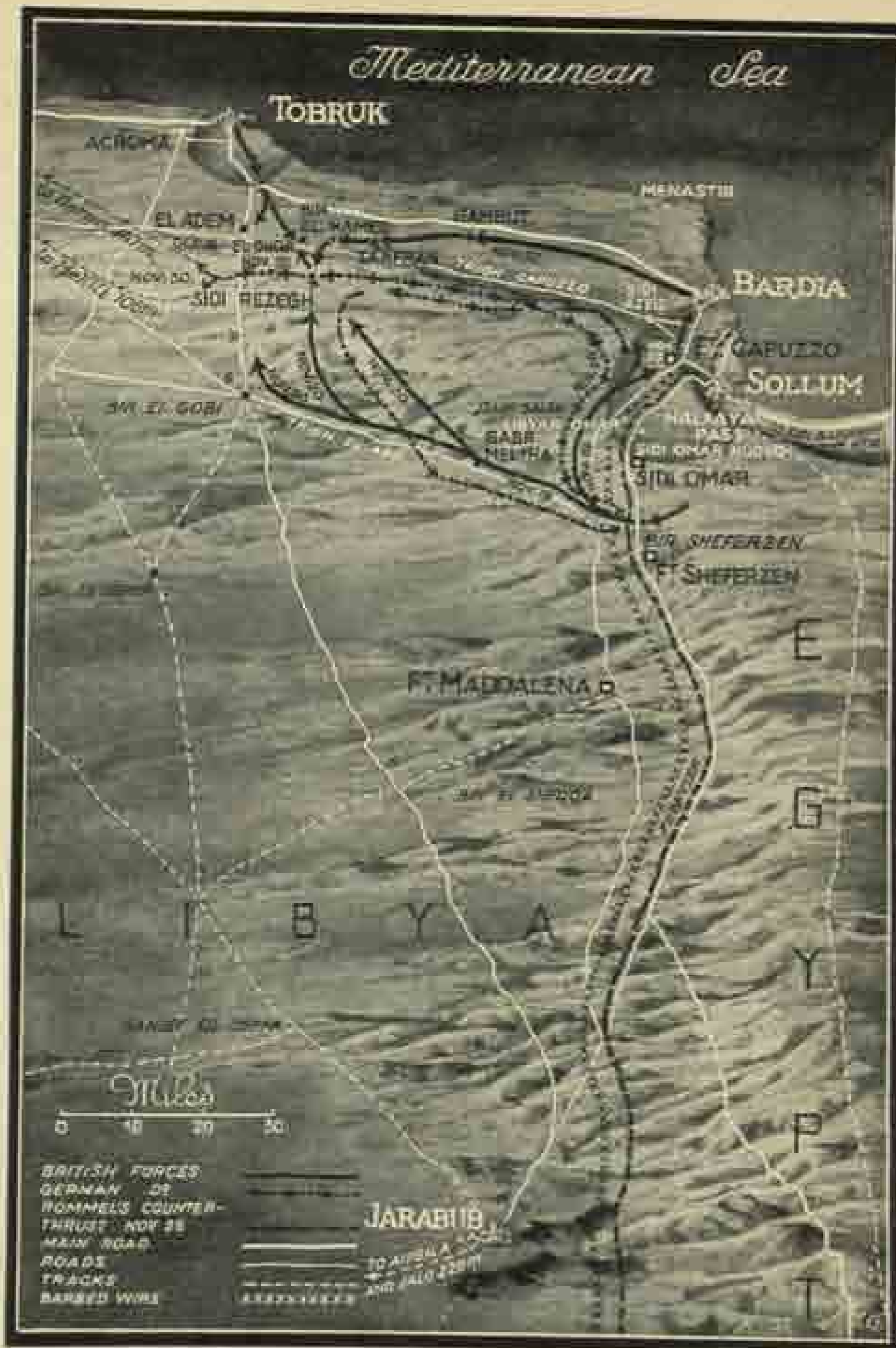
miles per hour; every vehicle was self-contained, having enough rations, food, water and petrol for several days. A large number of the men in the Commandos were South Africans. "They have taken to this form of fighting naturally," said General Auchinleck, "because of the fact that the columns are based on the old South African commandos. They have been doing a great deal of damage, harrying the enemy's rear and getting round him with great success."

On December 15 General Auchinleck issued a message of congratulation to Major-General Ritchie:

"After ten days at your advanced headquarters, where I have been able closely to follow the progress of the operations you directed, I wish to tell you how greatly impressed I am by the skill and vigour with which they have been conducted. Such success would never have been achieved without the unceasing, wholehearted co-operation of the Air Force, whose work has been magnificent throughout."

Following the breaking of the enemy's front at Sidi Rezegh Rommel's army split into two groups, one retreating along the coast road through Derna and the other taking the more direct road across Cyrenaica through Mekili to Benghazi. For several days hard fighting was reported to be in progress at Gazala, where a body of enemy troops was brought to bay by the New Zealanders; on December 17 this enemy post was overcome. "All Axis forces in Cyrenaica are now in full retreat," announced G.H.Q. Cairo. The communiqué went on to state that on December 13, 14 and 15 German lorry-borne infantry, supported by all the remaining German tanks, had delivered a number of counter-attacks, the brunt of which had been borne by the 4th Indian Division in the centre of the British line. Although the Germans had temporarily established considerable local numerical superiority, attack after attack was repelled; indeed, during three days and nights of intense fighting, in which all available German air forces were also employed in close support of their tanks and lorried infantry, the Indians and, particularly in the last two days, the 5th Indian Infantry Brigade, had actually made headway. "Ably backed up by battalions of the 4th Sikh Regiment and 1st Punjab Regiment, who had already distinguished themselves on many previous occasions, The Buffs, admirably supported by the 21st Field Regiment, Royal Artillery, played the decisive part in finally defeating these German counter-attacks, in which about 20 German tanks and a number of Axis aircraft were destroyed."

Rommel's Army Divides



BRITISH AND GERMAN ARMOUR FIGHT IT OUT

The shaded area around Sollum indicates the position of Rommel's main armoured force at the opening of Auchinleck's offensive; the similarly shaded patch around Tobruk marks the position of the enemy's secondary force. The Italian armoured division was to the west of Bir el Gobi. Tanks from Tobruk linked up with Imperial forces at El Duda on November 26; on the previous day Rommel had begun the daring raid eastward to the frontier and back; on the 30th he broke through westward with the remnants of his forces.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Felix Gardon*

On December 18 Derna aerodrome fell into British hands, and next day Derna itself and also Mekili were entered by units of the 8th Army. By day and by night British and Free French air forces continued their merciless bombardment of the fleeing foe. Every day that passed added to the already large bag of German and Italian prisoners, while the quantities of tanks, guns and small arms captured were described as enormous. Cirene and Apollonia fell to British mobile columns on December 21, and on the next day these columns reached the coastal plain on the Gulf of Sirte, south of Benghazi, thus cutting off the retreat of those of the enemy who were still plodding along the coastal road. G.H.Q. Cairo reported that the whole line of the Afrika



THROUGH A WINDOW IN SOLLUM

Halfaya, Sollum and Bardia were by-passed when the Eighth Army thrust on for bigger quarry farther in Cyrenaica, but their turn came early in January 1942. First, on the night of January 1-2, Bardia was taken (see lower photograph); then on the 11th Halfaya was attacked (it fell on the 17th), and at the same time Transvaal Scottish began the reduction of Sollum, which surrendered next day. Above, South Africans in Sollum keep watch for any enemy lurking in the houses.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Korps' retreat was littered with abandoned war material in such great quantities that it had been impossible to make a proper count.

On Christmas Eve Benghazi, the capital of Cyrenaica, was entered by the Royal Dragoons after it had been evacuated by the enemy. The Central Indian Horse captured the adjacent aerodrome of Barce, and a mobile column, including units of the Rifle Brigade and the Royal Horse Artillery, seized that of Benina. To the south, columns of the Coldstream Guards, Royal Armoured Corps and South African armoured cars interposed themselves between the Italians still remaining in the Benghazi area and the Germans retreating towards Jedabia.

In Benghazi Again

With the capture of Benghazi the whole of Cyrenaica, with the exception of a small area about Bardia and Halfaya, came under British control—this after less than six weeks' fighting, in the course of which Rommel's army of over 100,000 Germans and Italians, with three tank divisions, had been completely defeated and very largely destroyed.

That Christmas Day was spent by some British soldiers in Benghazi.

"Despite the cheerlessness of stricken Benghazi," wrote Reuter's Special Correspondent, "which presents a sadder appearance than any blitzed English town I have seen, our troops did what they could to celebrate Christmas festively. One unit had the supreme good luck to find two turkeys at Barce on their way here. They heard gobbling coming from a garden-shed, and on investigation found two plump birds within. Buying them, they killed and plucked them while motoring to Benghazi and managed to baste them over an open fire in the ruined kitchen of a Benghazi hotel. Others had tinned plum-puddings, long cherished in some cranny of an armoured car or tank against the great day. Nearly all contrived to add something extra to the usual bully and biscuits. In the evening carols were sung by our men as they strolled around the town, and I saw an armoured car cruising along the street with some of the crew perched on top blowing tin trumpets out of crackers. German bombers were over at dusk, but dropped no more than half-a-dozen bombs near the harbour. After all this wretched city has experienced of late, their effort could scarcely be considered as more than a playful slap."

In full retreat from Benghazi, the main body of Rommel's army was continuously harassed by British artillery and aircraft as it passed through the Jedabia area. With swift efficiency enemy pockets in the desert to the south were overcome, and the survivors hustled steadily westwards or put "in the bag." On December 28 the Germans turned at bay in a desperate attempt to stem the columns advancing on Jedabia. But the counter-attack failed; on that day and the next Rommel lost 22 tanks and another 20 badly damaged, as against the British loss of 14. The counter-attack was renewed on December 30, Rommel throwing into the fight all his remaining tanks with a view to preventing the envelopment of his southern flank. The effort was in vain, however, and after a few more days of persistent pressure, on January 7, 1942, Rommel took advantage of heavy sandstorms which restricted visibility and began to withdraw from Jedabia. Strong rearguards covered his retirement, but these were successfully engaged by the

Rommel At Bay



ENEMY DUGOUTS IN A WADI OUTSIDE BARDIA

Much of the fighting in the Libyan campaign took place around wadis (ravines or dry river channels) which formed natural defensive positions and, if deep enough, tank traps. Infantry of the 1st and 2nd S. African Divisions, with the aid of British tanks, took Bardia on the night of January 1-2. Our casualties were 360; we took 8,000 Axis prisoners and freed 1,150 of our own men held captive.

Photo, South African Official





Coldstream and Scots Guards about seven miles south-west of Jedabia. Still farther to the south the King's Dragoon Guards and South African armoured units made a deep penetration into country only very recently held by the enemy in considerable force.

LACK OF WATER HASTENED THE FALL OF HALFAYA

The enemy garrison at Halfaya Pass was cut off when the Eighth Army advanced (November 21-23). It was bombed continually by the R.A.F. and shelled heavily. The capture of Fig Tree Wells (left) deprived the garrison of its water, and thenceforward it depended on scanty supplies brought each night by air from Greece. At midday on January 17 the Italian general surrendered unconditionally to Major-General de Villiers (G.O.C. 2nd S. African Division). Among the officers captured was Major the Reverend Bach (seen above on right with General Rommel), the German commander who was in virtual charge at Halfaya.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

Meanwhile Bardia had fallen. On December 31, 1941, a fierce attack had been launched on the enemy's positions by the 1st and 2nd South African divisions—the South African Police, Kaffrarian Rifles, and the Royal Durban Light Infantry, closely supported by British tanks and medium artillery, by the Polish Field Artillery Regiment, and by the New Zealand Cavalry Regiment (mechanized divisional cavalry, commanded by Colonel Nicoll).

During the night of January 1-2, 1942, the South Africans carried, at the bayonet, strongly defended localities covering the town, and at 7.30 on January 2 the Germans and Italians waved white flags at the advancing tanks and infantry. Soon Major-General Schmidt, the Axis commander, was sitting with General de Villiers (G.O.C. 2nd S.A. Division) in a staff car receiving (and accepting) the terms for the surrender of the fortress. Some 1,150 British soldiers were rescued from captivity, and more than 7,000 German and Italian prisoners were taken; Allied casualties totalled only 60 killed and 300 wounded.



WHERE BRITISH PRISONERS WERE HELD AT HALFAYA

British and Imperial troops captured by the enemy were kept prisoner in this wadi. To warn bombers of the R.A.F. and Free French squadrons they formed the letters 'P O W' in the sandy bottom of the ravine. When Halfaya made its unconditional surrender some 5,500 German and Italian troops in turn became prisoners of war.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

After the subjugation of Bardia came the cleaning up of Sollum and Halfaya. For several days the enemy forces along the coast and in the hollows of the escarpment were heavily shelled by the Royal Navy and bombed by R.A.F. and Free French planes. On January 11 the 2nd South African division—the Transvaal Scottish were singled out for special mention—drove the enemy out of most of his positions at Sollum; and next day captured the town. At Halfaya resistance continued until January 17, when the Axis garrison surrendered unconditionally to General de Villiers; some 5,500 prisoners were taken, including Generals de Georgis and Buttafuoco, of the Italian 55th Savoia division.

Fall of Sollum and Halfaya

Meanwhile Rommel's retreat was continuing to the west. Jedabia was captured on January 12, and the principal scene of fighting was now near El Agheila. Here the enemy made what was to prove a determined stand. Indeed, El Agheila marked the "farthest west" of Rommel's retreat and Ritchie's advance.

SIX MONTHS OF INTRIGUE AND VACILLATION IN UNHAPPY FRANCE

Moral and Economic Deterioration During Second Half of 1941—Pétain's Measures to 'Save France'—Darlan as Vice-Premier—New Constitution—Imitation of Nazi Measures—Foreign Policy: Sops to the Axis—Internal Resistance Grows—Execution of Hostages—Persecution of Jews

The second half of 1941 was marked by numerous constitutional changes in advancement of Pétain's national reconstruction, and by an increase in unrest, sabotage and disturbances of various kinds—followed by the inevitable reprisals. On July 18, 1941, Vichy announced certain Cabinet changes. Admiral Darlan relinquished the portfolio of the Interior, which was then taken over by M. Pierre Pucheux, head of the Department of Industrial Production, a change which permitted Darlan to devote himself to his duties as Vice-Premier.

Further changes were made known on August 12, when Marshal Pétain made a broadcast announcing 11 measures designed to "save France," as follows:

1. Suspension of the activities of all political parties and groups, with a ban on public and private party meetings and the display of leaflets and posters, with severe penalties for infringements.

2. Suspension of Parliamentary immunity as from September 30.

3. Disciplinary measures against Civil Servants guilty of false declarations in respect of secret societies, and exclusion of Freemasons of high rank from public office.

4. The Legion "remains the best instrument of the National Revolution in Unoccupied France, but it can only carry out its task by the subordination of all its branches to the Government."

5. The number of police to be doubled "to guarantee public order."

6. The appointment of Special Commissioners to supervise the spirit in which the laws and the decrees of the central authority are carried out and crush obstacles "imposed by administrative routine and secret societies" to the National Revolution; at the same time the powers of the Regional Prefects to be increased.

7. The Labour Charter designed to regulate the relations between employers and workers, to be the object of a "solemn agreement in a spirit of mutual understanding" and to be promulgated shortly.

8. Reorganization and regrouping of the industrial committees to give better representation to small industries and artisans; a revision of industrial-financial policy; and better coordination with provincial arbitration bodies.

9. Organization of food supplies on a national and regional basis.

10. The Marshal would exercise the powers conferred on him by Constitutional Act No. 7 to judge those responsible for the French disaster, setting up a Council of Political Justice which would report to him before October 15.

11. A new oath of loyalty to be taken by all Ministers and high officials.

Referring to the numerous manifestations of unrest in the country Pétain reminded his listeners that Vichy's relations with Germany were governed by the Armistice Convention, and that "it is our task to surmount the long heritage of distrust resulting from centuries of dissensions and quarrels, and orientate ourselves towards those great perspectives which our activity in a reconciled continent will open to us."



AFTER THE ATTACK ON LAVAL

Pierre Laval and Marcel Déat were shot at and wounded by a French patriot named Paul Colette on August 27 when reviewing, at Versailles, volunteers for the 'crusade against Bolshevism.' Both soon recovered. A death sentence on Colette was later commuted to one of life imprisonment. Here Laval is being assisted to his car after the attack.

Photo, Associated Press

He said that the absence of more than a million prisoners, the most youthful and vigorous elements in the nation, had created immense difficulties in constructing a new and durable constitution.

By an official decree (August 12) Darlan was appointed Minister of National Defence and was awarded a seventh star to his Admiral's rank, thereby placing him in the highest possible position in the French Navy; Darlan was now Vice-Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marine and National Defence, and Head of the French Fleet. These appointments made him the most powerful man in France after Pétain, and followed the announcement a week previously that he would henceforth direct Vichy's general policy in North Africa, General Weygand being thereby subordinated to him.

Pétain's regeneration programme was immediately implemented by several official decrees, the Marshal himself becoming the supreme and sole judge of the "war-guilt" prisoners and arrogating to himself the right to order any or all of a number of penalties. Three days later all Army officers, "fonctionnaires," the Vice-Premier, Secretaries of State, and the Grand Chancellor and Council of the Order of the Légion d'Honneur were obliged to take the new oath of absolute loyalty to the Marshal.

These measures were followed on August 20 by the removal of the Senate and Chamber from Vichy to Montdore. The inevitable protest by members of both Houses and personal representations to Darlan were without effect, as was proved by Pétain's decree of August 29 under which the French Parliament was transferred from Vichy to Châtel-Guyon.

Addressing French ex-service men at Vichy two days later, Pétain announced the creation of a single-party system, the Ex-Servicemen's Association being the connecting link. Declaring itself



PÉTAIN ADMINISTERS OATH TO LEGIONNAIRES

The Ex-Servicemen's Legion, founded in September 1940, came out openly next year for collaboration with Germany and proclaimed an anti-Republican programme. This photograph of the ceremony on the Legion's first anniversary shows members renewing the oath. Front row, Admiral Darlan, Vice-Premier; Marshal Pétain, Chief of State; François Valentin, Director-General of the Legion; General Huntziger.

Photo, Associated Press

to be the defender of the national revolution and thereby supporting collaboration, the Legion announced as its aims an anti-Republican, Anti-Semitic and anti-Marxist programme.

At the beginning of September 1941 the proposals formulated by the Constitutional Committee of the Lower House for a new constitution were made known. France was to be an autocracy, the highest power being invested in the Chief of State, with the exception of whatever authority the latter might delegate to provincial Governors. These, functioning as Chief Executive Officers, in addition to having some of the attributes of the German "Gauleiters," would exercise local powers resembling those of the Provincial Governors of France before the revolution of 1789. This new "parliament," whose functioning would be purely consultative, would have a high council or senate of 250, of whom the Lower House would choose 175 members, 62 being nominated by the Chief of State and the remaining 13 being representative of the French Empire. The 300 members of the Lower House (Conseil National) were to represent all branches of activity, including the liberal professions, war veterans, and "the family."

New French Constitution

In mid-September ecclesiastical leaders in the Occupied Zone announced their support of Pétain's national reconstruction; a similar declaration was made on November 14 by archbishops and bishops of the Unoccupied Zone.

Further evidence supporting the testimony of the Doyen Report (published in May 1941 by the Free French Government and which outlined German territorial designs on France) was forthcoming on August 4, when Free French Headquarters published further documents (dated January 2-15, 1941) which had fallen into their hands at Beirut. German designs were to be implemented by preventing French refugees from returning to their homes, by large-scale conscription of manpower for labour in Germany, by fostering German agricultural colonization in the areas which Germany proposed to annex, and by the destruction of monuments of the First Great War.

Pétain's decision to be sole judge of the "war-guilt" prisoners was carried further, on September 7, by the creation of a Council of Political Justice to act in an advisory capacity in regard to penalties. A State Tribunal was set up to judge persons "who by their words or deeds conspired against the security of the State," including moral responsibility for such activities; it had power to pass sentences of death and life imprisonment, with no right of appeal. This act, which broke all traditions in French constitutional history, was severely criticized as inquisitional by the Free French Government.

In both the Occupied and Unoccupied Zones economic conditions in general were the cause of much dissatisfaction. The food position was very unsatisfactory, as a result mainly of the Nazis' ruthless pillaging of stocks, the lack of agricultural labour, and the shortage of fodder. The reduction in essential food rations introduced on June 30, the issuing of ration cards for animal feeding stuffs on July 9, and the rationing of tobacco on July 12 were measures with obvious implications. As winter approached conditions in general deteriorated.

One consequence of the imitation of Nazi measures was the inevitable repression of Jews, which grew more violent. In August a law was passed permitting the appointment of "Aryan" administrators for Jewish-owned establishments throughout France, and outlining measures for the liquidation of such establishments. With certain exceptions Jewish practice in the medical and surgical professions was restricted to 2 per cent from September 6, a similar restriction applying to Jewish architects from October 2. On December 2 three further laws were published, placing more social and economic restrictions on Jews; the number of open occupations was further decreased and Jews were prohibited from owning any property except that of residence or business.

Vichy's foreign policy, while showing evidence of "attentisme," was nevertheless largely influenced by Germany, who continued to press for greater collaboration. It was under such pressure that Vichy broke off diplomatic relations with Russia on June 28, using the pretext that Russian diplomatic and consular representatives were engaged in activities harmful to the State. Despite many Nazi demands throughout the autumn for the use of part or all of the French fleet, Pétain remained firm, and refused even to negotiate on the matter when he met Goering on December 1. The entry of Japan and the United States into the war, which restored the balance of power to the Allies on a long-term basis, was reflected in a stiffening of Vichy's attitude and a Cabinet decision to maintain military neutrality.

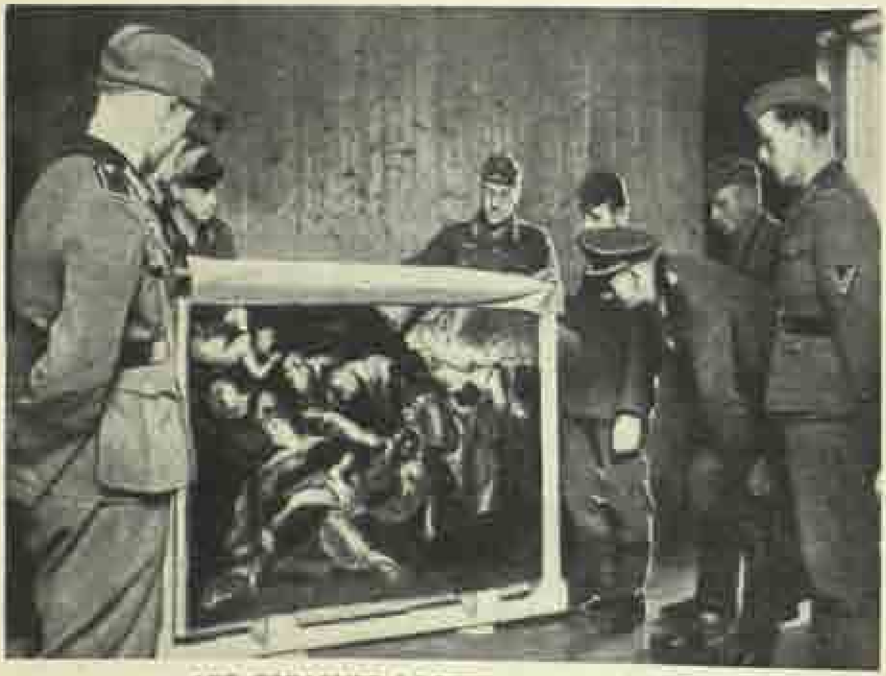
Pétain's Foreign Policy

Vichy's weakness in allowing Japan to acquire more territory in Indo-China (*see* Chapter 196) led to a statement on August 2 by Mr. Sumner Welles, the U.S. Under-Secretary of State, to

the effect that the attitude of the U.S. Government to France would henceforth be governed by "the effectiveness with which France defends her territory against the aggression of the Axis Powers."

In North Africa Vichy's policy became more concise with the appointment, on August 22, of General Huntziger as Commander of the Forces and the taking away of all military powers from Weygand. The latter was dismissed on November 20—eight days after the death of Huntziger in an aeroplane accident. His opposition both to collaboration with Germany and to any acquiescence by Vichy in German attempts to gain control of French North Africa played into the hands of the Nazis, who had long regarded Weygand with severe displeasure. In the United States the reaction took the form of a statement deprecating Weygand's dismissal and the increase of German control over North Africa, and suspending all economic assistance and export licences to the colony.

In line with German foreign policy, the controlled press and radio in France continued to lay much stress on the strategic importance of the North African naval bases, and the "Nouveaux Temps" asked for effective measures to be taken against an Anglo-American invasion of North Africa. Some such measures were forthcoming in the hastening of defence works on all important



ART TREASURE LOOTED BY THE NAZIS

Works of art in the Occupied Region of France were removed to be placed 'under German protection.' Here German officers are examining a Tintoretto taken from the museum at Nancy. It was probably the money value rather than the aesthetic which prompted such acts of plunder.

Photo, Keystone

bases, and followed the appropriation on Sept. 4 of a credit of 128,000,000 francs to strengthen Dakar's defences and maintain the port's overland communications with the Mediterranean. Another step was the completion of the Trans-Saharan Railway, the construction of which had been authorized in March 1941. On September 13 Vichy announced that the port of Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast, was being strongly fortified.

During the summer and autumn of 1941 resistance to the Nazis grew steadily stronger. For one thing, there had been Hitler's attack on Russia at the end of June, and the immediate provision of aid by Britain and the U.S. to the new victim. Then, too, the French were beginning to take fresh heart and to look more and more to the Allies for deliverance. Discontent with the Vichy Government and its progressive decline in power was another factor.

As a result of several serious railway accidents in the Paris area some 30,000-40,000 so-called Communists were arrested in the Occupied Zone on August 20, and 10,000 in Unoccupied France. On August 22 Vichy issued a law setting up special military and naval courts whose function would be to deal with "Communist, Anarchist, and anti-German activities," and which would be empowered to pass sentences of hard labour and death without the right of appeal. Appeals and threats were alike ineffective, and altogether some 60,000 people were arrested during this period.

On August 27 Pierre Laval and the Fascist leader Marcel Déat were shot at and wounded by a French patriot named Paul Colette, an act symbolical of the temper of the French people. There were more arrests and a number of executions for anti-Axis activities. Colette was condemned to death on October 2, but this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

Arrests of 'Hostages'

September brought more disturbances; terms of imprisonment up to 15 years were passed by special courts on persons charged with "Communistic" and "De Gaullist" propaganda, the distribution of seditious literature, and other activities. There were more mass arrests of innocent persons as hostages; prominent people, including M. Gabriel Péri, the former editor of L'Humanité, were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. Despite desperate efforts by the Gestapo and the French police to suppress them, numerous patriotic publications (among them L'Humanité and La Libération) were brought out and distributed clandestinely.

The Nazis had meanwhile adopted the principle of "collective responsibility" by executing a number of hostages for every German life taken. Thus the wounding of two German officers on September 8 was followed by the arrest of 120 Jewish hostages, among them lawyers and persons in other professions. On September 15 General Stulpnagel, the German military commander in Occupied France, announced the death penalty for anyone found in possession of firearms. General de Laurencie, former Delegate-General to the Germans in Paris, was arrested by Vichy on September 5 for expressing in a letter to Pétain the opinion that the only hope of French liberation lay in a British victory. The same day Laval was declared to be out of danger from his injuries.

General Stulpnagel announced on September 18 that an increasing number of hostages, chosen from all classes of the Parisian population, would be shot in case of further attacks on German soldiers. This was followed the next day by a thinly veiled threat to Vichy from the German-controlled Radio Paris, calling for strong measures irrespective of rank or position against all actively opposing collaboration with Germany. On September 20 the Germans imposed a curfew in the Seine Department, including Paris; theatres, cinemas, and restaurants were ordered to close at 8 p.m.

It was a logical outcome of the rapidly worsening situation when Pétain broadcast next day an appeal to

Frenchmen in the Occupied Zone. The Marshal stated that the Vichy Government formally condemned all anti-German activities, that it would seek for and punish the perpetrators, and that, while he realized the trials and sufferings of the people, he must demand from them "French Unity," otherwise heavier consequences would fall on the innocent.

A month later Dr. Karl Holtz, military commander of the Nantes region, was assassinated. A curfew was imposed throughout Occupied France from 6 p.m., and a cordon of German troops thrown round Nantes. Fifty hostages were executed and a further 50 threatened with death failing the discovery of the culprits by October 23. Next day (October 21) a German major was killed in Bordeaux. Of 100 hostages 50 were executed at once and the rest threatened with a similar fate unless the assailants were apprehended by October 25. A reward of 15,000,000 francs was offered by Stulpnagel for information leading to the arrest of the guilty persons, an enforced mourning was imposed on the peoples of both cities, and restaurants and places of amusement were closed until after the funeral of the officers.

Executions at Nantes and Bordeaux

German and Vichy reactions followed the usual lines, the assassinations being described as "cowardly attacks inspired by London and Moscow." Both Pétain and Darlan appealed to the people to cease such attacks, the former declaring that as France had laid down her arms at the Armistice Frenchmen had no right to stab the Germans in the back. As a result of an appeal by the Marshal and Darlan four days' reprieve was granted to the hostages. At the same time Bordeaux was ordered to pay a surety of 10,000,000 francs.

In a broadcast from London on October 23 General de Gaulle denounced the savage reprisals on innocent people, and advised the French people to await the right moment for further action. Two days later he called for a five minutes' strike throughout France (at 4 p.m. on October 31), to "show the enemy and the traitors who surround him by what a gigantic menace they are surrounded." This five minutes' silence, in memory of the executed hostages, was largely observed in both zones, and was accompanied by many demonstrations and acts of sabotage.

On October 27 the execution of the remaining 100 hostages was suspended, while on the same day Vichy issued a decree rendering liable to heavy penalties anyone found guilty of assisting any person to commit criminal outrages or acts of sabotage directed against the troops of occupation. On the 30th another decree was issued which forbade the people to listen to foreign broadcasts under pain of heavy penalties.

In all quarters outside Nazi control the mass executions brought forth expressions of horror and indignation. The Pope made personal representations to the German authorities. A similar protest by Chile and Costa Rica was quickly followed by other Latin-American States.



V FOR AN ALLIED VICTORY

This poster, on which French patriots have pencilled the V sign, was one of many displayed in Marseilles in May 1941, before the Joan of Arc Fête, when the people were summoned to rally around Pétain for his so-called National Revolution.

Photo, Associated Press

A bomb explosion in a Paris restaurant at the end of November killed two Germans and wounded others; this led to the infliction of a 1,000,000-franc fine on Paris. As the year drew to a close repression and social unrest became even more evident, Jews being singled out for particularly barbarous reprisals. By now the Nazis must have felt the cumulative effect of the attacks on occupation troops and officials. For on Dec. 14 Stulpnagel announced that as a reprisal 100 "Jews, Communists and Anarchists in the pay of Anglo-Saxons, Jews and Bolshevists" would be executed at once; a 1,000,000,000-franc fine was imposed upon the Jewish population of the Occupied Zone; and a number of "Jews, Bolshevists and criminals" were transported to Eastern Europe for forced labour. This pitiless measure led to Vichy's first protest to Germany, in a statement in which it was declared that such reprisals would cause widespread uneasiness in France. Berlin replied that the Vichy authorities ignored the facts of the situation, and despite Vichy's appeal the threat was carried out on December 26 by the execution of 95 Jews.

Reprisals on Jews



AFTER PETAIN'S CONFERENCE WITH GOERING

Goering (front row, right) met Pétain (centre) and Darlan (left) at St. Florentin-Vergigny on December 1, 1941. Between Goering and Pétain at rear is the interpreter, Schmidt. Behind Darlan is De Brinon, Vichy Ambassador to Paris. The expressions of the party are interesting: Goering, smug and self-satisfied; Darlan, deep in thought; the strutting Nazis behind.

Photo, Associated Press

RECORD & REVIEW OF MAIN EVENTS JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1941

A survey of the year 1940 is given in Chapter 151. The review here presented covers the year 1941 and summarizes leading events and tendencies in the principal theatres of war. Information not available when earlier Chapters were written has been incorporated. Dates have been collated with the Chronology published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs

As the year 1940 ended, London's fire-fighters were still damping down the smouldering ruins to which large areas of their city had been reduced by a very heavy German air raid on the night of Sunday, December 29. This raid was marked by the use of many thousands of incendiaries, which, with explosive bombs, had proved enormously destructive. Compulsory fire-watching of business premises was immediately introduced and the Home Secretary appealed to householders to form "neighbours' parties" to guard their homes from the fire menace by night. The coming year was to bring more such raids, in which great destruction of London and provincial cities was suffered: a toll of nearly 42,000 civilian casualties was taken—almost half this number being killed. In January and February 1941 the casualties (two months) numbered 5,300, but this was to be compared with the monthly average of 13,000 for the last four months of 1940. After the fierce raid of December 29, 1940, the enemy gave up his attempt to wreck British morale by the bombing of London. There was a severe attack on April 16, when the Luftwaffe lost six bombers; again, on May 10 there was a raid commensurate with that of December 29: the House of Commons was burned and Westminster Abbey was damaged (33 bombers destroyed).

Failure of the German Fire Raids

As far as morale was concerned these raids accomplished nothing; damage was soon cleared up and the life and work of London went on as usual; miracles were accomplished in reinstating road and rail communications and in making good the interruptions to telegraph and telephone networks. The Luftwaffe, early in the New Year, turned to attacks on our southern and western ports—as part of the Battle of the Atlantic. From Southampton to the Merseyside and Clydeside there were nightly attacks which caused loss of life and material damage, but the ports were never put out of action. Coventry and Birmingham were heavily raided in April, when apparently the enemy sought to cut down our armaments production. Casualties in this month were about 13,000; in March they had been about 10,000, and this figure was slightly exceeded in May. A wise and well-planned policy of dispersal saved our arms production from grave injury, since factories were set up all over the country and component parts of aircraft, etc., were made by hundreds of widely scattered concerns. Some loss of output there was, but the drop was only a small percentage and was soon made good.

In the spring and summer the enemy had other irons in the fire, and the strength of the Luftwaffe was diverted to Balkan adventures and later to the attack on Russia. But the slackening in his air assaults on Britain must be explained partly by the bold and vigorous air and ground defence he encountered—and by his recognition of the failure to weaken our morale by ruthless and concentrated night bombing. Day bombing in any case was too expensive for him. From June onwards the weight and frequency of enemy raids diminished. London had no raid after July 27.

The Strategical Bombing of Germany

The air offensive against Germany and Italy for the first half of 1941 followed the pattern of crippling attacks on the enemy's war industries, his transport lines, and the bases from which his bombers set out to wreck our cities by night or to harass our shipping by day. By the beginning of 1941 more big bombers were coming into service with R.A.F. squadrons, and more regular and concentrated attacks became possible. At Kiel the shipyards were badly damaged in April; at Wilhelmshaven naval workshops, stores and barracks were destroyed during January and February. Very heavy bombs of new type were dropped at Emden at the end of March, with impressive results. At Bremen by January the Atlas shipyards had been rendered useless; owing to further raids special squads of fire-fighters had to be brought there from Hamburg in mid-February. In March the Neptune yard and another where submarines were built were badly damaged: in June they were still under repair. The liner 'Europa' was bombed in the docks here.

By June half the petrol stocks at Hamburg had been destroyed by R.A.F. attacks. The Blohm & Voss shipyards received direct hits in January. Later, six out of 20 submarines were damaged beyond repair. In March the Altstadt and Neustadt districts were heavily attacked. Further severe damage during May. Cologne had 24 raids between January and the end of May. Our new heavy bombs were used on Berlin on the night of April 17–18, with severe damage to the heart of the enemy capital. At Mannheim the effect of bombing upon the railways in December 1940 and January 1941 was so serious that loaded wagons blocked goods yards as far away as Basle, and traffic did not become normal until March 1941. Coal for Italy had to be diverted to other and longer routes. Our bombers scourged the industrial areas of Germany week by week with increasing intensity. During June a greater weight of bombs was dropped on Germany than the Luftwaffe dropped on Britain during April—claimed to have been the enemy's record month for 1941.

Fighter Command Takes the Offensive

Our fighter squadrons of the R.A.F. began in January a series of offensive operations over enemy territory and occupied areas. By these "sweeps" our pilots pushed back the air frontier and established supremacy over a region extending deep into enemy territory. Two enemy aircraft were lost on an average for one of our own. Sometimes bombers were sent over to France under big fighter escorts, but more often our fighters alone carried out these daylight attacks. Improved Spitfires and Hurricanes, with more powerful armament, took part. Half the enemy fighter strength was pinned down on the Western sector by these tactics, and by the middle of June the fighter offensive had reached its peak; in the ten-week period ending with August 500 German fighters were destroyed for the loss of half this number by the R.A.F. The Hurricane was adapted to carry bombs for low-level attack on ground targets; other aircraft employed were the twin-engined Beaufighter, the Defiant, Havoc and Whirlwind.

Coastal Command of the R.A.F. flew more than 25,000,000 miles during the year, carrying out their multifarious operations for protecting our shipping, attacking that of the enemy, and raiding enemy-held ports. Besides land types of aircraft, giant flying boats such as the Sunderland and Catalina were used. Some 200 attacks on U-boats were made during the year. In one night alone seven enemy ships were hit; enemy tonnage destroyed during a single week amounted to 100,000. After Hitler invaded Russia many attacks were made on enemy supply ships on the way to North Russia. Unremitting raids were made on French ports where German warships had taken refuge, and on U-boat bases. In the hunting down of the 'Bismarck' aircraft of Coastal Command played an indispensable part. Focke-Wulf long-range bombers which attacked Atlantic shipping were intercepted and destroyed; on one occasion a Hudson aircraft outfought a German submarine and held it captive for hours until our Navy could "take delivery."

The Home Front

At the beginning of February the cost of the war had mounted to the enormous figure of £10,500,000 per day, of which £8,000,000 went for the fighting services. In the Budget for 1941 the standard rate of Income Tax was raised from 8s. 6d. to 10s. in the £, while the rate on the first £165 of taxable income was increased from 5s. to 6s. 6d. By cuts in the allowances and a reduction in the exemption limit a large number of small taxpayers was brought under tribute. A novel feature was the explicit aim of reducing purchasing power: as much of the extra taxation as was due to the reduction of allowances was to be treated as a post-war nest-egg and returned to the taxpayer in due course as a credit in the Post Office Savings Bank.

Prices for important foodstuffs were pegged at a reasonable level by subsidies to the manufacturers. In January the meat ration was reduced to 1s. 2d. per head per week, and in March to 1s. per head. The butter ration was increased to 4 oz. from March 10 to June 30, and was then reduced to the former allowance of 2 oz. per head per week. Jam, marmalade, syrup and treacle were rationed as from March 17. Cheese was rationed at 1 oz. per head from May 5 until June 30, when it was increased to 2 oz. The amount of milk allowed to adults was cut roughly by one-seventh. On June 2 a coupon system of clothes rationing was introduced

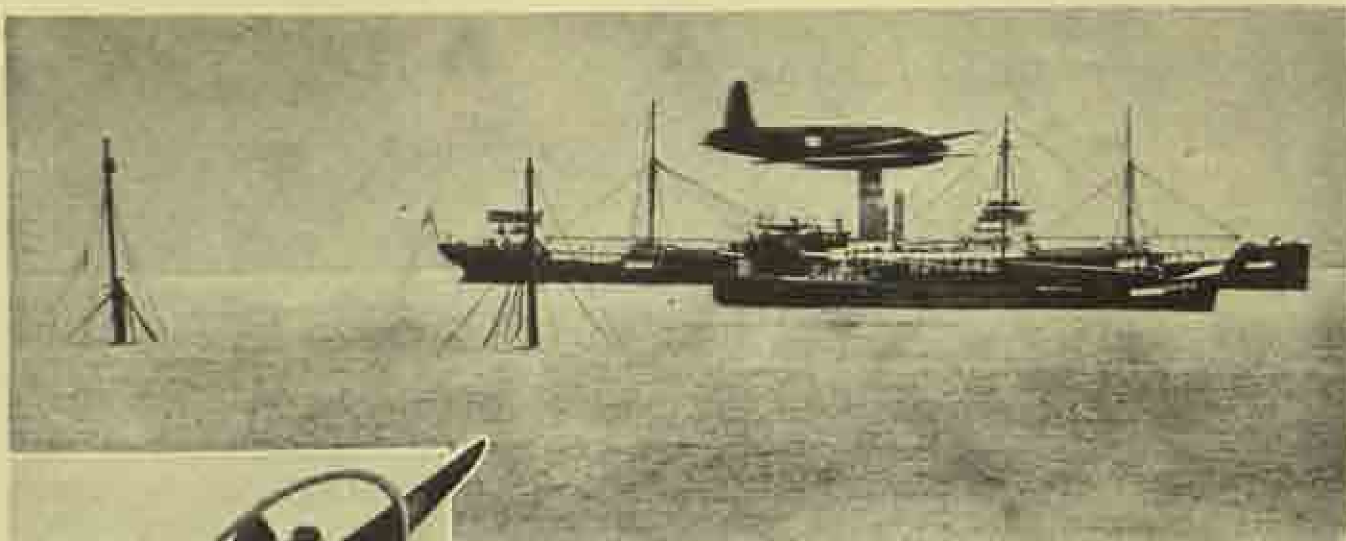


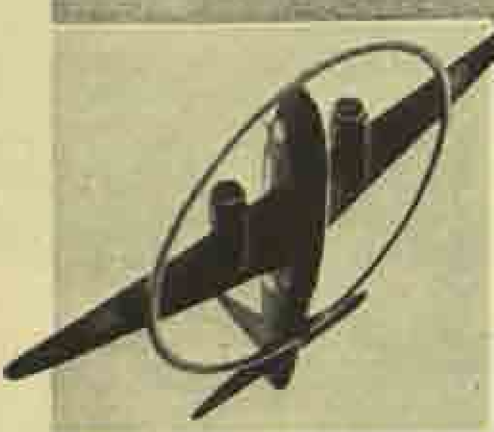
BATTLE OF BRITAIN AND THE FIRE RAIDS ON LONDON

Not until the end of 1942 were these vivid photographs released for publication. Top, St. Pancras Station after a bombing raid at the height of the Battle of Britain, in September 1940. The famous single-span roof suffered little damage. On the night of May 10, 1941, the fire raids of the previous six months reached their climax. Many water mains failed in the City of London, where there were 30 big fires. Below (from 'Front Line, 1940–1941'), the walls of No. 23, Queen Victoria Street, crash down across the roadway—a remarkable action picture.

Photos, Fox; and by permission of the Commissioner of Police, City of London







'FIND THE ENEMY; STRIKE AT HIM; PROTECT OUR SHIPPING'

So may be defined the duty of Coastal Command aircraft, some of whose stirring exploits were made known for the first time in January 1943. Before ships were able to be degaussed against magnetic mines special aircraft were fitted with mine-detonating coils (close-up of a Wellington, inset) to render such mines ineffective. At top, a Coastal Command Wellington on mine-clearing work (early 1940). Below, the camouflaged German battleship 'Bismarck' in Dobric Fjord just before she made her first and last sortie in May 1941. Coastal Command aircraft took this photograph, shadowed the enemy, and hunted her down until the Royal Navy sank her on May 27.

Photos, from "Coastal Command," by permission of H.M.S.O.





RED ARMY SCOUTS AT THE OUTSKIRTS OF MOZHAISK

The capture of Mozhaisk (see map, p. 2033) on January 19, 1942, was a great strategic accomplishment, for it diminished the chances of a successful spring attack by the enemy upon Moscow. Top, at the approaches to Mozhaisk: a monastery in the background. Below, Soviet sappers with electro-magnetic detectors clear a recaptured area of German mines.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright



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Photo, Keystone

FINE WORK BY AUSTRALIAN ANTI-TANK GUNNERS IN MALAYA

Trees were felled to block the path of Japanese tanks, and the enemy was met with concentrated fire by anti-tank guns of the A.I.F., which knocked out a quantity of his armour. In the foreground two of the crew of a Japanese tank lie dead beside their wrecked machine. Other photographs of the Australians in action are in page 2040. Two Australian brigades were among the British and Imperial troops holding Malaya.

Early in January an executive was set up under Mr. Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, to deal with production. The call-up for military service had begun to drain the supply of labour, and measures for the fuller utilization of man and woman power were essential. In April the registration of women for war work began, with the enrolment of 400,000 girls of the 20 age group. On June 28 the 1917 group was registered; a few days before, men of the 41–45 group had been enrolled for war work. (See Chapter 169.)

By May 1941 "Churchill" tanks were coming into production, and 400 were available in the autumn. The tank had been much criticized, and an explanation of its adoption was given by Mr. Churchill in December 1942. A type was needed for the defence of Britain against invasion (expected in the spring of 1941). The Churchill (or A 22) was ordered after consideration by the Tank Board, and the work began in July 1940 without waiting for the normal exhaustive trials of a pilot model. After Hitler invaded Russia in June 1941 and the danger of Britain's invasion diminished the tanks were modified for service overseas in an offensive role. Though they did well in the Middle East, they had of course not been intended for the fast-moving, long-range warfare of the desert. (See illus. p. 2025.)

Another revelation late in 1942 was that a "Battle of the Atlantic Committee" had been formed in February 1941 to focus and emphasize the need for supreme exertion and make certain that there was proper concert between all the authorities.

The British Offensive in Libya

On December 9, 1940, Sir Archibald Wavell's offensive in the Western Desert had begun; by the beginning of January 1941 it was going well. Bardia was taken on January 5 and Tobruk on the 22nd. Derna fell on the 30th and then, on February 6, came the occupation of Benghazi (see Chapter 153), capital of Cyrenaica. An Italian army of a quarter of a million men had been accounted for with only something under 2,000 casualties to ourselves. The conquest of Cyrenaica had been accomplished with remarkably few troops on our side, and at no time did Wavell have more than 30,000 men at his disposal. Moreover, General Wavell was compelled to switch large forces to and fro in order to cope with fluctuating requirements of strategy in the wide area for which he was responsible.

Our advantage was pressed no farther, and the vitally important town and sea base of Tripoli remained in enemy hands. Hitler sent to Tripoli an infantry division and two panzer divisions, while Mussolini reinforced the Italians by one armoured and six other divisions. The bulk of Wavell's troops was drained away to go to the help of Greece, now threatened with a Nazi onslaught. The preoccupation of our Naval forces with the transport and protection of the expedition to Greece gave the Germans the opportunity of building up a strong striking force in Cyrenaica.

On March 31 the Axis columns, under General Rommel, an astute and capable commander, invaded Cyrenaica (see Chapter 161) and soon swept over the entire province up to the Egyptian frontier. By the middle of April all that remained of Wavell's gains was the frontier region between Mersa Matruh and Sollum and the vital port of Tobruk. A few dates will indicate the appalling swiftness of this disaster: Mersa Brega was evacuated on April 2; Benghazi on the 3rd; Bardia was lost on the 12th, and Tobruk was encircled; Sollum was lost on the 28th (recaptured by our forces on May 15). Tobruk withstood many attacks and its garrison made a number of successful sorties; throughout a siege that lasted six months it remained unconquered. By constant attacks on the Axis flank it prevented a Nazi assault upon Egypt. (See Chapter 182.)

It seemed that the Germans never expected to go beyond Jedabia—near the coast of the Gulf of Sidra—and that their limited objective was to create a diversion and hold up the transfer of our troops to Greece. But near Mekili their armoured forces met and defeated a British tank brigade. Exploiting his success, the enemy thrust on until brought up at Tobruk; while some forces strove to reduce this outpost others pushed on almost to the Egyptian border. Here the advance stalled and gave way to indeterminate actions on a smaller scale. In the middle of June a British armoured force from Egypt engaged in a more or less local offensive S. and S.E. of Sollum. A pitched battle was fought with the enemy armoured forces, but was indecisive; there were heavy tank losses on both sides.

Navy in the Mediterranean

The naval situation in the Mediterranean profoundly influenced the course of the Libyan campaigns. Our ships bombarded coastal areas and shelled enemy troops proceeding along the coastal road.

LUFTWAFFE'S ATTACKS ON BRITISH PORTS
November 1940 to July 1941
(Civilians killed in all raids to end of 1941*)

	Raiders engaged	Civilians killed
PORTSMOUTH		
1941		
Jan. 10	110	
March 10	120	
April 27	50	
Civilians killed		750
SOUTHAMPTON		
1940		
Nov. 23	60	
Nov. 30, Dec. 1 (2 nights)	200	
Civilians killed		358
CARDIFF		
1941		
Jan. 2	125	
Civilians killed		290
SWANSEA		
1941		
Feb. 19, Feb. 20, Feb. 21 (3 nights)	250	
Civilians killed		232
PLYMOUTH		
1941		
March 20, March 21 (2 nights)	250	
April 21–23 (3 nights), April 27–29	750	
Civilians killed		1,072
LIVERPOOL AND MERSEYSIDE		
1940		
Nov. 28	150	
Dec. 20, Dec. 21, Dec. 22 (3 nights)	500	
1941		
March 12, March 13	250	
May 1–7 (7 nights)	800	
Civilians killed		4,100
CLYDESIDE		
1941		
March 13, March 14 (2 nights)	400	
May 5, May 6 (2 nights)	350	
Civilians killed		1,828
BELFAST		
1941		
April 15	100	
May 4, May 5 (2 nights)	150	
Civilians killed		946
HULL		
1941		
March 18	75	
May 7, May 8 (2 nights)	160	
July 17	75	
Civilians killed		1,055

* Based on figures given in "Front Line, 1940–1941," the Official Story of the Civil Defence of Britain (H.M.S.O.).

Month after month they maintained contact with besieged Tobruk, bringing in supplies, taking off wearied troops of the garrison and landing reinforcements. In conjunction with Vice-Admiral Somerville's force from Gibraltar the Mediterranean Fleet inflicted heavy losses on Axis shipping, and successfully protected British convoys. During a German attack from the air on our warships in the Sicilian Channel the cruiser "Southampton" was sunk (January 9) and the aircraft carrier "Illustrious" was damaged.

The island naval base of Malta was attacked by air; a force of nearly 200 German bombers had reached Sicily not long before. The "Illustrious" had put into Malta, but though the Nazi airmen made many attacks they failed to destroy the great ship, which later made her way round the Cape to America for repairs. On the night of January 20–21, 37 enemy dive-bombers were destroyed by the Malta defenders, and this success was typical.

At dawn on February 9 our heavy Naval units bombarded Genoa, firing 300 tons of shells into military objectives. The force, under Vice-Admiral Somerville, included H.M.S. "Malaya," the battle-cruiser "Renown," and the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal." A few weeks later, in a sea battle of some magnitude which took place on March 28 off Cape Matapan, the Italians lost three cruisers and two destroyers, while a battleship of the Littorio class was badly punished. British losses were two aircraft; none of our ships suffered loss or damage. (See pp. 1605–8.) The Italian object was to attack our transports on the way from Egypt to Greece, and in that they failed.

German Conquest of Yugoslavia and Greece

British intervention in Greece, which gravely weakened our position in Libya and led to the loss of Cyrenaica, was brought about by the need to build up a defensive line in the Balkan Peninsula against a southward drive by Hitler. Such a drive was almost certain sooner or later, and was perhaps precipitated by the failure of the Italian offensive in Albania (March 9, 1941). On January 20 Hitler and Mussolini had met to "exchange views"; more Germans were moved into Rumania and the Nazis exerted stronger pressure on Bulgaria, but it is likely that, apart from Mussolini's set-back, it was the news of pending Allied action in the peninsula that pulled the trigger and started Hitler's Balkan campaign.

Turkey and Bulgaria signed a non-aggression pact at the former's instance on February 17, but a fortnight later (March 1) Bulgaria nevertheless adhered to the Tripartite Pact of the Axis. Thus in the event of a German move against Greece the Nazi columns would have passage through Bulgaria. In the endeavour to build up a Balkan front against the Axis Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill visited Athens and Angora at the end of February for diplomatic and military discussions.

The Yugoslav Government and the Regent Prince Paul discountenanced a proposed visit by the British representatives to Belgrade, and would not join in Staff talks with Greece or Turkey. Tsetkovitch, the Yugoslav Premier, wished for an alliance with the Axis, and on March 25 he and Cincar Markovitch (Yugoslav Foreign Minister) signed the Tripartite Pact at Vienna. A popular rising a few days later reversed this act by turning out Tsetkovitch and the Regent. A new Government was formed under General Simovich, and the young King Peter took over Royal authority. Simovich did what he could to put the country into a state of defence. He was

hampered by ineffective dispositions of troops made by his predecessors so as not to provoke the Axis Powers; also by shortage of material and equipment.

Germany struck at Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941: Belgrade was mercilessly bombed, and the principal Yugoslav airfields were heavily attacked at the same time. German columns advanced from Hungary, Western Rumania and Bulgaria. From Albania and the Fiume area the Italians began to advance a few days later. In the north-west the Croats proclaimed their independence, under Pavelich, an Axis nominee (April 10), and began to attack the Serbs. The southern Yugoslav army was driven back on April 7, leaving the Greek flank exposed, and the Germans broke through towards Salonika, which they occupied early on the 9th. Next day the Germans reached Monastir and Yannitsa. Belgrade was captured on April 13; the Croat capital Zagreb had fallen undefended three days before. In 11 days the resistance of Yugoslavia was broken: what remained of her army surrendered at Serajevo on April 17. (See Chapter 157.)

Britain Goes to the Aid of Greece

British and Imperial troops were announced to be in Greece on the day that Hitler's troops invaded that country. Our forces (under Sir Henry Wilson) included an Australian and a New Zealand infantry division and a British armoured brigade. The Allied forces were under the Greek C.-in-C., General Papagos. It was intended to delay the enemy on the Metaxas Line in E. Macedonia and Greek Thrace: the main Allied defensive line was W. of the Vardar, and here, facing the Monastir gap, were the British and Imperial troops with two Greek divisions. (See Chapter 158, and maps in pp. 1629 and 1635.) The main Greek army, with its left flank on the Adriatic, was operating against the Italians in Albania. The Monastir gap was lightly held by Greek troops, since it was thought that the Yugoslav army in S. Serbia would prove a stout shield. But this army, as we have seen, was driven back on April 7, leaving open the Greek flank. A small British force was assembled near Amynthaion under General MacKay to await the enemy attack. The British armoured brigade withdrew to Edessa behind the Australian division. MacKay's force was hotly engaged by the advancing Germans on April 9, and the enemy's great advantage in numbers and weapons (especially aircraft and armour) enforced a withdrawal after two days. On the 11th our forces and the Greeks began to move back to the "Olympus" Line—right flank on the sea S.E. of Mt. Olympus; running N.W. to Servia, then S.W. along the Aliakmon, and N.W. again along the high ground to the W. of the Kosani plain.

Greek and Imperial troops fought with the utmost gallantry, but were unable to stem the enemy's drive. The Allied line was outflanked and a further retreat—this time to the "Thermopylae" Line S. of Lamia—began on April 14 and was completed on the 20th. The Greek troops had been so battered that they could not hold out much longer. The northern army capitulated on the 23rd. The army in Epirus had been cut off by the German advance to Yannina, and its rear was menaced by Germans from Koritza and Italians in Albania. Under orders of the Greek Government it surrendered on April 21—eleven divisions.

The King of the Hellenes and his Ministers left for Crete. M. Korizis, the Premier, had committed suicide on the 18th; he was succeeded in this hour of calamity by Emmanuel Tsouderos, a Cretan. The Allied forces were faced with a German attack in the rear by columns advancing from Yannina, and therefore abandoned the Thermopylae positions. On April 21 M. Tsouderos sent a note to the British Minister stating that the Greek army was exhausted and could not continue the struggle with any hope of success. Any further sacrifice of the British Expeditionary Force, he said, would be in vain. A British withdrawal began on the night of April 24–25 and was completed by the night of April 30–May 1. From southern Greek ports and beaches about 45,000 British and Imperial troops were evacuated to Crete out of approximately 60,000 that had been landed for the brief campaign. Out of nearly 12,000 missing 7,658 were British and the rest Australians and New Zealanders. The retreat uncovered the Greek capital, and Athens was occupied by the Germans on April 27.

Sombre, Ferocious Battle of Crete

It was not to be expected that the Axis Powers would leave Crete in peace for long. The Allied forces transferred there from the Greek mainland included two weak and poorly armed Greek divisions, units of various British regiments (see table in page 1630), a force of Royal Marines, and, for the rest, Imperial troops mainly of the New Zealand Division. Inevitably all had suffered from the long and hard-fought rearguard action. Major-General Freyberg, V.C., was in command. On the island were only three airfields—those of Maleme, Retimo and Herakleion (Candia) (see map in page 1635). For the first fortnight there were many air attacks by the enemy; our few fighter aircraft had to be withdrawn because of heavy dive-bombing attacks on their bases, and thereafter all R.A.F. aircraft had to operate from Egyptian bases. On May 19 came the heavy and prolonged bombing of our airfields which preceded, next day, an airborne invasion of Crete. The story is told in Chapter 159: after 12 days of this grim struggle against parachutists and troops landed by gliders and transport planes in unending succession the sombre, ferocious battle, as Mr. Churchill called it, was ended by the evacuation of our surviving troops.

Seventeen thousand British and Imperial troops were rescued by our Navy from the southern shore of Crete. On May 29 there was a withdrawal east of Suda Bay, and on June 1 an official communiqué told of the evacuation. A rearguard of Royal Marines covered the retreat from Suda Bay, and of them 1,400 out of 2,000 in the original force had to be left on the island. It was estimated that by air alone the enemy had succeeded in getting 25,000 men ashore: his attempts at seaborne transport, however, met with little success, and about 5,000 perished in the crossing. Of the enemy's aircraft at least 250 troop carriers were destroyed, and more than 180 fighter and bomber aircraft. British and Imperial troops engaged numbered just over 27,500. In addition there were about 10,000 Greek troops, of whom about half were evacuated.

The effects of this setback were grievous in both the political and military fields. Coming after the defeat in Libya and the withdrawal from Greece it caused Turkey to pursue a more cautious policy (she signed a pact with Germany on June 18) and weakened British influence with other neutrals. Our aerial and Naval position in the mid-Mediterranean had been very much impaired, and the menace to Malta increased.

Conquest of Italian East Africa

In East Africa the first six months of 1941 saw a rapid and methodical reconquest of territory from the Italians. The many-fronted campaign centred on the liberation of Haile Selassie's Ethiopian Empire. In the north, Italian Eritrea was retaken in a brief campaign that began with the capture of the border outpost of Kassala (Jan. 19) and was completed by the occupation of Asmara, the capital, on April 1 and of the Red Sea port of Massawa six days later. At Keren, defended by some 30,000 of the enemy, our forces suffered 4,000 casualties before the Italians surrendered after three weeks of fierce resistance. From Massawa one arm of the great pincers was now in position to thrust down into the enemy's strongholds of Adowa, Addis Ababa and Amba Alagi (see map in p. 1665).

The other pincers arm thrust up northwards from Mogadishu, capital of Italian Somaliland. The southern operations began with the taking of Kismayu, at the mouth of the Juba river, on Feb. 14; our forces drove through the enemy's defence line along the Juba, and Mogadishu was taken on Feb. 25. On the column pushed, and was soon in Abyssinian territory. Jijiga was captured on March 17, and here, a few days later, arrived our troops, which had been landed at Berbera on March 16 and had occupied Hargeisa on the 20th.

The arrival of the Emperor Haile Selassie in Abyssinia on Jan. 15 (see chapter 164) had touched off the revolt of Patriots in the Gojjam. Haile Selassie had been in the Sudan since July. Here he had met Colonel (later Brigadier) Sandford, leader of "Mission 101," charged with the organization of the Abyssinian Patriots. By mid-September Sandford with his small party was at the headquarters of the loyal chief Mangasha and began with him to plan attacks on the Italians. At the end of November a British aircraft brought Major Wingate to Sakkala, in Mangasha's territory, with the news that a mixed Sudanese and Ethiopian force under British command would shortly enter the Gojjam. Other

LUFTWAFFE'S ATTACKS ON ARMS TOWNS
November 1940 to April 1941
(Civilians killed in all raids to end of 1941*)

	Raiders engaged		
COVENTRY			
1940			
Nov. 14	500		
1941			
April 8	230		
April 10	200		
Civilians killed		1,236	
BIRMINGHAM			
1940			
Nov. 1	—		
Nov. 19	350		
Nov. 22	200		
Dec. 3	50		
Dec. 11	200		
1941			
April 9 } April 10 }	250		
Civilians killed		2,162	

	Raiders engaged	
BRISTOL AND AVONMOUTH		
1940		
Nov. 24	50	
Dec. 2	100	
Dec. 6	90	
1941		
Jan. 3 } Jan. 4 }	150	
March 16	150	
April 11	150	
Civilians killed		1,159
SHEFFIELD		
1940		
Dec. 12 } Dec. 15 }	300	
Civilians killed		624
MANCHESTER, STRETFORD, AND SALFORD		
1940		
Dec. 22 } Dec. 23 }	150	
Civilians killed		1,005

* Based on figures given in "Front Line, 1940-1941," the Official Story of the Civil Defence of Britain (H.M.S.O.).

chiefs joined Mangasha, forgetting tribal feuds and rivalry. Soon they had under control large areas of the province. British air support aided them a great deal. By March 5 they had taken Burye and were hastening on against Debra Marcos. They cut off the large enemy garrison of Gondar, against which troops from the Sudan had advanced after occupying Gallabat on Jan. 21. Gondar, however, held out until Nov. 27.

After clearing Somaliland of the Italians there remained only a month and a half of campaigning weather before the coming of the great rains, but General Cunningham determined to strike at the enemy keypoints in Abyssinia. In 17 days he covered the 744 miles between Mogadishu and Jijiga; thereafter the way lay through the Abyssinian highlands (see map in p. 1685). The Marda Pass was forced on March 24, and beyond was the fine mountain road to Harar, second city of the Empire. Another pass was taken after a two-day battle, and when 10 miles from the town strong opposition was met at the Bisidimo River, although Harar had by then been declared an open town. The town was entered on the 27th, and Cunningham's forces went on to Diredawa (March 30), cutting the railway to Jibuti. From here it was only 200 miles to Addis Ababa; the principal obstacle was the Awash in its deep gorge; it was reached on April 3 and forded by some units while our engineers built a bridge. Two days later, when our advance forces were at the outskirts of the capital, they were met by an envoy waiting to surrender the town; next day our troops entered.

In 53 days General Cunningham's force had covered 1,725 miles. Although the capital had been occupied there were several large enemy armies to be hunted down and destroyed. Amba Alagi was now the chief objective, and between it and Addis Ababa was Dessie, where also was a big Italian force. But now the northern arm of the great pincers, constituted by Major-General Platt's force, came into operation. Platt had taken Massawa four days after the fall of Addis Ababa. Dessie was taken by Cunningham's men on April 26 after the fiercest battle of the entire campaign, and the Italian C.-in-C., the Duke of Aosta, flew on to Amba Alagi, a mountain stronghold more than 10,000 feet high, honeycombed with caves and galleries.

Aosta Surrenders at Amba Alagi

Platt's troops reached Amba Alagi before the army from Addis Ababa, and had the lion's share of the fight for the mountain peak itself. Invested from both north and south by May 13, the fate of Amba Alagi was settled. The Duke of Aosta sent to inquire our terms on the 16th, and negotiations began. The capitulation took effect on the 19th. Other centres of resistance were subjugated in turn: Wolchefit, after a five months' siege, on Sept. 26; Gondar, the last stronghold, on Nov. 27.

In the Axis plan for 1941 the overrunning of Greece and Yugoslavia formed part of a wide scheme for driving the British out of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. After Greece and Crete had been seized by one arm of the Axis pincers Cyprus was to be the next objective. A revolt in Iraq, with Axis support, was to pave the way for a German drive through Syria against Egypt. Rommel's army in Libya was to constitute the other arm of the pincers, and between them Egypt was to be gripped and the defending armies destroyed. But Rommel was held on the Egyptian frontier, and prompt and timely action in Iraq and Syria foiled the Axis designs in those countries.

How Axis Intrigues in Iraq were Foiled

On Jan. 31 the Iraqi Premier, Rashid Ali al-Gailani, resigned. With four Iraqi army commanders he had for some time been intriguing with the Germans. On April 3 Rashid Ali turned out the Regent and seized power. Though he allowed the entry of British troops at Basra on April 17, he opposed the landing of further troops 10 days later. An Iraqi army surrounded the British airfield and station at Habbaniya and prevented aircraft from taking off. On May 1 the Iraqis shelled Habbaniya and attempted to bomb the air station. On May 2 the R.A.F. bombed the rebel forces, and on this day Rashid Ali proclaimed a "holy struggle for the independence of Iraq"; he also appealed to Germany for aid. (It was not till the 15th that the Axis began to send aircraft into Iraq, using



MUCH CRITICIZED CHURCHILL TANK

The A 22 tank was designed for the defence of Britain against an expected invasion and built without extensive trials of a pilot model. Later it was modified for offensive work overseas and proved its worth as a heavy infantry arm in Egypt and Tunisia. Here it is on trial over rough country.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

Syrian airfields en route.) Our forces had seized the airport, dock area and power station at Basra, where reinforcements from India soon began to arrive. British troops also came in from Palestine.

British troops cleared Habbaniya of rebels on May 8; the Iraqis retired to Falluja and Ramadi. We captured Falluja on May 20, but in the only serious action by the rebels they counter-attacked on the 22nd and reached the outskirts of the town before being defeated; they withdrew to Khan Nuqta, on the way to Baghdad, where on the 28th they were engaged and defeated. At Ramadi the garrison offered small resistance before retiring. It was clear to the rebel leaders that little help was to come from Germany, and on the 30th Rashid Ali flew to Iran. Next day an armistice was signed, and on June 1 our troops entered Baghdad. The Regent had returned, and on June 4 a new Government was formed, under Said Jamil Madfai. An indication of the disaster that might have followed from a less vigorous policy on our part is given by the fact that the Iraqi rebels had seized the British-owned oilfields at Kirkuk, and shut off the pipe line to Haifa in Palestine; also they re-opened the pipe line to Tripoli in Syria, which after the fall of France had been closed. An oil output of several million tons per annum would have been lost to Britain had the revolt succeeded. (*See* Chapter 165.)

Freeing Syria from Axis Control

Vichy authorities in the mandated territory of Syria had permitted Axis infiltration, and it was clear that Syria was intended to be a stage in the attack on Egypt. On May 15, after Axis aircraft on the way to aid Rashid Ali in Iraq had made use of Syrian airfields, the R.A.F. attacked a number of Syrian aerodromes and destroyed German and Italian aircraft on the ground there. Later, in aerial combats, Axis planes were brought down both in Syria and in Iraq. British and Imperial troops were marshalled on the border, under General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, together with a Free French contingent commanded by General Catroux. On June 8 they entered Syria; the course of operations, over very difficult country, is shown in the relief map in p. 1686. The main defence line of the Vichy forces stretched from Kiswe, S. of Damascus, to the coast at Sidon. Farther north, along the Damour river, there was another strong defence line. One of our columns advanced by Dera and Sheikh Miskine against Kiswe, with Damascus as the objective; another followed the valley between Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon range; a third advanced along the coast road between the Lebanon range and the sea, with Beirut as the objective. After the first few days fighting became fierce and the Vichy troops made heavy counter-attacks. Ezra, Kuneitra and Kiswe changed hands three times; Merj Ayoun proved a hard nut to crack.

Our right-hand column entered Damascus on June 21; Jezzin, on the Sidon–Kiswe line, had fallen on June 15, and Kiswe and Sidon also were taken by our forces. On June 22 a column of British and Arab troops from Iraq reached Palmyra, which was threatened also by Free French units who had pushed up from Damascus. An Indian column from Iraq made contact at Sukhne with patrols of the Palmyra column. Palmyra surrendered on July 3. Merj Ayoun, in the central sector, was retaken from the enemy on June 24. The enemy line on the Damour was taken by Australian forces aided by a naval bombardment on July 9, and our troops advanced to within five miles of Beirut. On the 10th the Vichy commander, General Dentz, asked for an armistice, and on the 11th the "cease fire" was sounded. So the territories of Syria and the Lebanon came under Allied control. In due course both received independence. (*See* page 1691.)

Britain and Russia Take Action in Persia

It is convenient to continue here the story of Allied measures to protect our Middle Eastern interests, since Axis intrigues and operations in Iran (Persia) had been going on for many months, concurrently with German machinations in Iraq and Syria. Britain and Russia had made many protests against German infiltration and the encouragement of subversive activities on Persian territory. Since all remonstrances achieved nothing, British and Indian troops entered Persia on August 25 from Basra. An Indian force captured Abadan island, where was the great refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Company, while other forces took Bandar Shapur. In the north Soviet columns advanced into Persia towards Ardebil and Tabriz. Another British force

entered Persia from Khanikin, on the Iraq border. (See map in p. 1859.)

After a change of Government, on August 29, peace feelers were put out from Teheran, and on Sept. 9 a provisional settlement was agreed with the Allies. But the Shah's Government was slow in expelling Axis nationals and closing enemy Legations. On Sept. 16 the Shah abdicated in favour of his son, the Crown Prince, and satisfactory assurances were given to the Allies. British and Soviet columns had met at Kazvin, 95 miles N.W. of Teheran, on August 31; on Sept. 16 they advanced to the outskirts of the Persian capital so as to watch the rounding up of Axis agents. On the 19th they entered Teheran, but were withdrawn not long afterwards. Railway and land routes to South Russia were taken in hand and much improved, and soon a stream of supplies was flowing northwards to our Allies. The oil supplies had been safeguarded, and with this operation in Persia the enemy's road to the East had been blocked. Moreover, Britain was now in direct contact with Russia and Turkey.

Battle of the Atlantic

Towards the end of February Hitler announced the beginning of a new U-boat offensive. A week or two later there was news of the German battleships "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" at large in the Atlantic; when sighted by aircraft from "Ark Royal" the enemy warships changed course and made for Brest, where the "Gneisenau" went into dry dock. At once the big ships became the target for incessant attack by Bomber Command. In July the "Scharnhorst" slipped away to La Pallice, near La Rochelle, but for two days and a night our bombers attacked both La Pallice and Brest, incurring considerable losses. Soon the "Scharnhorst" gave up the attempt to break out into the Atlantic and returned to Brest, where she, too, went into dry dock.

Meanwhile there had been a big-ship battle in mid-Atlantic. On May 23 the new German battleship "Bismarck" and the heavy cruiser "Prinz Eugen" were sighted off the N.W. coast of Iceland, and British warships were concentrated from all quarters. H.M.S. "Hood" engaged the enemy on the 24th, and after a short action was hit near one of her turrets and sunk; the "Prince of Wales" was slightly damaged. The German ships got away westward, then south, and finally turned eastward. Torpedo aircraft from H.M.S. "Victorious" attacked soon after midday on the 25th and scored a hit, but contact with the enemy was then lost until, at 10.30 a.m. on May 26, a Catalina flying boat again spotted the "Bismarck" about 550 miles W. of Land's End. (The "Prinz Eugen" had fled to Brest during the previous night.) The second of two torpedo-plane attacks from "Ark Royal"—at 7.30 p.m. on the 26th—damaged the "Bismarck" and cut down her speed. Next morning (May 27) the battleships "King George V" and "Rodney" came up and shelled the enemy, silencing her guns; she was finished off by torpedoes fired by the cruiser "Dorsetshire." (See Chapter 173.)

The United States Navy was patrolling the Western Atlantic, under orders to warn peaceful shipping of threatened attack outside the combat zone. On May 21 the first American ship to be torpedoed in this war met her fate. She was the "Robin Moor," sunk by a U-boat, en route to South Africa. In May British shipping losses rose to a total of 590,000 tons gross, but fell next month to 228,000 tons; monthly publication of losses was discontinued after June. In July American Naval forces occupied Iceland, and the U.S. Navy was thereafter ordered to take steps to protect communications in the approaches between Iceland and the U.S.A. Following the torpedoing of the American destroyer "Greer" off Iceland on September 4 President Roosevelt ordered the Navy to "shoot first." In November the Neutrality Act was revised to permit the arming of U.S. merchantmen and to allow U.S. ships to enter belligerent zones. But before another month America was herself a belligerent.

Germany Strikes at Russia

The German attack on Russia at dawn on June 22 was made with the advantage of surprise, and not till the morning was far advanced did the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin receive from Ribbentrop a Note, dated the day before, announcing that Germany was at war with the Soviet. Stalin must have been aware of certain mass movements of German forces, and obviously placed little trust in his quondam ally's good faith, but at almost the last moment the German High Command executed a gigantic transfer of men and weapons, in which more than a half of the main force was moved to the northern sector. Soviet troops had been massed to repel an expected German drive to the S.E. from Lublin towards the Ukraine; another large Russian force was assembled near Bialystok, and a third near Minsk; had the German attack taken the expected course these two latter armies would have been in position to strike at the enemy flank.

There were three simultaneous enemy thrusts: Von Leeb (northern sector) invaded Lithuania and Latvia, reaching Dvinsk on the 5th day and crossing the Dvina on July 1, on which day Riga was captured. In his drive towards Leningrad he was seconded by Finnish troops advancing from Karelia in a move intended to divert Russian forces. Another factor in the north was an attack by German troops in the Murmansk area, threatening the Arctic port where aid from Britain would reach the Soviet. In the central sector the armies of Von Bock, constituting the main enemy force, advanced through the Baranovich gap north of the Pripet marshes towards Minsk, which they reached on July 1.

In the south Von Rundstedt's armies had as objectives Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, and the naval bases of Odessa and Nikolayev. A further target was the Donetz basin. Large Russian armies had been encircled near Bialystok and Minsk, and Soviet losses had been very heavy. The rate of the German advance in the vital central sector had been 20 miles per day. By the third week of the campaign the defenders generally were standing along the Stalin Line, where were the main defensive positions. The buffer zone of former Polish territory had been almost completely overrun by the enemy.

Second Wave of German Offensive

Von Leeb was halted in the third week by Russian counter-attacks near Ostrov; around Minsk there was strong opposition, and also in the region of Novograd Volynsk, S. of the Pripet marshes. A lull was soon followed by a second wave of the enemy offensive which, though at only half the speed of the first great advance, carried the Germans to the outskirts of Smolensk in the central sector and at other points penetrated the Stalin Line. Such breaks, however, were often checked by the fine stand made by encircled or isolated Soviet formations which frequently turned the tables upon the invaders. Another cardinal factor in the campaign was the "scorched earth" policy called for by Stalin on July 11 and vigorously applied by Russian civilians. With it must be coupled the remarkable support by "partisans" or guerilla groups.

Fall of Smolensk

The enemy reached the outskirts of Smolensk by the middle of July and was held up there for a month, the town being evacuated by Soviet troops about Aug. 10. In the north there was a fierce struggle in the region of Pskov, S. of Lake Peipus. In the south the right flank of the Soviet army under Budyonny had been exposed by the enemy crossing of the upper Dniester, but Von Rundstedt's forces were still some 80 miles from Kiev. Later the enemy forced a crossing of the Dniester near its mouth and occupied all Bessarabia. Budyonny retired to the Bug river, and Nikolayev was abandoned on August 15. The Bug line was untenable and a retreat to the Dnieper was carried out.

In the north Von Leeb drove Soviet forces out of Estonia and took the naval bases on the coast. For the present Soviet troops held the line of the river Narva and prevented a German advance N. of Lake Peipus, but nevertheless the situation of Leningrad was serious. Such was the general position by the middle of August. (See map in page 1822.) Despite great gains of territory the Germans had failed to secure a decision.

One of the gravest drawbacks of the situation was the loss of the railway which runs south from Leningrad to the Rumanian border; from Novograd Volynsk it was connected to Kiev, and there was a trunk line running to Gomel (just inside Russian-held territory) and Kremenchug, with connexion to Kharkov (see map, p. 1822.) This necessitated taking the long route N. via Kharkov, Orel and Moscow to Leningrad. The corresponding gain to the enemy was immense. On August 19 the Germans captured Gomel, and thus gained a railway connexion with Bryansk; heavy attacks for nearly a fortnight enabled them to approach towards Bryansk, but they were driven back by Russian counter-attacks.

On the shores of the Gulf of Finland Von Leeb made contact with the outer Leningrad defences, crossing the river Narva and taking Kingisepp towards the end of August. His right wing reached Novgorod, and other formations thrust against Staraya Russa; these operations threatened the direct railway link between Leningrad and Moscow. Finnish forces in Karelia increased their pressure. At the end of August the Russians withdrew from the ports of Tallinn and Baltiski, and the whole of Estonia fell into enemy hands. On September 8 Von Leeb took Schlüsselburg, and also reached the Neva east of Leningrad; the Finns advanced to the river Svir. A Russian attack from the Valdai hills met with indifferent success, but by Sept. 12 the first snowfall had come and it must have been clear to the Germans that only by a prolonged siege would they hope to take Leningrad. Enemy pressure eased off; the garrison made many bold and spirited offensives, in which armoured trains played a great part. Oesel Island, in the Gulf of Riga, fell about Sept. 20 after a prolonged resistance. (See map in p. 1836.)

In the Smolensk region Timoshenko took German positions at Yelnia, 45 miles east of the city (mid-September). In other attacks he defeated Guderian's tank force and checked the enemy advance towards Bryansk, which formed part of the German operations against Moscow. The capital was the centre of a circle of armament and supply industries with an area of about a thousand square

miles. Supplies of coal and steel, with fuel for motor vehicles and engines, had to be brought from the Ukraine, so that the railway south of Kharkov and farther was indispensable. Arrangements for getting supplies from the east were not yet in full swing.

German October Offensive

On October 2 Hitler started his "new and decisive" offensive, directed mainly against Moscow, but with strong attacks also in the Crimea and the Ukraine. Soviet troops evacuated Bryansk on the 12th, and Vyazma next day. The Germans claimed to have encircled large Russian armies, and they did, in fact, get to within 60 miles of Moscow by October 12. The fall of Kaluga was claimed, and on the 15th that of Kalinin, on the Upper Volga. By the 19th, when the offensive had begun to slow down, fighting was raging at Malo Yaroslavets, at Mozhaisk, and near Volokolamsk. The weather was worsening, and rain and sleet had turned the roads into deep mud which mechanized vehicles found it difficult to traverse. Thus this first great offensive against Moscow petered out. There was a strong attempt to capture Tula, and on November 2 the Germans entered Kursk.

Improved weather in the middle of the month made communications easier, and Hitler ordered another attempt to capture Moscow before winter put a stop to normal military operations. It appeared that he went against the opinion of his generals, but political considerations must have outweighed military arguments. Soon after the middle of November fighting flared up yet more fiercely at Tula, Volokolamsk and Kalinin; on the 22nd the enemy reached Klin, and Tula was by-passed to the east. From Mozhaisk and Malo Yaroslavets direct attacks upon Moscow were made, and by the beginning of December the Germans were within 15 miles of the capital in one region.

The weather grew worse again after the temporary improvement, and in face also of the heroic resistance of Moscow and the defending armies Hitler had to call off his second attempt.

On the Leningrad sector the earlier onset of winter had slowed down the enemy, but the city was bombed frequently and bombarded by long-range artillery. The freezing of the marshes allowed Von Leeb to invest even more closely the defence perimeter of Leningrad. At the end of November Tikhvin, on the all-important Vologda railway, was in German hands. It was recaptured on December 8, one of the prizes in a Russian counter-offensive then set in motion along the entire front.

Budyonny Falls Back

On the Dnieper, where by August 18 the forces of Von Rundstedt and Budyonny were face to face, the bridge-head of Cherkasy (where the Gomel-Odessa railway crossed the river) was taken by the Germans on August 23. Shortly after entry into the outskirts of Dnepropetrovsk was claimed, and on the 28th the Russians blew up the enormous dam forming part of the power station which supplied the Donetz basin. A great pincers movement against Kiev, in which both Bock and Rundstedt cooperated, began with the capture of Chernigov (80 miles N.E.) by Von Bock's group on Sept. 12; Rundstedt's force struck from the N.W. and W. and took Kremenchug on Sept. 14. Crossing both the Desna and the Dnieper on wide fronts, the Germans converged around Kiev, which the Russians evacuated on the 21st. Connexion with Kharkov was cut by a German thrust from Kremenchug towards Poltava.

Budyonny seemed to have delayed his evacuation of Kiev too long to marshal sufficient reserves for the defence of Kharkov, though the enemy did not at once drive against this important industrial centre. A threat also to Rostov was imminent, and a German force was advancing to the Sea of Azov. Odessa was by-passed for the time being, and did not fall until Oct. 16; the near-by naval base of Nikolayev was evacuated by Soviet troops on Aug. 17, and the Black Sea Fleet then made its chief bases at Sevastopol and Novorossiisk. The Germans claimed on Sept. 22 that Budenny's main army was encircled east of Kiev, but on the contrary this commander got away perhaps a third of his forces behind the Don, where also were brought (by sea) troops evacuated from Odessa and Nikolayev.

Conquest of the Crimea

The Germans made a parachute attack on the Crimea on Sept. 25, followed two days later by an assault from the sea. But the big offensive did not begin till Oct. 2, in time with that against Moscow and another along the coast of the Sea of Azov. Budyonny counter-attacked the coastal forces in an attempt to help the defence of the Crimea, but Melitopol fell on Oct. 6, Mariupol on the 14th, and Taganrog on Oct. 22 (*see* map, page 1844). The retreating Russians made a strong stand in front of Rostov, but this town was captured by shock troops under Von Kleist on Nov. 22; even then the Germans were unable to cross the Don. The Crimea was isolated by the Azov advance, and there were repercussions farther north, where Kharkov was first stripped of most of its plant and machinery and then abandoned; the Germans claimed its capture on Oct. 24.

The German attack on Perekop, at the neck of land joining the Crimean peninsula to the mainland, was made with dive-bombers and tanks, aided by masses of artillery; on Oct. 29 the enemy broke through and soon overran the Crimea. The last of the Soviet force at Kerch was got away on Nov. 20; Sevastopol held out. At the end of October the Russian Command was reorganized; Timoshenko relieved Budyonny on the southern front; Zhukov took over command of both northern and central fronts. To Voroshilov (formerly on N. front) and to Budyonny was given the task of organizing and training the new reserve armies.

Hitler Calls Off the Offensive

On Nov. 28, a few days before Hitler called off the German offensive for the winter, Timoshenko delivered a powerful counter-attack on Von Kleist's forces holding Rostov, drove out the enemy, and pursued him to Taganrog. Within a day or two Russian troops all along the vast battle-line were thrusting back the enemy. Tikhvin, as we have seen, was recaptured on Dec. 8; Klin and Kalinin (central sector) on the 15th; Volokolamsk on the 20th, and Kaluga 10 days later. In the Crimea the Black Sea Fleet landed troops who retook Kerch and Feodosia on Dec. 29. On Dec. 12 Von Bock was replaced by List, and a week later Hitler himself took over the supreme command from Von Brauchitsch. In a speech on Jan. 30, 1942, Hitler said his reason for taking over the command was that he wished responsibility to rest on himself alone now that they had had to change to the defensive. Three months later he added more details, and said, "We have now succeeded in warding off for ever the threatening disaster." He spoke of a winter such as had not been known even in those parts for 140 years; in a few days the thermometer dropped from zero C. to minus 47 degrees. Four weeks earlier than was expected all further operations ended. Therefore there was a backward movement in a general line stretching from Taganrog to Lake Ladoga. "We have mastered a fate that broke another man 130 years ago," was another sentence from this apologia.

Malta and the Mediterranean

The island of Malta played a great role in air and sea operations during the second half of 1941; from a vulnerable bastion it came to be a most important sally-port from which bombers went out to attack Axis convoys and to hammer Italian ports. A big fighter force was built up to protect Malta and afford help to British convoys. Though many German aircraft were withdrawn after the opening of Hitler's campaign in Russia the island was continually attacked by air; a solitary attempt to break in by E-boats and one-man torpedo-boats at the end of July was frustrated. By the first week in August Malta had had 773 raids; on Nov. 30 it had its 1,000th alert. There were even more air attacks after the beginning of Auchinleck's Libyan offensive in mid-November, and 60 raids were made during the seven days Dec. 24–31. During November bombers based on Malta dropped over a million bombs on enemy targets, and the island's fighters destroyed 23 enemy aircraft in the vicinity of the island.

The tale of our Naval successes in the Mediterranean is a remarkable one. Our convoys got through with slight losses. One large convoy was attacked by submarines on the night of July 22, and by torpedo-planes next morning. An aerial torpedo hit H.M. destroyer "Fearless," which had to be sunk. E-boats and dive-bombers continued the attack during July 24, but all the ships reached port, one being damaged. Our losses were the "Fearless" and six naval aircraft, a cruiser and a destroyer being damaged. (*See* p. 1894.)

At the end of September H.M.S. "Nelson" was hit by torpedo while covering another important convoy. On the second day of the attack Italian naval units were encountered, but could not be brought to battle. Eleven Axis ships were torpedoed by our submarines (announced Oct. 5); three more were attacked on the 14th and another sunk on the 22nd; three supply ships fell victims to our submarines on Nov. 5. On Nov. 8 ten supply ships were attacked S. of Taranto; nine were sunk and another set on fire. Two of the escorting enemy destroyers were sunk and one damaged; later a submarine hit two other destroyers, one of which was seen to sink. On the 11th our under-water craft sank four enemy troopships and two sailing ships; on the 23rd a cruiser was torpedoed, a destroyer hit and probably sunk, and two supply ships torpedoed.

Our surface patrols sank two Italian supply ships on Nov. 25, while on the first day of December a force under Captain Agnew, of H.M.S. "Aurora," sank a destroyer, a large tanker, and a supply ship. On the 13th a British destroyer patrol sank two cruisers and an E-boat off Pantellaria and damaged a torpedo-boat. Other submarine successes during this eventful period were the sinking of three (and perhaps of three more) supply ships on Dec. 15 and of six others on the 23rd. The destruction of the Italian submarine "Ammiraglio Caracciolo" was announced on Dec. 17.

On the other side of the account we have to record the sinking of the old but valuable battleship "Barham" by U-boat on Nov. 25 and of the small cruiser "Galatea" in December. In the Western Mediterranean there was the grievous loss of the aircraft

carrier "Ark Royal" on Nov. 14; she was torpedoed late in the afternoon of the 13th, and sank next morning while under tow. (See p. 1896.)

The Libyan Offensive of November

GENERAL WAVELL was appointed C.-in-C. India on July 1, changing places with General Sir Claude Auchinleck, who took over the Middle East Command. From July onwards the Tobruk garrison made many sorties and harassed the investing force (mostly Italians). Elsewhere there was little activity, until, in mid-September, a small enemy tank force came up against our advance forces on the frontier, was checked and soon withdrew. Around Tobruk there were many encounters as our night patrols worried the besieging troops, and at one time the Germans used tanks in counter-action at night. In the middle of October there was a clash on the frontier with enemy armoured cars.

A British offensive opened on the night of Nov. 17–18, when the Eighth Army under General Cunningham attacked along the line Sollum–Jarabub. (That same night Commando troops had made a daring attack on Rommel's H.Q. in the desert, 200 miles inside the enemy lines.) To a depth of 50 miles our forces penetrated Libya, and on the 19th advanced units took Sidi Rezegh. There followed a great tank battle in this area, and the Tobruk garrison, reinforced by tanks landed by the Navy, sallied out towards Sidi Rezegh. This focal point changed hands several times, and was taken from the enemy by a South African brigade on the 20th; on the 23rd this brigade, short of ammunition, was overwhelmed by Rommel's tanks. General Auchinleck, presumably dissatisfied with the turn of events, replaced General Cunningham by Major-General Ritchie on the 26th. Auchinleck, in an Order of the Day two days earlier, had told the Eighth Army: "Attack and pursue. All out everywhere." Rommel made a surprising manoeuvre on the 24th, sending a strong raiding column over the Egyptian frontier; though it lost many tanks it turned and took our troops in the rear. All along the frontier there was fierce fighting; to the south our troops operating from Jarabub had taken the oasis of Jalo and that of Aujila.

Troops from Tobruk captured El Duda on Nov. 26, and early next morning made contact with our forces at Sidi Rezegh. After a three-day battle (Nov. 28–30) Axis troops again thrust a wedge between our forces and cut the "corridor" between Tobruk and the Sidi Rezegh position. The 5th N.Z. Brigade was overrun and its Brigadier captured. Rommel, however, took up a defensive line between El Adem and Bir el Gobi for a few days. Pressure from Tobruk troops on his flank and from our armour and infantry on his front compelled him to draw back to Gazala—thus freeing Tobruk. Rommel made another withdrawal 30 miles westwards after a brief stand, and by Dec. 13 he was ready to attack again. The result of this all-out battle was decisive; our troops (including many Indian formations) held him fast and, indeed, made headway against him. On the 17th he withdrew towards Benghazi, harassed and pursued, leaving behind much material. In quick succession we retook Derna and Mekili and occupied Cyrene and Apollonia. Benghazi was in our hands on Christmas Eve.

Rommel now made a stand at Jedabia; he had managed to save a large part of his force, and from the 28th until the end of December he once more attacked with vigour. But soon after, in the first week of the new year, he began to retreat towards El Agheila where the terrain favoured a prolonged stand in well-fortified positions. To complete the picture of this campaign, we may note that Bardia fell into our hands on Jan. 2, 1942, while in the frontier region Sollum was taken on Jan. 11 and Halfaya six days later. As in the spring offensive of this year of swift turns of fortune, events in Libya were interlocked with those in other theatres of war, and the entry of Japan into the Second Great War made calls upon our armed strength which once again limited the extent to which we could exploit local successes.

Japan Enters the War

WHEN in July 1941 Japan secured further territorial concessions in French Indo-China it was clear that she planned an attack on British and American possessions in the Pacific. She had gained "stepping stones" in Chinese coastal territory and also held large regions of inland China. Subversive work in Thailand (Siam) and Burma had prepared the way for open aggression which aimed at the thrusting of a great wedge between China and India. The apparently slow progress of the China campaign misled many European observers into thinking that Japan was not in a condition (in a military and economic sense) to complete the subjugation of China. Another view is that Japan used the long-drawn-out China "incident" as a gigantic test of her forces.

While Japanese envoys were talking "peace" at Washington Japanese aircraft carriers drew close to the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands. At 7 a.m. (local time) on Dec. 7 carrier-borne aircraft delivered a mass attack on the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbour and on the air bases on Oahu. The battleship "Arizona" was sunk and another, the "Oklahoma," capsized. Three destroyers, a minelayer and a target ship were also destroyed. Casualties were nearly 3,000 killed and just over 900 wounded or missing. A Japanese naval force bombarded Midway Island that same morning; next day Japanese aircraft bombed Wake Island, and further operations continued until the American base was captured on Dec. 22. Guam, another Pacific island base, was invaded and fell on the 10th.

Between noon and 1 p.m. on Dec. 8 Japanese aircraft bombed airfields on Luzon (Philippines) and destroyed many American aeroplanes on the ground. On the 10th the naval base at Cavite was wrecked by air attack, though most of the warships were not in port. A landing was made at Aparri and others in the Lingayen Gulf area, where weak American forces under General MacArthur made a great stand. Mindanao was invaded on Dec. 20, and two days later another big invasion fleet arrived in the Lingayen Gulf. Manila, though proclaimed an open town, was repeatedly bombed. By the end of the month it was in great peril.

The Attack on Malaya

JAPAN invaded Thailand on Dec. 8, meeting with little resistance. Three days later she came to an agreement with Thailand embodied in a 10-year treaty, signed on Dec. 21. On the 8th Singapore was bombed. Japanese troops landed near the aerodrome of Kota Bharu, in N.E. Malaya; after two days the garrison was driven out, despite fierce defence by ground and air. Other enemy troops crossed Thailand by railway and invaded Kedah, in N.W. Malaya. Kedah was soon overrun and the enemy sent advance units into Burma. On Dec. 15 British troops withdrew from Victoria Point, at the southernmost tip of Burma. There were heavy air raids on Penang during Dec. 11 and 12, and by the 17th the Japanese were within 10 miles; Penang was occupied about the 20th. On December 17 enemy troops landed in North Borneo, whence our troops had withdrawn. At all points the enemy was in far superior strength and could not be withstood.

Loss of 'Prince of Wales' and 'Repulse'

JAPAN had been able to land troops with impunity because of the loss of sea power by the Allies in the region. The sudden attack on Pearl Harbour on the 7th had destroyed America's offensive power for the time, and the grave disaster three days later to British warships in the Gulf of Siam took away the last obstacle to invasion. H.M.S. "Prince of Wales," flagship of Admiral Sir Tom Phillips and commanded by Captain J. Leach, went out into the Gulf on Dec. 8, accompanied by the battle-cruiser "Repulse" and a small destroyer escort, to search for Japanese warships and transports said to be moving towards the Kra isthmus. The Admiral learnt, after leaving, that no fighter escort would be available, but he continued, relying upon low visibility to elude Japanese air reconnaissance. Later the weather cleared, and the squadron was sighted by enemy aircraft; the Admiral turned back.

On the way he received a report of enemy transports near Kuantan and sent off two aircraft to reconnoitre; the report proved untrue, and not long after this Japanese bombers attacked the two warships, followed by three waves of torpedo-planes. Two waves were beaten off, but the third managed to hit both warships with several torpedoes. Early in the attack the "Prince of Wales" had her steering gear disabled and became a helpless prey; she sank about an hour after mid-day on Dec. 10. The "Repulse" was hit by three torpedoes, sinking about 12.30. The enemy had carried out the attack with accuracy and precision, and his loss of nine out of 27 torpedo-aircraft was a trifling price to pay for the grave disaster inflicted upon Britain's naval power. Admiral Sir Tom Phillips and Captain Leach (of the "Prince of Wales") went down with the flagship; the survivors from both warships numbered 2,330 out of a complement of 2,925, and included Captain W. G. Tennant of the "Repulse." There were criticisms of Sir Tom Phillips's action in going out without fighter escort, but he was upheld by Vice-Admiral Helfrich, C.-in-C. Netherlands Naval Forces, who said that in the circumstances he (Helfrich) would have done the same.

Dutch and Imperial troops occupied Portuguese Timor as a preventive measure on Dec. 18. On the 9th Dutch submarines had sunk four Japanese transports off Malaya, and Dutch aircraft had attacked Japanese-occupied airfields on the peninsula. Our R.A.F., equipped with outclassed machines, were unable to stop the enemy from building up local superiority in the air. On the ground his troops pushed on through the Malayan jungle and rubber plantations and forced back our men. South Kedah and Province Wellesley were evacuated on Dec. 19, a new line being formed S. of the Sungei Krian, which forms the border between Kedah and Perak. To the W. an attack on Kelantan was repulsed. There was a lull for several days and then the Japanese pushed on southwards. They bombed the aerodrome of Kuala Lumpur on the 27th, and attacked the tin centre of Ipoh (Perak front), the town being evacuated on the 29th after destroying the stocks. An attack in force by the enemy along the Perak front on Dec. 29 cost him heavy casualties, but it was not possible

to hold this line for long; our forces had to withdraw early in January. Singapore was raided by Japanese aircraft four times during the night of Dec. 29–30. The capture of Kuantan, on the E. coast of Malaya, was claimed by the enemy on Dec. 31, and it was clear that ground had been lost by our forces in that area.

Rangoon was bombed on Dec. 23 and again on Christmas Day, when R.A.F. fighters and American aircraft destroyed 17 of the enemy raiders. The defence of Burma was taken over by General Wavell on Dec. 28, when Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton was appointed G.O.C. Burma. A few days later it became known that Wavell's forces included a body of Chinese troops placed under his direction by Chiang Kai-shek. Allied aircraft, including some of the Netherlands Air Force, bombed Japanese transports and escorts off Kuching (capital of Sarawak) on Dec. 28; the enemy had landed there on the 25th, and the town fell three days later. Most of the British troops in Sarawak were withdrawn and made contact with Netherlands forces in West Borneo. Japanese attacks on the territory of the Dutch East Indies had up to now been made only by aircraft, but the air and sea forces of the N.E.I. had been hammering the enemy in many parts of the widespread battle area; 16 enemy ships had been sunk and five damaged in these bold operations.

Hongkong Holds Up the Japanese Advance

By its magnificent stand for 18 days Hongkong held a large Japanese army in check and postponed for those critical days the opening of a sheltered supply route to the south along the China coast. The British and Imperial forces were under Major-General C. M. Maltby; the Governor and Commander-in-Chief was Sir Mark Young. Canadian troops of the garrison were commanded by Brigadier J. K. Lawson (killed by shellfire during the siege). The Japanese attack began with dive-bombing on Dec. 8, both on the Island and on the Kowloon area of the mainland (leased territory). A Japanese division invaded the leased territory, with another division in reserve. When it became clear that the enemy was in overwhelming strength our forces withdrew, first to Gindrinkers' Line (Dec. 9) and (at dusk of the 10th) to the Golden Hill Line (see map in p. 1989). This meant the abandonment of Hongkong's only airfield—at Kaitak. Pressure on our flanks compelled the evacuation of mainland positions (except Devil's Peak) on the night of the 11th, when Stonecutters' Island also was abandoned. Next evening the men on Devil's Peak were brought away.

Shelling and bombing grew worse as the days went by; the enemy sent a delegation on the 13th with an ultimatum; it was summarily rejected. A second proposal for negotiations, borne by enemy staff officers four days later under a flag of truce, was treated with an even firmer refusal. Enemy fire was accurate, and progressively destroyed the Island's defences. Water and food supplies caused grave anxiety, while ammunition was running low. On the night of Dec. 18–19 the enemy crossed the Lye-mun Channel (only 500 yards wide) and landed on Hongkong Island. Despite all that our men could do they were driven back yard by yard and the Japanese gained control of a large part of the Island. Further landings were made on the 22nd; now there was an isolated British force in Stanley; the enemy to the east of the Wong Nei Chong Gap and the British to the west, with small British groups holding out in other places. By determined counter-attacks our men regained some ground on the 23rd, but could not recover the key points.

Hongkong's communications had been cut on the 19th, but two days later a link was obtained with Chungking, whence the British Embassy was able to communicate with the garrison hour by hour. Bombing rose to a high pitch on Christmas Eve, with the dropping of many incendiaries which set fire to the country around Mount Cameron. Shellfire also increased. The position of the defenders was becoming untenable. Next day the British Naval and Military Commanders told Sir Mark Young that no further effective resistance could be offered, and the Governor entered into negotiations with the Japanese. After a meeting at Kowloon the Governor tendered the surrender of Hongkong, and hostilities ceased at 7.5 p.m. on Dec. 25. Two and a half months later the Empire learnt that dreadful atrocities had been perpetrated upon helpless prisoners and civilians by the Japanese forces.

Drawing Off the Luftwaffe

After the invasion of Russia at the end of June the R.A.F. intensified its night attacks on German war industries and on ports whence supplies were sent northwards. A very important object was to cause the Luftwaffe to detach fighter aircraft which would otherwise have gone to hammer the Red Army defending its soil against the enormous German forces of invasion. A new twin-motor bomber, the Manchester, with the four-motored Stirling and Halifax came into service; older bombers like the Hampden, Whitley and Wellington (twin-engined) were improved. Bigger bomb-loads were carried, and bigger and much more powerful bombs. The enemy reinforced his defences, and our losses became greater: 13 on Aug. 12; 12 on Aug. 14; 20 on Sept. 7; 37 on Nov. 7, when very bad weather was encountered. But, taken as a percentage of the total raiding force, these losses were not grave, though on the occasion last mentioned the percentage rose nearly to ten. Berlin was one of the targets on Nov. 7, as it had been on Sept. 7; five times in 1941 our bombers visited the enemy capital.

Mainly in conjunction with Fighter Command, a large number of daylight bombing raids was made deep into Germany during the second half of the year. Blenheims bore the brunt of these offensives. A spectacular operation was the raid of Dec. 27 on the enemy airfield at Herdla in Norway, to prevent interference with our combined attack on Vaagso; long-range fighters of Coastal Command protected our naval and military forces. After a flight in formation across more than 200 miles of sea the 13 Blenheims dropped their bombs on the chosen target at one minute past noon—a minute after the designated hour.

Brest, where the German warships "Scharnhorst," "Gneisenau" and "Prinz Eugen" had taken refuge, was continually bombed. When in July the "Scharnhorst" slipped away to La Pallice, there was a two-pronged offensive: on July 23 a force of Stirlings hammered La Pallice while Fortress bombers attacked the "Gneisenau" at Brest. Between Aug. 1 and the following Feb. 12 (when the enemy warships escaped into the Channel) Brest was attacked 34 times.

Renewed Confidence and Hope

On the Home Front, during the second half of 1941, the keynote was confidence in the ability of Britain and her Allies to bring the war to a successful conclusion—though all realized that several years of "blood and sweat, toil and tears" lay ahead. The 20-year Alliance with Soviet Russia was heartening to a Britain which had for more than a year stood alone; though the partnership was seen to involve grave responsibilities, and to cut across ideological groupings, it was welcomed with a sigh of relief on the part of numbers who had long desired some practical basis of cooperation with the great European and Asiatic Union of Soviets. Without such basis it would be difficult to build up a sound and stable peace after the war.

In mid-August there came the momentous conference between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt out of which developed the Atlantic Charter. One immediate result was the Three-Power Conference in Moscow at the end of September; a few days before this, at St. James's Palace, representatives of the Allies and the Dominions had met to endorse the Charter and make plans for healing Europe after the War.

More and more restrictions were applied to the people at large, in order that the utmost effort should be directed to winning the war. The check on "pleasure" motoring was tightened from August, when motorists were required to keep logs of their journeys. The Essential Works Order was extended to more of the heavy industries, and the "concentration" of industrial firms was hastened and extended. By an agreement with the railway companies at the end of August the Government secured a greater control while at the same time assuming the risk of financial loss to the companies.

Civil Defence services were improved during the lull in enemy raids, and the newly amalgamated fire force—now a truly national service—gave evidence of the wisdom of its reorganization and merger. To take one simple example, the markings on emergency water tanks, and the road directions thereto, were now standard and uniform; firemen called in from an outside area would know their way about. Uniformity of training and equipment were other benefits. In December came an extension of the obligation to National Service for both sexes; unmarried women between 20 and 30 were liable to service in Civil Defence or the Auxiliary services; deferment and reservation of men were tightened up for the future. Government proposals for reorganizing the Home Guard were published on Dec. 15; they included compulsory enrolment for men between 18 and 55 in areas where an insufficient number of volunteers came forward.

The last month of the year was overshadowed by Japan's entry into the war and by the grievous setbacks to our forces in the Far East. To his people in the Empire on Christmas Day — saddened by the latest news from Hongkong, whose hard-pressed garrison was even then at the point of surrender—his Majesty the King spoke words of hope. Many had heard the B.B.C. broadcast the evening before from Washington, where Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt had made speeches that were an inspiration. In the newspapers of the 27th was the splendid oration by our Premier to both Houses of the U.S. Congress on Boxing Day, while four days later appeared the report of the Premier's speech to the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa on the 30th. In his peroration Mr. Churchill, after pointing out that the most strenuous exertions must be made by all, went on: "Let us then address ourselves to our task, not underrating the difficulties . . . but in good heart and sober confidence, resolved that, whatever the cost, whatever the suffering, we shall stand by one another, true and faithful comrades, and do our duty, God helping us, to the end."







DEFEAT OF GERMAN 16th ARMY AT STARAYA RUSSA

Staraya Russa, junction of three railways and seven main roads, is on the line S. of Lake Ilmen (see map, p. 2033). Here 90,000 Germans under Colonel-General Busch (3) held a very strong "hedgehog" position. Soviet forces under General Kurochkin (2) began an offensive in January, and by February 17 had encircled the enemy. Mobile parties armed with automatic rifles were swiftly transported on propeller-driven sledges like that seen in (4), and helped to cut off the Germans, who abandoned guns (1) in a panic retreat and lost 12,000 men in ten days. Red Army Guards who took part in the action are seen in (5).

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Planet News; Keystone





Chapter 204

RUSSIAN WINTER OFFENSIVE, 1941-42: THE CLOSING PHASE

Enemy Retreat Which Verged on Disaster—Capture of Mozhaisk—The Hedgehog at Gzhatsk—Recapture of Toropetz and Kholm—Encirclement of German 16th Army—Leningrad Sector—How Lozovaya Was Stormed—The Thaw Sets In—Assessment of Strategic Results

THE pursuit phase of the Russian winter counter-offensive of 1941-42 has been described in Chapter 193. It followed immediately on the decision to abandon the attempt to take Moscow, and to withdraw from exposed positions to winter quarters, forced on the Germans by the tenacity of Russian resistance and the desperate sufferings of their ill-equipped troops from the bitter cold. In confident expectation of a swift victory the Germans had neglected to provide for the rigours of a winter campaign.

The promptness and vigour of the pursuit turned what was intended to be an orderly and voluntary withdrawal into a retreat, which, as Hitler himself admitted in a speech (for extracts see p. 2027) delivered on April 26, 1942, narrowly escaped complete disaster, and which involved immense sacrifices of men and material and of ground gained at great cost. The escape was due partly to the discipline and training of German troops which, despite demoralization and desperate circumstances, enabled them to retain some of their fighting qualities, and partly to the promptness and ability displayed by the Germans in realizing the defensive potentialities of the Russian towns and the railways on which their forces depended for supplies and shelter. Those potentialities were adapted with ingenuity. Yet it is doubtful whether the German retreat could have halted, or have escaped complete disaster, but for the difficulties the Russians experienced in maintaining the initial vigour and weight of their pursuit, as they advanced through country where railways had been put out of action and when heavier snowfalls interfered with practically all other means of transport.

Hitler's Admission

Before dealing with the later stages of the Russian counter-offensive and the development of the German defence we may recall Marshal Mannerheim's dictum that in a Finnish winter major operations are practicable only in close proximity to railways. That dictum is largely applicable to Russian winter conditions, which, in three periods, have differing effects on the military situation. In the first period (from the end of November till the beginning of January) snowfall is comparatively light and, with frost consolidating the ground, conditions do not greatly interfere with movement. It was in this period that the Germans hoped to effect the capture of Moscow, but they failed to realize how Arctic temperatures, made the more insupportable by biting winds, would affect their ill-clad men. Half the period had expired before the Russian counter-offensive was launched, and there was not time to exploit its possibilities before the heavy snowfalls of the second period (lasting through January and February) made vehicular movement almost impracticable.

In the third period (early spring) the growing power of the sun melted snow surfaces in the afternoon, and though frost at night gave a hard surface in the morning and maintained the strength of ice on rivers and marshes, operations became increasingly difficult. In April mud finally brought them to a complete standstill. Naturally in the south climatic changes were less strongly marked, and there military operations could be resumed at an earlier date than in the centre and north.

The pursuit phase of the offensive ended when the Russians had won back the ground captured by the Germans in the final effort to take Moscow and were in contact with the positions the enemy had consolidated during the long pause in November. In point of time this coincided with the heavy snowfalls of January. Henceforward attacks on strongly held German positions could be seriously attempted only where the combat zone had for long been stationary, or where rail and road communications were available to bring up the supplies and munitions required for heavily armed forces. Immediately west of Moscow the main armies were in contact and heavy attacks therefore continued, but elsewhere either the pursuit had covered long distances and had lost its impetus, or there were inadequate communications to



GERMAN HEAVY MOBILE ASSAULT GUN

One especially cheering aspect of the Soviet winter offensive was the enormous amount of arms and equipment which fell into Russian hands. Above, a captured Nazi assault gun on a tank chassis. Between February 13 and February 24 the Red Army captured or destroyed 29 tanks, 185 guns and 450 motor vehicles at Staraya Russa alone.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



RUSSIAN ARTILLERY ADVANCES OVER FROZEN LAKE ILMEN

These photographs from the Lake Ilmen region point the contrast between the efficient winter transport of the Soviet artillery (top), going up to firing positions over the frozen lake, and the makeshift arrangements of the Germans and their Allies: lower photograph shows field artillery and anti-tank guns abandoned by the ill-fated Spanish Blue Division in its retreat.

Photos, Planet News



maintain heavy fighting. Nevertheless, where the German front was weakly held owing to the difficulties of communication, lightly armed Russian forces, consisting of cavalry, ski troops and sledge-borne light artillery, were able to make progress.

These conditions dictated the further development of the offensive. West of Moscow it took the form of unrelenting attack on Mozhaisk. The recapture of this town, which remained a threat to the capital, was of first importance and heavily armed troops were immediately available. Direct attacks were made on the town, and attempts to envelop it and cut its communication with Vyazma. The Germans fought hard to retain Mozhaisk, but with the progress of enveloping movements the place became the apex of a dangerous salient. On January 19 the Russians entered the town. The capture of Mozhaisk was a great strategic victory, for it immensely reduced the danger of renewed attacks on Moscow in the spring.

Writing in Soviet War News, Lieut.-General Govorov, of the Red Army, said that his units entered Mozhaisk at 8.30 a.m. on the 19th. The first phase of the attack had begun in December with the destruction of the German concentration at Zvenigorod. By January 10 Commander Polosukhin's units had broken through the enemy defence line south of Kulika—mainly by means of an artillery offensive. The Nazis attempted to hold the intermediate positions of Dorokhovo and Shalikovo, but their main strongpoints were overcome by cross-country outflanking movements. While Russian units cleared the country between the by-passed strongpoints other formations routed the isolated garrisons. The

weather was severe, with the temperature at 25 degrees below zero.

Fighting for the town of Mozhaisk began on January 18. Solidly built fortifications on the N., E. and S. outskirts were smashed by artillery and mortar fire. Firing point-blank, the Russian guns demolished dug-outs and fortifications on the eastern approaches. Bombers and night fighters destroyed the retreating units on the roads.

Mozhaisk Won Back

Soviet troops started to outflank Mozhaisk from N. and S., and on the night of January 19–20 the Germans, threatened with encirclement, withdrew most of their garrison, leaving only a small covering force. Russian artillery carried out the final bombardment, and infantry cleared Mozhaisk of the enemy.

The Germans retreated to Gzhatsk, half-way to Vyazma, which they had had ample time to prepare as a "hedgehog" centre. (This was a strongpoint intended to be held even if positions on its flanks had to be relinquished; such hedgehogs were designed to afford



SOVIET SKI TROOPS RIDE UP TO THE FRONT

In white camouflage suits, with rifles at the ready, Red Army ski troops are taken to an advanced assembly point on sledges towed by tanks. At Staraya Russa, in February 1942, a ski detachment broke into the suburbs and liberated several hundred persons from a war prisoners' camp.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright



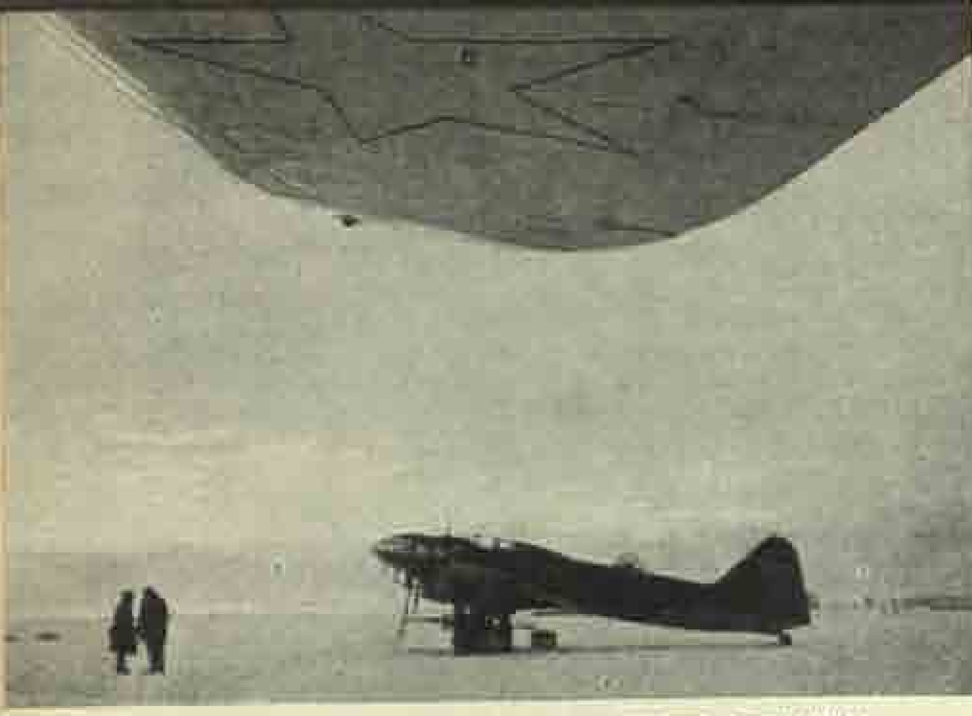
MOSCOW SECTOR OF THE LONG RUSSIAN LINE

The capture of Mozhaisk by the Red Army on January 19, 1942 reduced the danger to Moscow. The enemy was driven back to Gzhatsk, and at Rzhev was almost encircled. A brilliant Russian offensive freed Peno, Andreapol and Toropetz and then captured Kholm. By the end of February the German 16th Army at Staraya Russa was enveloped and badly mauled. In the Smolensk area the town of Yukhnov was retaken after a night attack on March 4–5

points d'appui for a future advance.) Farther north the Russians attempted to capture Rzhev, on the Moscow-Riga railway, but here also the Germans had had time to consolidate the position, and the Russians, strung out in a long and hard-fought pursuit, were unable to bring sufficiently heavy metal to bear. Rzhev was almost completely enveloped and became dangerously exposed to isolation. Much hard fighting continued there during the winter, but though the Russians captured villages in the outposts of the defences, the Germans were determined at all costs to hold the town, for it formed an essential bastion of the salient which, with Vyazma as its base, they hoped would furnish a springboard for the renewal of attacks on Moscow.

To the north of Rzhev stretched for 150 miles the thinly inhabited region of the Kholm marshes and Valdai hills. Here, in the absence of large towns and railway communications, the Germans had no opportunity of exploiting the hedgehog system and were compelled to rely on the holding of small fortified towns and villages. It was here, therefore, that the Russians had a chance of using lightly armed troops with success. Exhaustive preparations had been made for this offensive. Advancing steadily on a broad front, they enveloped and captured village after village and, by the first week in February, even such towns as Kholm and Toropetz.

On January 10 Soviet units operating in the direction of Peno-Andreapol-



RED AIR FORCE DURING THE WINTER OFFENSIVE

Day and night photographs of a Soviet air unit at an advanced airfield. There were inevitably large losses on either side, but the inflated German claims gave little clue to the true position. Thus, in the central sector for January and February, 1942, the German claim was 1,189 Soviet planes destroyed; Russian figures were 442 German aircraft destroyed and about one-fourth as many Soviet machines during the same period in this sector.

Photos, Planet News



Toropetz took the town of Peno and its railway station, advancing 10 miles. By the evening of the 14th Andreapol had been turned from the W., N.W. and S.E. and cut off. Next day, advancing from three directions, Russian troops broke into the town, which by early evening had been cleared of the enemy. Soviet sappers blew up the railway tracks to prevent the Germans removing their supplies. When the remnants of the 189th German Infantry Regt. had been pursued and wiped out, the Russians made a 30-mile march on to Toropetz. Here the enemy tried to escape southwards, but was intercepted. On the evening of the 19th the Russians were able to break into Toropetz from three directions, and after another day's heavy fighting the town was cleared.

The German position near Kholm was broken by a swift blow at the most vulnerable spot. Red Army units were met during the night of January 17 by small guerilla groups emerging from the forests near Kholm. They converged at one point. By 2 a.m. eight guerilla detachments (800 men in all) were gathered at the outskirts of the town, most of them armed with captured German rifles and grenades.

One group of 400 cut off the approaches to Kholm, while a second group broke into the town. A German sentry saw them and fled, but was shot down by one of the guerillas. The noise alarmed the enemy, who ran out from houses and barracks. The street fighting that followed lasted for eight hours. The enemy numbered about 1,000 men, and the German Command reinforced these with two battalions, who ran into a guerilla ambush at the village of Sopki. This second battle lasted 12 hours, although the guerillas were only 150 strong; more than this number of the picked German troops were lost. In the fighting in the town over 400 of the enemy were wiped out. By this time the Red Army formations were ready to storm Kholm, and the guerillas once more went in to attack.

Recapture of Kholm

Swinging south, the Soviet armies took long stretches of the railway between Rzhev and Veliki Luki—perhaps the only case in which German railway defence lines were broken. These successes were of importance not so much on account of the great extent of ground gained as because they left Rzhev with a very precarious supply line. They also threatened the main line of German lateral communications (which ran close to the west of Veliki Luki) and the whole Vyazma salient. In the following winter these gains were to provide a base for Zhukov's offensive.

Held up by the German defences to west and south of the bulge they had thus formed, the Russians, under Lieut.-General Kurochkin, towards the end of February concentrated their efforts at its northern shoulder, where Staraya Russa, on the railway south of Lake Ilmen, was a hedgehog held by the 16th German Army (General von Busch). By a surprise outflanking movement they completely isolated Staraya Russa, and for a time the 16th Army was in a critical position, dependent on air transport for supplies. Eventually a relief force re-established communications. A Russian ski detachment broke into the suburbs of the town and rescued several hundred people from a war prisoners' camp.

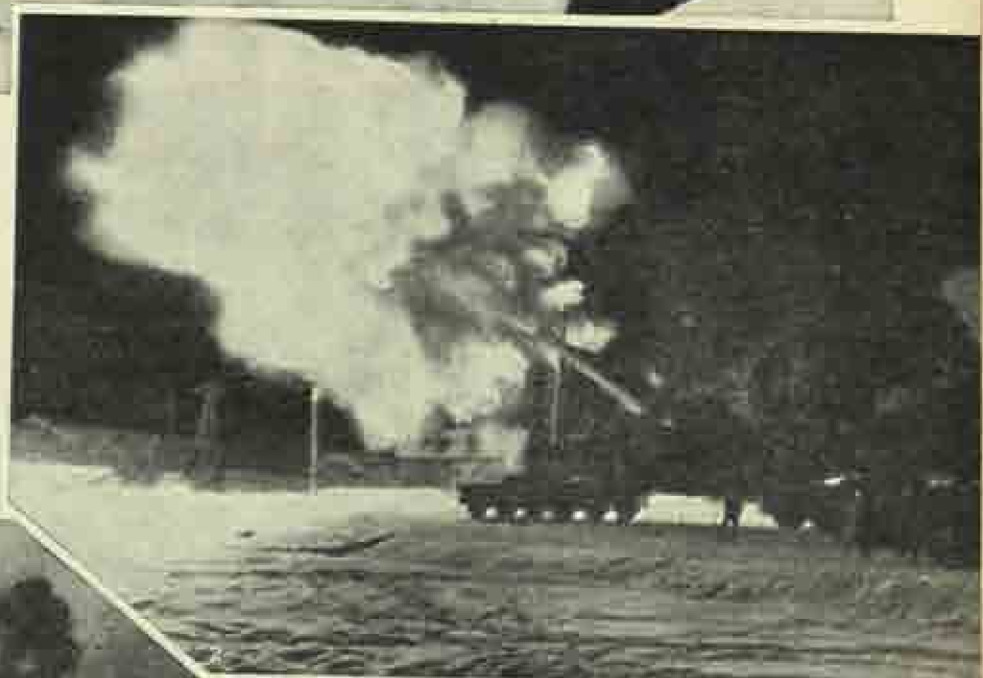
Throughout the winter the Russians tried without success to break the



LENINGRAD LOOSENS THE NAZI GRIP

In January 1942 the Russians built a motor road on the ice of Lake Ladoga and enabled food, medicines and other supplies to be taken into Leningrad. Early in February Soviet forces outside drove deep wedges into the German lines around Schlüsselburg. The heavy enemy bombardment (2) was borne with fortitude, while the work in the factories went on. In (4) civilian mechanics from the Putilov works are making light repairs to Russian tanks in the front line. (1) German reconnaissance patrol in the Valdai Hills. (3) Russian sappers cut a way through enemy wire in readiness for an advance; Nazi shells burst in the background.

Photos, U.S.S.R. Official; Sport & General; Planet News









RUSSIAN SCOUT TROOPS RETAKE YUKHNOV

Yukhnov was one of the most important German strategic positions in the Smolensk area, heavily fortified after the Russians had won back Mozhaisk, Kirov and Dorogobuzh. On the evening of March 4, 1942, Soviet troops began their assault, and next day broke into Yukhnov. Below, officers of the Red Army unit which took the town: left to right, Major-General Kalinovsky (Artillery), Lieut.-General Zakharin and Brigade Commissar Litvinov.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Planet News



German investment line east of Leningrad. The Germans stated that during January more than 120 attempts had been made to storm their positions. A fortnight later they told of 14 attacks during 48 hours on their positions E. and S. of Leningrad. The Russians infiltrated the German lines and cut communications. Fresh Russian reserves were thrown in, and in two days, for example, 20 places were recaptured from the enemy. Wedges were driven into the German lines around Schlüsselburg. During January the Leningrad garrison constructed a motor road over the ice of Lake Ladoga, and so, in February, large quantities of supplies reached the city, a measure which saved the garrison from being forced by starvation to surrender.

In the south there was heavy fighting in the Crimea, on both the Kerch and Sevastopol fronts, and in the Donetz basin. (Kerch had been recaptured by the Russians at the end of December, and the enemy was attacking the outer defences of Sevastopol.) Towards the end of January the Russians were reported to be in close contact with the hedgehog positions of Orel, Kursk and Kharkov, but were evidently unable to penetrate the defences. South of Kharkov Timoshenko made a considerable advance and captured the important railway centre of Lozovaya, thereby menacing vital railway communications between Dnepropetrovsk and the Crimea, as well as one of the lines leading to Kharkov. His further advance was held up, apparently by German defences along the railway lines.

The railway junction of Lozovaya, 80 miles S. of Kharkov, at the intersection of the Kharkov–Donbas, Poltava–Donbas and Dnepropetrovsk–Donbas lines, forms the gateway between the grain-growing regions of the Ukraine and the Donetz coal basin.

Storming of Lozovaya

The following account of the storming of the town is by Colonel Polozov (Soviet War News). At dawn on January 27 Soviet troops under Major-General Gorodniansky and Lieut.-General Ryabyshev swept through German defences near the town. The enemy hastily occupied and fortified suburban houses and station buildings, and the Russians were met with concentrated fire. The Soviet Command decided to encircle the station and blockade it. The vanguard column was ordered to skirt this centre from the S.W. and cut off the enemy's retreat. Despite stubborn street fighting the Russians had taken the suburban buildings by midday and drove on persistently for the centre of Lozovaya. The Germans backed out towards the station, which they planned to hold until the arrival of a Rumanian division to reinforce them. But the semicircle was quickly tightened around the station, and by nightfall the enemy abandoned the station and broke into disorderly flight to the west. The Rumanians came too late, and fled together with the Nazis.

The Germans had converted Lozovaya into a vital supply base through which they dispatched reserves, ammunition, arms and food-stuffs for Schwedler's and Von Kleist's army groups on the Taganrog front and for the Italian Expeditionary Force. At Lozovaya, too, were the stores of the 17th German Army.

As the winter went on operations were more and more hampered by snow and became static, both sides claiming local successes. The Germans suffered

severely from climatic conditions in holding their positions against the constant pressure and harassing tactics of the Russians, in which guerilla bands and cavalry played a large part. German morale was seriously affected and dread of another winter campaign was widespread among the troops. Immense efforts were made to relieve the suffering of the troops by collecting clothing of all descriptions and by pillaging occupied countries; but nothing could cancel the damage done or the impression produced by the extraordinary lack of foresight of the German Staff, which revealed so fully the disappointment of their expectations of a quick victory. The Russian troops also suffered severely in the winter; for they had constantly to fight, with less shelter than the Germans. The troops mainly employed—cavalry, ski troops and guerillas—were, however, less likely to be required in the coming summer.

By the end of March the thaw had set in and from then till the beginning of May no fighting of importance took place, though on both sides there were intensive preparations for the campaigning season, which, it was generally expected, would be marked by a German offensive towards the Lower Volga and the Caucasian oilfields. The chief doubt was as regards the date of its opening, in view of the effects of the winter war on German preparation.

Three Months' Pause

In assessing strategic results, the German offensive of 1941 and the Russian winter counter-offensive may be taken as an integer representing the first year of the Russo-German war. In that year the Germans signally failed to accomplish their purpose. They had hoped in a matter of weeks to shatter Russia's armies and to render her impotent as a military power. Failure to achieve this object not only involved them in a disastrous winter war, but left ruinous commitments. The counter-offensive proved conclusively that Russia had survived the onslaught and remained a military power which would grow in strength if not destroyed by renewed attacks. Germany had equally failed to secure the economic benefits for which she had hoped. Russian oil was still beyond her grasp, and the rich territory she had occupied, denuded by Stalin's scorched earth policy, had lost almost all of its natural productivity, which, in addition to labour, required under modern conditions oil and machinery to develop. Despite great military successes the German campaign was therefore marked by failures emphasized by the Russian counter-offensive.



RESULTS OF ACCURATE RUSSIAN SHELLFIRE

Top, German light tanks knocked out and capsized by Soviet gunners. The photograph gives an idea of the state of the country during the January offensive. Below, German supply lorries passing through a small town in April, after the thaw had begun. This main street looks like a swift-running stream with water axle-deep.

Photos, U.S.S.R. Official; Associated Press



Diary of the War

JANUARY and FEBRUARY, 1942

January 1, 1942. Joint declaration by twenty-six Allied Nations at Washington to employ full war resources against Axis and to make no separate peace. Mr. Churchill returns to Washington from Canada. Russians recapture Staritza.

January 2. Japanese occupy Manila. Chinese troops in Burma fighting alongside Allies. Imperial troops recapture Bardia. Russians recapture Malo Yaroslavets.

January 3. General Wavell becomes C.-in-C. of unified Allied Command in S.W. Pacific; Deputy, Maj.-Gen. Brett (U.S.); Chief of Staff, General Pownall; C.-in-C. Naval Forces, Admiral Hart (U.S.). Chiang Kai-shek to be C.-in-C. Allied land and air forces in Chinese area. Loss of H.M.S.s "Neptune" and "Kandahar" announced.

January 5. Japanese bomb Singapore; and on W. coast of Malaya, capture Kuantan airfield. British troops withdraw southwards. In Libya, our attack on Halfaya begins.

January 6. Raid by our light naval and air forces on Helle Fjord, Norway. Rommel begins offensive at Jedabia.

January 7. Japanese at Kuala Selangor. Chinese victory at Changsha.

January 8. Rommel retreats from Jedabia.

January 9. Malta command taken over by Maj.-Gen. D. M. W. Beak. Loss of H.M. cruiser "Galatea" announced.

January 10. Japanese invade Tarakan and Celebes, Netherlands East Indies.

January 11. Loss of H.M. corvette "Salvia" announced.

January 12. Fall of Kuala Lumpur; big air raids on Singapore. Fall of Tarakan. Imperial forces retake Sollum.

January 13. Conference of Governments of enemy-occupied countries, at St. James's Palace, takes pledge to punish Axis war criminals.

January 14. General Wavell sets up H.Q. at Batavia. Dr. van Mook, Governor-General of N.E.I., arrives at Washington.

January 15. Japanese reach Muar river S. of Malacca. Pan-American Conference opens at Rio de Janeiro. Command of our forces in Persia and Iraq transferred to General Auchinleck (Middle East Command).

January 16. Sir Archibald Clark Kerr (formerly Ambassador to China, where he was succeeded by Sir Horace Seymour) becomes Ambassador to Moscow in place of Sir Stafford Cripps. General Sir Alan Hartley apptd. C.-in-C. India.

January 17. Mr. Churchill arrives at Plymouth from Bermuda. Unconditional surrender of Halfaya.

January 18. U Saw detained by British Government because of his negotiations with Japan after hostilities had begun. Japanese occupy Tavoy, S. Burma. Big offensive by Marshal Timoshenko. Loss of H.M. submarine "Perseus" announced.

January 19. Russians retake Mojaisk. Loss of H.M. destroyer "Vimiera" announced.

January 20. Russians lose Feodosia in Crimea.

January 21. Rommel turns at El Agheila and begins an eastward advance.

January 22. Japanese land in New Ireland and New Britain.

January 23. Australians in action at Rabaul, New Britain; beginning of five-day air and sea battle of Macassar Straits. Japanese land at Balik Papan, Borneo. Rommel captures Jedabia. Russians break through German lines on wide front between Smolensk and Lake Ilmen. Loss of our submarine H-31 announced.

January 24. Big attack on MacArthur's forces in Bataan.

January 25. Japanese land at Lae, New Guinea. Siam declares war on Britain and U.S.A.

January 26. American troops arrive in Ulster.

January 27. In sea battle off Malaya we lose H.M. destroyer "Thanet"; enemy destroyer sunk and another damaged. Loss of H.M.S. "Barham" off Sollum announced.

January 28. Advancing into the Ukraine, Timoshenko captures Lozovaya.

January 29. In House of Commons a vote of confidence is carried by 464 votes to 1. Production Minister to be appointed. Benghazi recaptured by Rommel.

January 30. Singapore defenders cross causeway into the island. Japanese land on Amboina (N.E.I.). After heavy fighting at Moulmein (Burma) our forces withdraw next day to the north.

January 31. American naval and air forces attack enemy bases in Gilbert and Marshall Islands. British two-year agreement with Abyssinia.

February 1, 1942. Japanese attempt to land on Corregidor; heavy raids on Rangoon begun.

February 2. Loans to China: Britain £50,000,000; U.S.A., £125,000,000. Daylight raids by R.A.F. on Channel, N. France and Occupied region.

February 3. Japanese bomb Surabaya (Java).

February 4. Enemy demands surrender of Singapore, and when this is rejected, begins a heavy bombardment. In Libya, our forces evacuate Derna. Lord Beaverbrook appointed Minister for Production; Sir Andrew Duncan, Minister of Supply; Col. Llewellin, Pres. Board of Trade.

February 5. Loss of H.M. submarine "Triumph" announced.

February 6. Japanese reinforcements land on Luzon. Air raids begin on Palembang (Sumatra).

February 7. R.A.F. makes heavy attacks on German warships at Brest.

February 8. Our forces in Libya withdraw to Gazala. Loss of H.M. destroyer "Matabele" announced. Big Japanese landing on N.W. of Singapore Island.

February 9. In Burma, enemy crosses Salween. Big Japanese landing at Gasmata, New Britain. Air raids on Batavia. Pacific Council set up in London. Chiang Kai-shek visits Delhi.

February 10. Japanese take Martaban, Burma; they land at Macassar, Celebes. U.S. Naval forces at Wellington, N.Z.

February 11. Vice-Admiral Helfrich becomes C.-in-C. Allied Naval Forces in S.W. Pacific. At night the "Scharnhorst," "Gneisenau" and "Prinz Eugen" escape from Brest and steam up the Channel.

February 12. Running attack on German warships in Channel.

February 14. Enemy parachute troops land in S. Sumatra. In Libya, Rommel advances eastward.

February 15. Fall of Singapore. Japanese sea-borne landing on S. Sumatra; Palembang captured. In Burma our forces withdraw to the Bilin river.

February 16. Tenth Army (Iraq and Persia) under Lieut.-Gen. E. P. Quinan.

February 19. Japanese invade Bali, N.E.I.; fierce battle between Allied squadron and the invaders' fleet. Japanese bomb Port Darwin. British Government changes: Mr. Attlee, Deputy Premier and Sec. for Dominions; Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House; Lord Beaverbrook leaves Cabinet to go to Washington. Air Marshal Sir Richard Peirse leaves Bomber Command—succeeded by Air Marshal Sir A. T. Harris—to become A.O.C.-in-C. India. Loss of H.M. destroyer "Gurkha" announced.

February 20. Japanese land in Portuguese Timor. Dr. van Mook arrives in Batavia from America.

February 21. British forces in Burma withdraw across Sittang river.

February 22. British Government changes: Sir James Grigg, Sec. for War; Viscount Cranborne, Sec. for Colonies; Col. Llewellin, Minister of Aircraft Production; Lord Portal, Minister of Works and Buildings; Mr. Hugh Dalton, Pres. Board of Trade; Lord Wolmer, Minister of Economic Warfare. General MacArthur appointed C.-in-C. Allied Forces in Australia; remains in Philippines until March 17.

February 23. "Prinz Eugen" damaged by "Trident" off Trondheim Fjord. Russians capture Dorogobuzh.

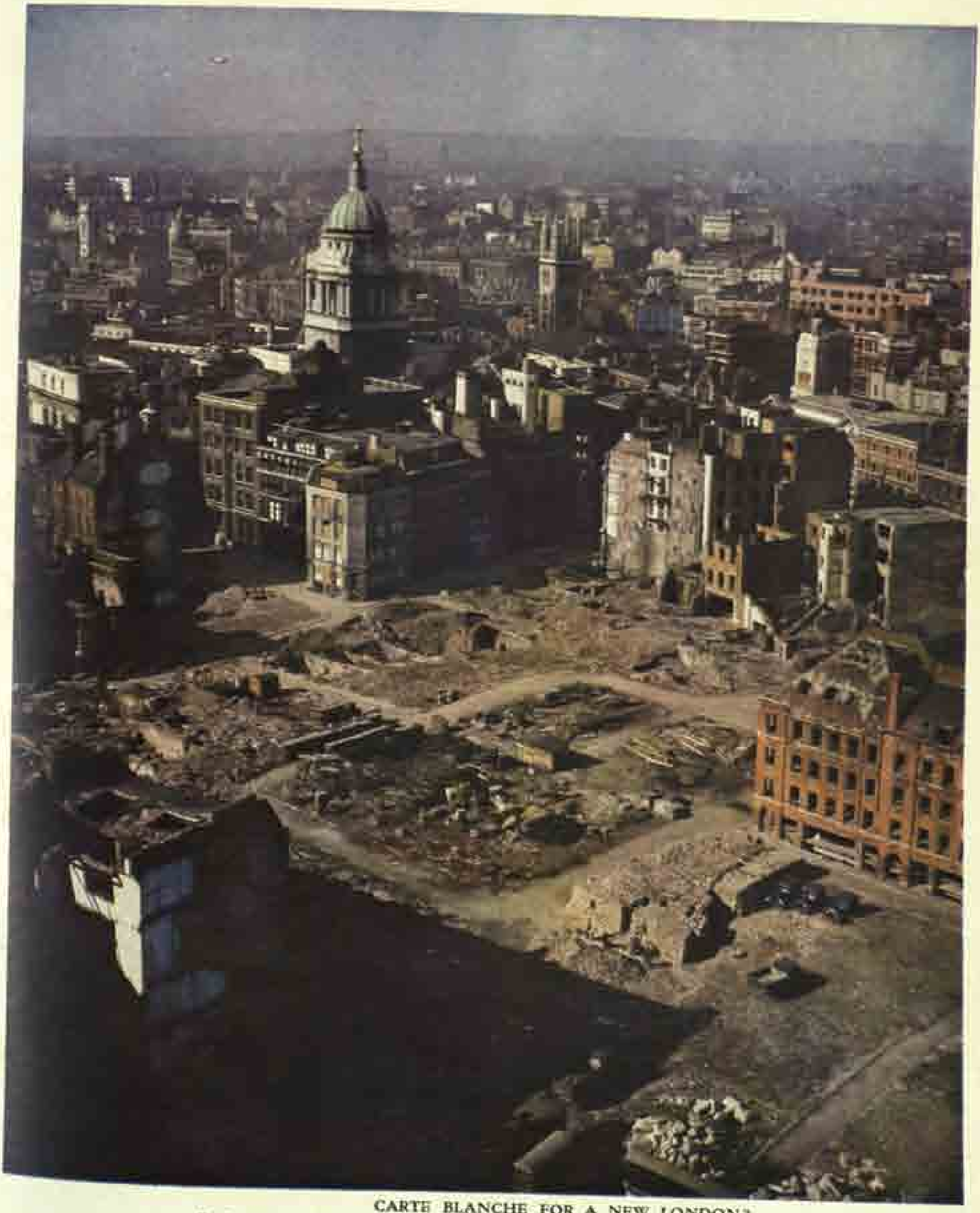
February 24. Russians encircle German 16th Army at Staraya Russa. Raid on Wake Island by U.S. Naval force under Admiral Halsey. Japanese bomb Port Blair, in Andamans. Debate in Commons on Pacific war and Govt. reconstruction.

February 25. Our bombers raid Kiel (night), where is German battleship "Gneisenau." Successes by R.A.F. and American Volunteer Group in Burma.

February 26. "Tirpitz" located at Trondheim.

February 27. In Battle of Java Sea an Allied squadron fights to the death; conflict ends March 1. Allied losses: H.M.S. "Exeter," H.M.A.S. "Perth," Dutch cruisers "Java" and "De Ruyter," U.S. cruiser "Houston," British destroyers "Electra," "Encounter," "Jupiter," "Stronghold"; Dutch destroyer "Kortenaer"; U.S. destroyer "Pope"; sloop H.M.A.S. "Yarra." Loss of H.M. destroyer "Belmont" announced. At night R.A.F. bombs Wilhelmshaven, where is the "Scharnhorst." Combined raid on French coast near Le Havre (Bruneval radio-location stn.).

February 28. Japanese land in Java; in Burma they mass on Sittang river and cut road N. of Rangoon. General Gordon Bennett reaches Australia from Singapore.



CARTE BLANCHE FOR A NEW LONDON?

By October 1941 many of the City's wounds were beginning to heal, and the grim and grotesque scars of the night raids were being tidied up. Compare this photograph with that in p. 1249 (before the big bombings) and another in p. 1360, taken after the heavy fire raid of December 29, 1940. Above, from St. Paul's Cathedral looking towards the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey; the cleared area includes Warwick Lane (left) to Ivy Lane, with Paternoster Square between.

Direct colour photograph by Sport & General

FAR EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR
December 1941—June 1942

MALAYA, SIAM, BURMA

Dec. 1941
7 Japan declares war on Britain and U.S.A.; Shanghai bombed.
8 Japanese land in Siam and N.E. Malaya; Singapore bombed.
10 "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse" sunk. Kota Bharu captured.
17 Japanese troops land in North Borneo.
18 Kedah (N.W. Malaya) evacuated; Hongkong Island invaded.
25 Hongkong surrenders. Japanese land at Kuching, Sarawak.
28 Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton G.O.C. Burma.
31 British troops withdrew from Sarawak.
Jan. 1942
5 Japanese land in W. Malaya; they capture Kuantan.
12 Loss of Kuala Lumpur. Heavy air raids on Singapore.
15 Japanese reach Muar river, S. of Malacca.
30 British withdrew from Johore to Singapore Island.
31 In Burma, British withdrew N. from Moulmein.
Feb.
8 Japanese troops land on N. of Singapore Island at night.
10 Japanese take Martaban, in Burma.
14 Japanese gains on Singapore; Blakangmati Island taken.
15 Surrender of Singapore.
21 British withdraw to Sittang river.
March
6 General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander appointed G.O.C. Burma.
7 Our troops withdraw from Rangoon.
31 British withdraw to the Irrawaddy.
April
1 Japanese attack Prome, and British retire N. next day.
29 Japanese take Lashio after heavy assault.
May
1 British evacuate Mandalay.
3 Japanese capture Bhamo.
8 Fall of Akyab and Myitkyina.

CENTRAL PACIFIC; PHILIPPINES

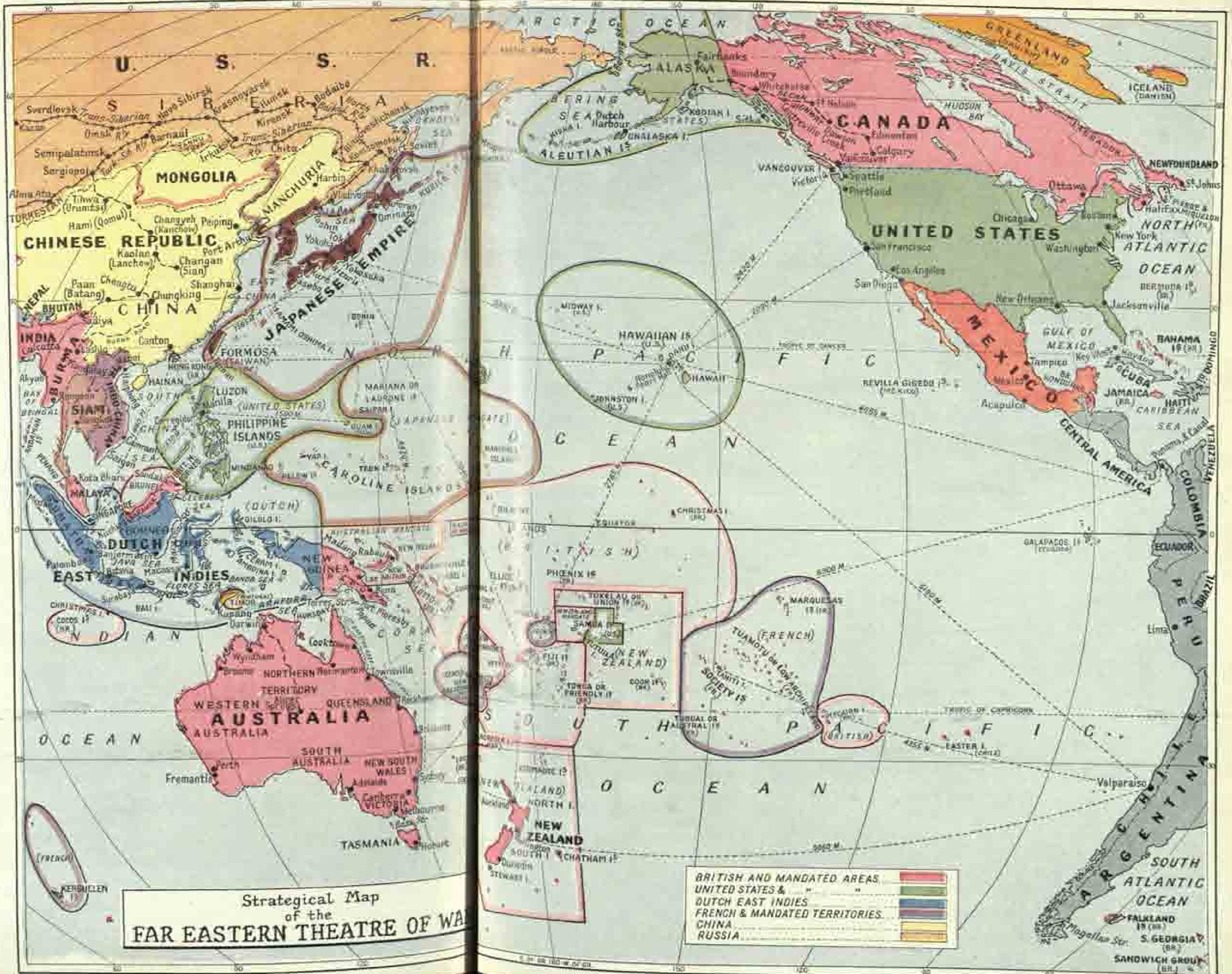
Dec. 1941
7 Japanese aircraft attack Pearl Harbour, also Midway, Wake and Guam islands.
8 Japanese air attack on Manila airfields.
9 Japanese land in Luzon (Philippines).
10 Fall of Guam Island naval base.
22 Japanese landings at Lingayen; major attack on Philippines.
24 Wake Island captured by Japanese.
Jan. 1942
1 MacArthur's forces complete withdrawal into Bataan.
2 Manila and Cavite occupied by Japanese.
24 Heavy attack on MacArthur's forces in Bataan peninsula.
Feb.
6 More landings in force on Luzon by Japanese.
March
1 Japanese land on Mindanao.
17 General MacArthur arrives in Australia. General Wainwright in command at Bataan.
April
1 Japanese begin major assault on Bataan forces.
9 Bataan surrenders; Wainwright goes to Corregidor.
10 Japanese land on Cebu with large force.
17 Japanese land on Panay.
May
4 Heavy attacks on Corregidor Island; enemy landings.
6 Corregidor surrenders after a five months' siege.
June
4-7 Japanese air and sea attack on Midway Island.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

Jan. 1942
10 Japanese invade Tarakan and Minahassa.
12 Fall of Tarakan after fierce resistance.
21 Japanese occupy Minahassa Peninsula.
23 Japanese land at Balik Papan. Air and sea battle of Macassar Straits; continues till 27th.
30 Japanese land in Amboina Island.
Feb.
10 Japanese land at Macassar.
14 Palembang captured by enemy; other landings in Sumatra.
19 Battle of Bali; invasion fleet engaged by Allied Naval forces.
20 Japanese land in Bali, stage in invasion of Java.
27 Battle of Java Sea.
March
1 Japanese land at several points in Java.
5 Dutch evacuate Batavia; declared open city.
9 Japanese occupy Bandung and Surabaya; Java surrenders.

SOUTH-WESTERN PACIFIC

Jan. 1942
3 General Wavell appointed to S.W. Pacific Command.
22 Japanese land in New Ireland and New Guinea.
25 Japanese land at Lae, New Guinea.
Feb.
1 Japanese begin air attacks on Port Moresby.
9 Japanese land at Gasmata, New Britain.
19 Enemy raid on Port Darwin. Allied attack on Marshall Islands.
March
8 Big Japanese landings at Lae and Salamaua.
10 Japanese land at Buka.
14 U.S. troops arrive in Australia.
17 General MacArthur arrives in Australia as Allied C.-in-C.
18 Allied attack on enemy at New Guinea.
27 General Blamey appointed to command land forces in Australia.
April
6 Japanese land at Bougainville (Solomons).
23 New Zealand comes into new U.S. Naval Command.
May
4-9 Battle off Solomons; continues in Coral Sea on 7th.
31 Night attack on Sydney Harbour by midget submarines.





CORVETTE FOILS AIR ATTACK ON BRITISH CONVOY

Corvettes have been termed 'U-boat killers' (see illus., p. 1763), but these fast and well-armed craft are the terror also of the German aerial raiders. Here is the scene just after a Heinkel torpedo-plane has been shot down: the pilot's dinghy has become swamped, and a rescue boat is being lowered. Forward on the corvette is the 4-in. dual-purpose gun; there are machine-guns on the tall look-out platform, and more on either side at deck level. Aft, behind the Carley floats, is a gun platform with two pom-poms; on a lower platform behind is a multiple A.A. machine-gun. Depth charges are seen in the stern chute, while the crew swing another on to the thrower.

Specially drawn by Haworth for THE SECOND GREAT WAR

Chapter 205

MALAYAN CAMPAIGN AND THE FALL OF SINGAPORE

After an account of the geographical, political and strategic background in the Malay Peninsula this Chapter describes the Japanese invasion and the successive steps which led to the surrender of Singapore, after a fourteen days' siege, on February 15, 1942. For the relation of this campaign to Japan's major plan of conquest see Chapter 198

JAPAN struck at Malaya on December 8, 1941, when Singapore experienced its first air raid. The events which led up to the outbreak of war with Japan are outlined in Chapter 198, where, too, is an account of the diplomatic and administrative background.

Malaya is the name given to the peninsula thrusting south-eastward from the isthmus thrown out from western Siam where that country joins the most southerly tongue of Burma. At the foot of the Malay peninsula, and separated from it by the mile-wide Strait of Tebrau, is the Island of Singapore, 217 square miles in area.

Leaving out of account the tiny Christmas and Cocos Islands, Malaya is composed of (1) the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang (with the Province of Wellesley on the mainland), Malacca and Labuan; (2) the Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang; and (3) the Unfederated Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and (in Borneo) Brunei. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is High Commissioner for all the Malay States.

The area of the Peninsula is 52,500 square miles, nearly seven-tenths being densely wooded. The climate is monotonously tropical, a uniform temperature with high humidity and copious rainfall prevailing. Malaya's economic wealth comes mainly from the rubber and tin industries: tin production in 1937 amounted to 77,000 tons, or one-third of the world's total output.

The population of Malaya at the outbreak of war was about 5½ million, of whom over 2¼ million were Malays, 400,000 Chinese, 750,000 Indians (600,000 labourers), 30,000 Europeans and 20,000 Eurasians. In Singapore itself, along with 422,000 Chinese and 70,000 Malays, there were 50,000 Indians and 7,000 Eurasians; Europeans numbered only 8,000 out of the total population of 570,000. Chinese provided most of the labour in the tin mines and much of it on the rubber estates. The Malays—mainly Muslims by conversion but singularly devoid of fanaticism—are easy-going, unwarlike and not strongly nationalistic. They were content in the main to leave strenuous commercial enterprise to the Chinese or the Indians.

Malaya's Mineral Wealth

British relations with Malaya began with the East India Company, who for a short time (1805) made Penang the Fourth Presidency of India. By purchase and goodwill the British traders acquired rights in Malaya, notably by Raffles' acquisition of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore. The administration of the Malay States was disturbed as little as possible, and this policy was responsible for the comparatively small portion of the territory which came directly under the control of the Governor of the Straits Settlements. In the crisis of 1941 this proved to be a big handicap in defending the country.

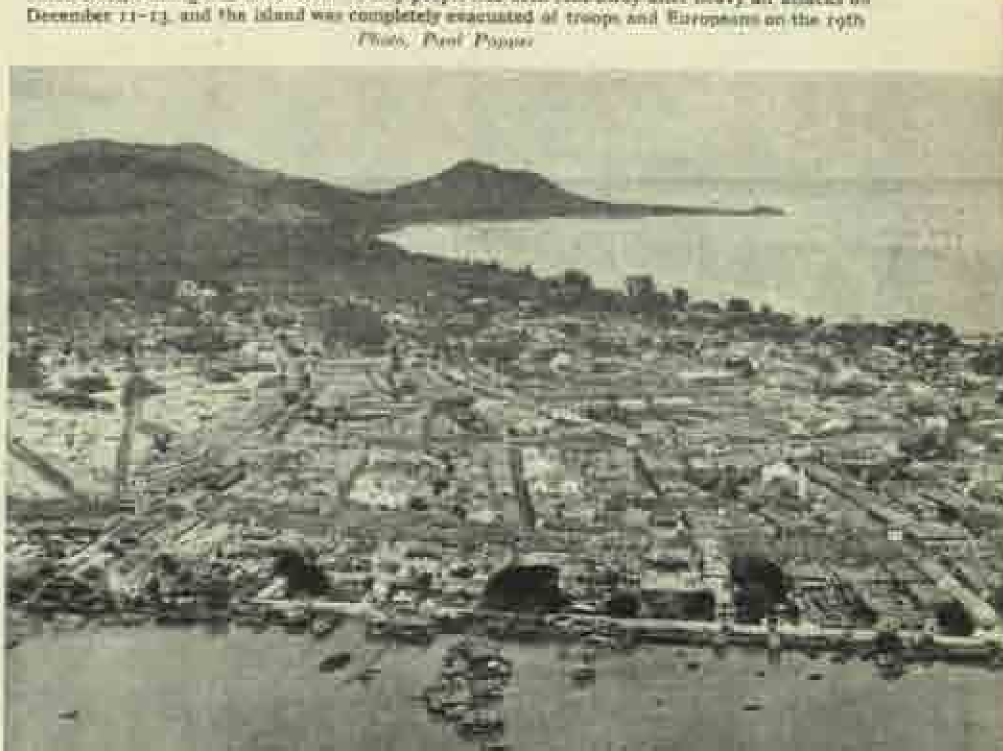
Neither Singapore nor Malaya had ever been regarded as requiring defence by force of arms. The comparatively recent establishment of a Naval Base had the object of providing facilities for repairing capital ships in the event of a threat from the sea to communications with Australia and India. Singapore's fortress defences were planned to guard against an attack from the sea. Indeed they were sited in the south of the Island, 17 miles from the Naval Base in the north, which looked across the Strait of Tebrau to the hinterland of Johore. Singapore was joined to that hinterland by a stone and concrete causeway; this bore the road and railway as well as the pipe-line which carried water to supplement the supply on the Island itself.

When Britain went to war in 1939, Malaya's rich material resources had been ungrudgingly applied to the cause of the Empire. Apart from her yield of rubber and tin, she had made to the Imperial Government a free gift of £17,000,000. Behind that spirit the whole of the population stood. Always the possibility had been kept in mind of a war in which Japan would be an enemy, but such a conflict was thought

PROSPEROUS ISLAND OF PENANG

Its name comes from 'pinang,' the areca-nut palm. The official name of the town (seen here from the air) is Georgetown. When our forces had to withdraw after heavy fighting along the Muda river, Penang was uncovered. Many people had been sent away after heavy air attacks on December 11–13, and the island was completely evacuated of troops and Europeans on the 19th

Photo, Paul Popper







AUSTRALIANS IN ACTION AGAINST THE JAPANESE

Left, a 25-pounder gun-howitzer firing. This versatile weapon can be employed as a high-velocity gun at 17,000 yards range, or fired over open sights against tanks, etc., or used as a howitzer. Right, Australian stretcher-bearers tend wounded in the rubber country of western Malaya.

Photos, Keystone

to involve no more than an attack upon Singapore from the sea—to which the heavy guns of the defences and the anti-aircraft batteries on the island ought to be able to give an effective reply. The change brought about by the fall of France was but dimly appreciated. Japan's seizure of naval and air bases in Indo-China in September 1940 and July 1941 and the tightening of Japan's grip over Siam exposed Malaya to air and land attack from behind. What Malaya required in September 1940 was swift reinforcement in fighter planes and anti-tank guns. What she received were ground troops from Australia, India and, later, from the Mother Country—splendid material, but thrown away without air and anti-tank defences. The Naval Base did not receive any capital ships until the arrival of H.M.S. "Prince of Wales" and H.M.S. "Repulse," just before the curtain went up. No aircraft carrier came.

Malaya's rubber and tin made her defence of primary military importance. On the other hand, the diplomatic predicament of the Allies rendered it highly desirable that Japan should be prevented from plunging into the Axis adventure until the last possible moment. To precipitate a reinforcement of Malaya might have enabled the Japanese to play on the fears of the Siamese and, perhaps, to perceive for themselves a *casus belli* in the action. Even so, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the weight of Japan's potential threat was sadly underrated by the United Nations.

In the years preceding the outbreak of war in Europe, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France had, without remonstrance, seen Japan move towards their respective territories in Malaya, the Philippines, and Indo-China—by the occupation of Hainan Island and the little Spratley Island in the middle of the South China Sea. Yet even up to the fateful day of December 7, 1941—and perhaps beyond it—confidence in the guise of complacency flaunted itself in Malaya. This was stimulated by the flourish of trumpets which had greeted the arrival early in the year of infantry reinforcements from Australia and India. Brewster Buffalo planes came from the U.S.A., and whispers that they were being outmoded seemed to be ungracious.

Moreover, the Japanese High Command had gone ahead of their European colleagues in the Axis in learning the lessons of Crete and Dunkirk and in practising combined operations. True, Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, an Air Chief Marshal, commanded the land and air forces in Malaya, Burma and Hongkong, together with the Naval establishments in Malaya, but that newly designed Command had hardly found its feet.

Lessons Learnt from Axis

Sir Geoffrey Layton, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese squadron, ruled the King's Navy from Malaya to Shanghai. He hauled down his flag when Admiral Phillips ran his up as Commander-in-Chief Eastern Fleet in the "Prince of Wales." Twenty-four hours later, on December 10, Admiral Layton had to run up his flag again to take command of the remnant left by the disastrous sinking of the battleships "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse"—with the loss of the Commander-in-Chief who had led them out to intercept Japanese transports in the Gulf of Siam. Had Sir Tom Phillips been successful much benefit might have accrued to the Allies, but lack of fighter protection made the operation problematical.

Coming on the top of the successful attack at Pearl Harbour three days earlier, this tragedy removed from the Japanese their chief anxiety—for their vulnerable lines of sea communication. Their drive to the south-west Pacific could now be developed in the most favourable conditions.

The "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" had arrived at Singapore on December 2. Six days later the two big ships moved out on their fatal mission to the Gulf of Siam. The same day saw the entry of Japanese troops into Bangkok, after a Siamese resistance which was purely symbolical if it had any substance at all. The Japanese effected landings from the sea at Singora and Patani, in southern Siam, on the east side of the western "pincer" of the Gulf of Siam, as well as at Kota Bharu (near the mouth of the Kelantan river), farther south just over the border of Malaya. The British, Indian and Australian troops in the hinterland of Malaya had control of Kedah, covering Penang.

Of the fighting at Kota Bharu the Brigadier in charge of the British forces gave the following account (Daily Mail):

"We were up against the possibility of landings anywhere on 35 miles of coast. . . . I saw the biggest threat as being most likely to come from the beaches S. of Kota Bharu. Our railhead was at Kuala Krai, 42 miles distant, where we had considerable stores. . . . We were just about to be reinforced when the R.A.A.F. located Japanese transports off Cambodia Point. Four ships were seen 100 miles N. of Kota Bharu, moving southward, and about an hour before midnight on December 7 the beach outlook posts reported ships off-shore.

"Next morning our 18-pounder on the beach opened fire against the ships. . . . Hudson aircraft went off to attack: the first sortie failed, but just before dawn they hit a 15,000-tonner, which burned all day long. Meanwhile, fighting had begun on the beaches. One Indian officer said the Japanese landed 60 barges drawn by motor-boats. . . .

"The Japanese also entered Kuala Paamat, a small bay S. of the entrance to the Kelantan river, thus escaping our land mines. We attacked with artillery, mortars, and machine-gun fire from pill boxes. My men in the pill boxes fought with the utmost bravery, either until they were killed or until their ammunition ran out. . . . Four squadrons of planes came up to help us, while six Wildebeeste torpedo-bombers took off but were unable to do any damage. Meanwhile, the three aerodromes were being heavily bombed.

"By the evening we had lost half our air strength, either on the ground or in air combat. By 8 p.m. on December 8 our air arm had ceased to function, but the Japanese bombers were still coming over. Next day the R.A.F. and the R.A.A.F. were ordered to fly off all serviceable aircraft.

"We withdrew to our second line, running S.E. from Kota Bharu to the coast. The Japanese attacked heavily with fresh troops, and some of my men on the right flank were cut off. We were forced to drop back to the Ketchang line, which we held for 99 hours. We then had to drop back to Machang . . . where we held on for two days more. Our next withdrawal was to the Nal river, five miles N. of Kuala Krai. . . .

"They started to bomb Kuala Krai then. We launched a counter-attack, which was unsuccessful. Next day we began to leave Kuala Krai and spent the night at Manik Urai."

The Japanese were able to reinforce their landing parties, and soon the

HOW AUSTRALIAN GUNS BROKE UP AN ENEMY TANK COLUMN

With that in p. 2022 these photographs record the destruction of a Japanese tank column. Left, the road has been blocked by felling trees, and an A.I.F. anti-tank gun picks off the enemy. Right, blazing Japanese tanks and A.F.V.s after the action.

Photos, Keystone









THEIR USE WAS DENIED TO THE INVADER

As far as the swift advance of the Japanese would allow, factories, mines, and other industrial plants were destroyed in the enemy's path. Left, a blazing rubber factory near Kuala Lumpur. Right, a fine steel bridge in the same region is prepared by Indian sappers to receive the explosive charges that will bring its spans crashing down.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright

LIEUT.-GENERAL TOMOYUKI YAMASHITA LOOKS ROUND

The Japanese Commander (right-hand photograph, second from left), accompanied by staff officers and a photographer, on a tour of inspection after the fall of Malaya. He later went on to direct the attack on General MacArthur's forces in Bataan. Left, enemy tanks parked in a Malayan town.

Photos, Associated Press; Wide World





position of the defenders became manifestly difficult. Enemy bombers with completely accurate knowledge of the terrain soon secured command of the air, although in the early fighting British bombers made good use of their opportunities to inflict heavy losses on the invasion troops. Other invasion parties landed at Kuantan, roughly half-way along the east coast from Kota Bharu to the tip of the Peninsula.

Severe fighting raged, particularly for the possession of Kota Bharu aerodrome. Enemy transports, ten of which had been sighted south of Kota Bharu, were hammered by the R.A.F. and R.A.A.F. with good effect.

The Japanese forces which had landed in southern Siam pressed across the Malayan frontier into the province of Kedah. Air activity on both sides increased, the enemy bombing Singapore, Penang (the latter very heavily) and several of our aerodromes, while our airmen bombed enemy concentrations at Singora and elsewhere. The arrival on December 8 of Dutch bombers and fighters and some naval units as reinforcements was a welcome addition to Allied strength in Malaya. Nevertheless, by December 9 Kota Bharu aerodrome had been abandoned, a number of other airfields rendered unserviceable, and British troops were re-forming farther south.

Kota Bharu Abandoned

At the end of the first week's fighting the enemy's strategy could be perceived. It comprised a three-pronged drive down the Peninsula, two coastal thrusts and a central one, with subsidiary drives as military considerations merited. Geographically, this was the obvious strategy, the coastal regions, by reason of their comparative flatness, offering the easiest lines of advance.

The rapidity with which the Japanese attacked the immature airfields of Malaya and reduced the effectives of the Royal Air Force gave them early air supremacy. This was of inestimable importance in enabling them to penetrate the jungle. Their occupation of Singora and Kota Bharu put them at once astride of the railway which ran from Singapore along the west coast of Malaya through Kuala Lumpur to Penang, and thence through Siam to Bangkok. At Gemas the line forked, the eastern branch going to Kota Bharu to link up with the Penang-Bangkok line again at Singora.

The initial landings near Kota Bharu and along the east coast and at Kuantan, consolidated by new invasions, secured for the Japanese a firm hold of the north-east sector. For over a week there was little change in the situation, until on December 21 our forces withdrew 45 miles down the railway from Kota Bharu to Kuala Krai. Then followed a period of inactivity lasting about another week, until the monsoons made conditions so difficult that by January 5, 1942 Kuantan had been abandoned.

Meanwhile, other of our troops were fighting rearguard actions along the eastern coast towards Kuala Trengganu, patrol clashes constituting the main fighting. Between January 6 and 13 the position on this front was somewhat obscure, but on the 14th the Japanese claimed to have occupied Pahang, north of the Pahang river. The R.A.F. attacked enemy shipping and occupied aerodromes in this area, including Kuantan. On January 19 and 20 enemy patrol activity forced the withdrawal of a British outpost at Endan, where the enemy had made several successful landings. A further landing on January 26, with strong naval and air support, was fiercely opposed by the R.A.F., who hit an enemy cruiser and a transport and shot down 12 planes.

In one engagement south of Mersing Australian troops defeated a greater force, inflicting 250 casualties against 50 of their own. But the enemy was too strong, and by the end of the month the Japanese had reached Johari.

The drive down the west coast, which constituted the main prong of the Japanese advance, was made from the outset with apparently unlimited numbers of men, having good air support and with most of the tactical advantages on the enemy's side. The Japanese soldier had a masterly knowledge of camouflage, using the tropical foliage to the greatest advantage. Moreover, his equipment, medical supplies, and iron rations were such as to make him a self-sufficient unit. He had been trained in jungle tactics, and frequently had seen service in China. While it is true that many of our soldiers had received a hard and comprehensive course of training in fighting in such terrain, their equipment lacked the ingenuity which helped to make the enemy soldier such a formidable opponent. By December 12 the fighting in Kedah had increased in intensity.

Penang was one of the first objectives of the enemy's drive down the west side of the Peninsula. By bombing Penang from the air with the deliberate intention of breaking civilian morale the Japanese achieved a quick success. It must be admitted that serious lapses in the administrative control seem to have contributed to this disaster. The first raid took place on December 11, mainly on the densely crowded Georgetown area. The central fire station received a direct hit; confusion reigned and the population, lacking effective leadership, gave way to panic. The raids continued on December 12 and 13, when evacuation orders were given. On entering the town the Japanese were able at once to use the small but effective radio station and to start broadcasting in Malayan languages messages which seriously disturbed the morale of the population farther south to Singapore. Nevertheless, the Prai power station and the Penang tin-smelting works were completely denied to the enemy.

During the next week our troops, although reinforced by infantry and aircraft units, were continuously forced to withdraw in the face of Japanese infiltration and outflanking movements. There was heavy fighting along the Muda river, boundary of Province Wellesley and Kedah on the north. Soon the enemy, supported by light tanks, had gained all Kedah and Province Wellesley, thereby uncovering Penang, which was evacuated of troops and Europeans. Our forces, fighting in heavy rains in dense jungle, and thinly spread over an area three times greater than that militarily possible to defend, reorganized on the river Krian.

On December 20 another enemy drive, intended to link up with the west coastal forces, developed in northern Perak, where an encounter on the Grik road resulted in the repulse of the enemy. After a short lull air activity again flared up, the enemy raiding Kuala Lumpur, while our aircraft bombed an enemy-occupied airfield in N. Malaya, as well as the aerodrome at Sungei Patani (S. Siam). Further raids were made on Sungei Patani aerodrome on the nights of December 27–28–29. Enemy planes were also busy, bombing Port Swettenham (December 28), the Kuantan and Kluang airfields (December 29), and other places, as well as Singapore.

Enemy Drive in N. Perak

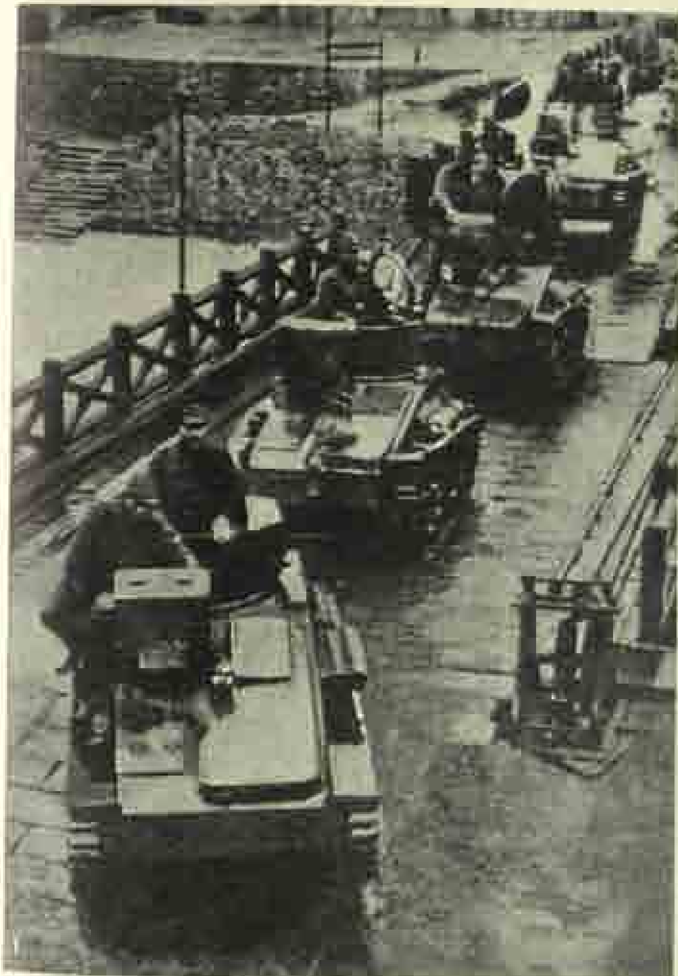
On December 29 the British troops, in face of a new outflanking threat from the south-west in the shape of enemy landings in South Perak, and to avoid the subsequent development of a pincer movement by the enemy, withdrew from the tin mining centre of Ipoh, taking up new positions south of the town.

During the first week of January 1942 enemy pressure, assisted by new landings on the west coast at the mouths of the Perak and Bernam rivers, contrived to push our forces still farther south in Perak. With the announcement that the Japanese had forced the Bernam river, the threat to Kuala

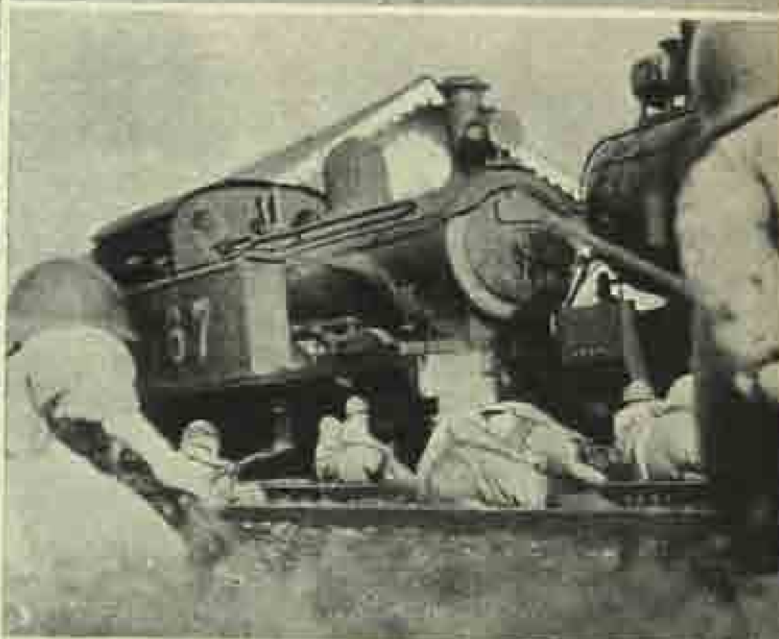
JOHORE BHARU AND THE CAUSEWAY

On January 31, 1942, a 50-yard stretch of the Singapore Causeway was blown up to block the invaders, but later they bridged the gap (4) and sent their vehicles across. (1) shows Japanese one-man tanks at the Johore Bharu side, crossing the canal which allows small craft to pass through the Causeway under a lift-bridge. Two phases of the attack on Johore Bharu are shown in (2) and (3): Japanese charging through; and enemy infantry taking cover behind locomotives.

Photos, Keystone; Paul Popper



















ORDEAL IN SINGAPORE

Some of the last photographs to be taken of beleaguered Singapore. (1) Cars were toppled over the dockside to prevent the enemy using them. (2) British and native civil defence workers tend victims of heavy bombing raids, the effect of which in Raffles Place are seen in (3); arrow indicates a pillbox defence. (5) Malay woman mourns her child, killed by a bomb fragment. Inset (4) is the G.O.C. Malaya, Lieut.-General A. E. Percival, C.B., D.S.O., M.C., to whom it fell to surrender Singapore to the Japanese on February 15, 1942. He had been G.S.O. 1 in Malaya from 1936 to 1938.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Keystone; Associated Press

THEY WERE IN MALAYA

British and Imperial forces which took part in the Malayan campaign and the defence of Singapore:

(i) 18th British Division, comprising 53, 54, and 55 Inf. Bdes., including battalions of :

R. Northumberland Fusiliers	Suffolk Regt.
R. Norfolk Regt.	Beds & Herts Regt.
Cambridgeshire Regt.	Sherwood Foresters

(ii) 8th Australian Div. : 22nd and 27th A.I.F. Bdes.

(iii) 9th and 11th Indian Divs., including battalions of :

East Surrey Regt.	Dogra Regt.
Leicestershire Regt.	Baluch Regt.
Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders	Hyderabad Regt.
	Sikh Regt.
Punjab Regt.	Frontier Force Regt.
Jat Regt.	Frontier Force Rifles
Rajputana Rifles	Gurkha Rifles
Royal Garhwal Rifles	Indian State Forces

(iv) 1st and 2nd Malay Inf. Bdes., containing battalions of :

Loyal Regt.	Manchester Regt.
Gordon Highlanders	Indian and Malayan Bns.

Besides the artillery regiments included in the above field formations, a number of Coast Artillery Units, A.A. Regts., A/Tk. Regts. and Searchlight Units ; while in addition to the Engineer Units included in the above there were a number of Fortress Companies, R.E. and Army Troops Companies. Also R.A.M.C., R.A.S.C., R.A.O.C., etc., Indian Medical Services, Army Nurses and local volunteer battalions.

Lumpur (some 70 miles south) began to take definite shape. Desperate efforts were made by the R.A.F. and U.S. bombers, as well as by coastal artillery, to hold up the enemy advance by attacks on enemy landing parties (carried out in junks, fishing craft, sampans, barges and rafts), airfields and troop concentrations, but the invaders had such great superiority in men, tanks, mechanized fighting vehicles and aircraft, and were being so constantly reinforced, that British strategy dictated a continual fighting retreat. Especially was this necessary in view of the many outflanking movements in the shape of infiltrations and of landings from the sea south of our positions.

By January 7 the enemy had crossed the Slim river, where our forces suffered losses in guns and transport in the severe fighting, and by the 11th the threat to Kuala Lumpur materialized in a big attack which ended with the loss of the aerodrome and evacuation of the town and Port Swettenham. This was a heavy blow to our prestige, and brought the Japanese within 180 miles of Singapore.



INVADERS' 400-MILE ADVANCE IN 69 DAYS

Almost unopposed by sea and air, the Japanese landed first on the N. and N.E. coasts of Malaya. A column drove along the E. coast after capturing the airfield at Kota Bharu. The northern groups pushed steadily down the W. side of the peninsula. Singapore Island was invaded on February 8–9 and fell on the 15th.

(NOTE:—Besar=Great; Bukit=Hill; Kuala=River Mouth; Sungei =River; Ulu=River Source.)

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Félix Gardon*



Lt.-Col. C. G. ANDERSON, V.C.
Set a magnificent example of brave leadership, determination and outstanding courage in Malaya, Jan. 18–22, 1942 ; his small force destroyed ten Japanese tanks and forced a way fifteen miles through the enemy when sent to restore a vital position.



Lt.-Col. A. E. CUMMING, V.C.
By counter-attacking with a small party until all had become casualties, on Jan. 3, 1942, he saved most of our men and vehicles in face of enemy penetration at Brigade H.Q. Later, in collecting isolated detachments he was twice wounded.

Our forces, before withdrawing, destroyed rubber stocks, plant and machinery, mines and bridges, and distributed food stocks freely to the native population. The defenders then took up positions north of Seremban, in Negri Sembilan, but the enemy's rapid advance and follow-up left no time in which to reorganize. Consequently further withdrawals covered by extensive demolitions followed, so that by January 13 the enemy had advanced to Tampin, 30 miles south-east of Seremban.

Our tired and battle-worn troops were now reinforced by Australians under the command of Major-General Gordon Bennett. In action against



HOW SINGAPORE WAS OVERWHELMED

Singapore became British territory by Treaty in 1819. The great Naval Base was completed in 1938; the civil airport on the S. coast was built a year earlier. The Japanese landings of February 8-9 were made on the N. coast on either side of the Causeway which carries the road and railway to the mainland. Ubin Island had already been invaded. Our H.Q. were at Kalang. Roughly half the Island, between the naval base on the N. and Pasir Panjang on the S., was overrun by the 12th. Steadily the enemy extended his conquest, and by the 14th the position was irremediable. The surrender followed next day.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Felix Gardon*

the Japanese in the Negri Sembilan area they won a minor victory by killing some 800 of the enemy and destroying a number of tanks. This success, with a temporary increase in our air force, helped to stabilize the position somewhat until January 18, when Japanese troops effected three landings at Batu Pahat, 65 miles north-west of Singapore. Coupled with enemy infiltrations southwards from Muar, this compelled our men to make a further withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the third prong of the Japanese attack, pushing down Central Malaya from the Pahang State, had reached the Batu Anam area. Both Australian and Indian forces acquitted themselves admirably, particularly in the Gemas region, where the R.A.F. gave effective assistance by bombing enemy transport in the marshalling yards. By January 19 Muar had fallen.

Through Central Malaya

During the next few days, despite heavy pressure on both the central and west coast fronts, Imperial troops held their positions, fighting back fiercely near Batu Pahat and in the Bukit Payong area (near Muar), and north of Yong Peng. Nevertheless, Batu Pahat fell on January 25, while on the central front the enemy advanced in the Kluang-Ayer Hitam area.

The end of resistance on the mainland of Malaya was now in sight; air raids on Singapore, which had continued day and night almost without interruption, were increasing in intensity. By January 29 the enemy had reached Ulu Sedili, 50 miles from Singapore on the East Malayan front; they had entered the Pulai area, 18 miles from Johore Causeway, and were in occupation of Pontian Besar on the west coast.

On the night of January 30-31 our forces withdrew from the mainland to Singapore Island, heroically covered by the A.I.F., the Gordon Highlanders, and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who made a courageous stand south of Pulai. This finale to eight weeks' fighting was marked by the magnificent bravery of the Argylls. Their pipers defiantly led the shattered remnants of the regiment to the Island shore. A detachment, left to make sure that the retirement had been fully covered, was overwhelmed by the Japanese tanks. A staff officer directing the defence of a desperate composite battalion of Gurkhas and Sikhs met three of the Argylls just in front of the main reservoir on the Island. They had lost their way and were showing signs of exhaustion, but their thumbs were up.

"Who're you?" asked the staff officer.

"Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders," replied the corporal, his stripes half-hidden by the ragged shirt he wore. "Where's the pipe-line?"

"Why?"

"My last orders were to join the battalion there, sir."

"There are only Japs in front of me," said the officer.

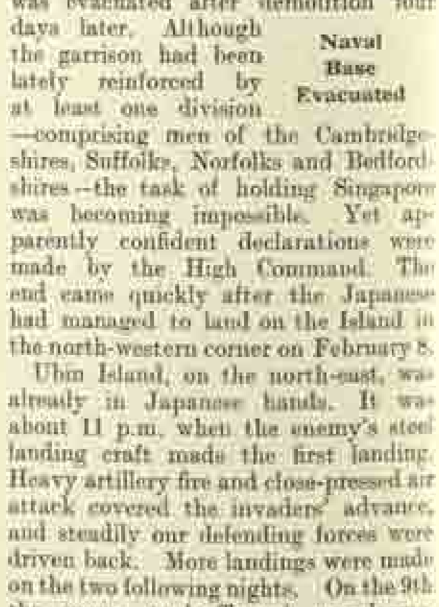
"If we're the last of the Battalion I'm the senior officer," exclaimed the corporal. "My last order was to hold the pipe-line."

So with his little command, ragged and worn, this corporal moved into no-man's land. Japanese infantry and tanks attacked within the hour. Bren-gun and rifle fire from the pipe-line held them up for a time, and then there was silence. As ordered, the Argylls were in position.

Air raids on Singapore increased in frequency, and on February 3 and 4 much damage was done. The Naval Base was set on fire on the 4th, and was evacuated after demolition four days later. Although the garrison had been lately reinforced by at least one division—comprising men of the Cambridgeshires, Suffolks, Norfolks and Bedfordshires—the task of holding Singapore was becoming impossible. Yet apparently confident declarations were made by the High Command. The end came quickly after the Japanese had managed to land on the Island in the north-western corner on February 8.

Naval Base Evacuated

Ubin Island, on the north-east, was already in Japanese hands. It was about 11 p.m. when the enemy's steel landing craft made the first landing. Heavy artillery fire and close-pressed air attack covered the invaders' advance, and steadily our defending forces were driven back. More landings were made on the two following nights. On the 9th the enemy took Tengah aerodrome



WAVELL VISITS SINGAPORE

Only a few days before Singapore was compelled to surrender to the Japanese (February 15, 1942) Sir Archibald Wavell flew to the doomed island from Java. He is here talking to an Indian officer of the garrison.

Photo, Associated Press

They repaired the broken causeway, and soon a stream of lorries was crossing it, bearing reinforcements and ammunition.

On February 11 leaflets from the air, signed by the Japanese commander (Lieut.-General Yamashita), called upon the British forces to surrender. They were ignored.

British H.Q. at Fort Kalang were shelled continually. Next day almost half the Island had been lost, and our lines ran roughly north to south from the Naval Base to Pasir Panjang. The Japanese captured the racecourse at Bukit Timah, about five miles from Singapore city, and some penetrated the outskirts but were expelled. Our line still ran to the east of the vital reservoirs of McRitchie and Kalang, which became the main enemy objectives and were the scene of desperate attacks and counter-attacks. On the north our counter-thrusts failed to hold off the Japanese, and the arc of resistance, with Singapore city as its radius, grew smaller. British Naval units shelled the advancing enemy formations, under persistent Japanese artillery fire and air attacks. The reservoirs were lost on the 14th, and the enemy occupation of Blakangmati Island, just off Singapore, barred the way to seaborne aid.

The scene in Singapore a few days before its fall has been described by C. Yates McDaniel, correspondent of the Associated Press:

"The sky . . . is black with the smoke of a dozen huge fires today as I write my last message from this once beautiful, prosperous and peaceful city. . . . Over the low rise where the battle is raging, I can see relay after relay of Japanese aeroplanes circling, then going into murderous dives on our soldiers who are fighting back in the hell over which there is no protective screen of our own fighter planes. But the Japanese are not completely alone in the skies this morning, for I saw two Wildebeestes—obsolete biplanes with an operating speed of about 100 m.p.h.—fly low over Japanese positions and unload their bomb burden with a resounding crash. There are many other brave men in Singapore today. Not far away are A.A. batteries in open spaces—they must be, to have a clear field of fire. But these gun crews are keeping on firing their guns, peppering the smoke-limited ceiling every time Japanese aeroplanes come near, and that is almost constantly."

On Sunday morning, February 15, Lieut.-General A. E. Percival (the British commander) sent a flag of truce to the enemy and accepted the Japanese terms. These involved the unconditional surrender of Malaya, Singapore and some 70,000 British troops with much material. At 10 p.m. the "cease fire" was sounded. The Japanese flag flew over the island, and for the time being Singapore became "Shonan" (Light of the South). The disaster of Malaya was complete.





POIGNANT LAST SCENES IN SINGAPORE SETBACK

Not for generations had the Empire been humiliated as it was by the surrender of Singapore on February 15, 1942. Top, the white-flag party on the way to meet the Japanese C.-in-C. Centre, victors and vanquished confer; seated on far side of table, Lieut.-General Tomoyuki Yamashita talks to the British Commander, Lieut.-General A. E. Percival, opposite him. Below, before being taken away as prisoners some of our troops pay homage to fallen comrades.

Photos, Associated Press; Keystone









INDOMITABLE AMERICAN AIR VOLUNTEERS

The American Volunteer Group was recruited from U.S. Navy, Army and Marine airmen for service in defending the Burma Road for China. Formed in the spring of 1941, under Colonel (later General) Claire Chennault, the Group went to China three months later. It sent squadrons to Burma in December 1941 and won renown for skilled and devil-may-care attacks on Japanese formations of much greater strength, fighting often alongside our men of the R.A.F. (1) One of the A.V.G.'s 'Flying Sharks,' with Flt.-Ldr. A. T. Jones at the controls. (2) A.V.G. pilots defending the Burma Road bore on their jackets an inscription asking all Chinese people to cooperate with them. (3) Lunch in the A.V.G. mess at Kunming. (4) General Chennault indicates a target for the next raid. In July 1942 the A.V.G. was absorbed into the U.S. Army Air Force.

Photos, Associated Press; Sport & General



Chapter 206

INVASION OF BURMA AND THE FIVE MONTHS' CAMPAIGN

Prefaced by a brief description of the political and administrative situation at the end of 1941, this Chapter tells the story of the gallant resistance by Allied forces to Japanese formations which greatly outnumbered them—from the first air raids on December 13, 1941 to the successful withdrawal to Assam, completed at the end of May 1942

BURMA, south of Sikang, between India (Assam) and China (Yunnan) and linked to Malaya by a narrow strip of Siamese territory, is about 261,000 square miles in area. Out of its population of 16¾ millions about 11 millions are Burmans, the rest being mainly Karens, Shans and Indians, with smaller numbers of Kachins, Chins and Chinese. The country is largely hilly. The plains are to be found mainly in the Irrawaddy delta, the valleys of the Irrawaddy, Sittang, Salween and Chindwin rivers. Ninety per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture. Rainfall is abundant in the north or Upper Burma, and adequate in the south of Lower Burma. It is scanty in the central zone, comprising the southern tracts of Upper and the northern tracts of Lower Burma. The dividing line is roughly Latitude 20° N. and corresponds to that which the British held in Burma from 1852 on the conclusion of the Second Burma War (the First Burma War ended in 1825 with the cession of Tenasserim and Arakan to Britain) until 1886, when the Third Burma War resulted in the complete annexation of the Kingdom of Burma and the disappearance of the dynasty.

Burma became a province of India, but in 1937 was separated again under the Government of Burma Act, 1935.

Government of Burma

Responsibility for the administration of certain Hill areas and of the Shan States continued to rest with the Governor, acting through commissioners; and over the rest of Burma the Governor was responsible for currency, foreign relations and defence. In all other spheres the Government was handed over to the control of a Cabinet of Ministers appointed by the Governor from members of a two-chamber Legislature—a House of Representatives, popularly elected on a wide franchise, and a Senate, half of whose members were nominated by the Governor and the rest elected by the House of Representatives. Thus the transfer of power to the people themselves was real and substantial. This fact is of importance for an appraisal of the action of the Premier, U Saw, who visited London in November 1941 and sought to obtain an assurance of Dominion status for his country; he was later interned for negotiating with the Japanese after hostilities had broken out. (See p. 1959.)



ALLIED COMMANDERS CONFER

Chinese troops were in Burma at the end of December, fighting alongside British and Imperial forces. Here General Liu Kwan-Loong, commanding Chinese troops, discusses operations with his British colleague, Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton, G.O.C. Burma.

Photo, British Newsreels

The largest exporter of rice in the world (India was the main customer), Burma's other important products were timber, silver, lead, wolfram, tin and oil. China, since the construction of the Burma Road in 1939, had drawn heavily on Burma for oil. The internal railways had a total mileage of about 2,000 miles, the main line and the main trunk road from Rangoon to Mandalay running along the Sittang river valley, and continuing north-east through the mountainous Shan States to the railhead at Lashio, whence communication with China through Yunnan was effected. The Irrawaddy was navigable for steamers as far as Bhamo, about 175 miles N.N.E. of Mandalay.

The railway from Rangoon to Mandalay ran northward to Myitkyina, and Rangoon was joined to Prome on the Irrawaddy by a line parallel to the Rangoon-Mandalay line, and at Letpadan threw off a south-westerly branch to Bassein, the Bassein river being the westward mouth of the Irrawaddy delta. With Moulmein Rangoon had railway connexion to Martaban, which, on the right bank of the Salween river mouth, stands opposite to Moulmein, whence there was a short southward line to Ye in Tenasserim.

Frontiers and Communications

The northern frontier of Burma with China (Sikang) was so inaccessible that no danger could be expected thence. The Burma-Yunnan border was little less difficult and the frontier defence there did not demand elaborate military precautions. Farther south the risk of attack from French Indo-China was mitigated by the formidable character of the Mekong river, which bounded the 100-mile stretch where Burma's frontier marched with that of French Indo-China. The remainder of the south-eastern Burmese frontier was with Siam, whence, as events showed, the danger was to come.

Up to 1937 India had been responsible for Burma's military administration. Although communication with India had been improved by the advent of air transport, the sea remained the chief means of communication between Calcutta and Rangoon. The coastal strip of Arakan, which stretched to the Indian frontier in the Chittagong area, was separated from the Burma hinterland by the Arakan Yoma mountains. No road and no railway had been constructed to join Burma with India.

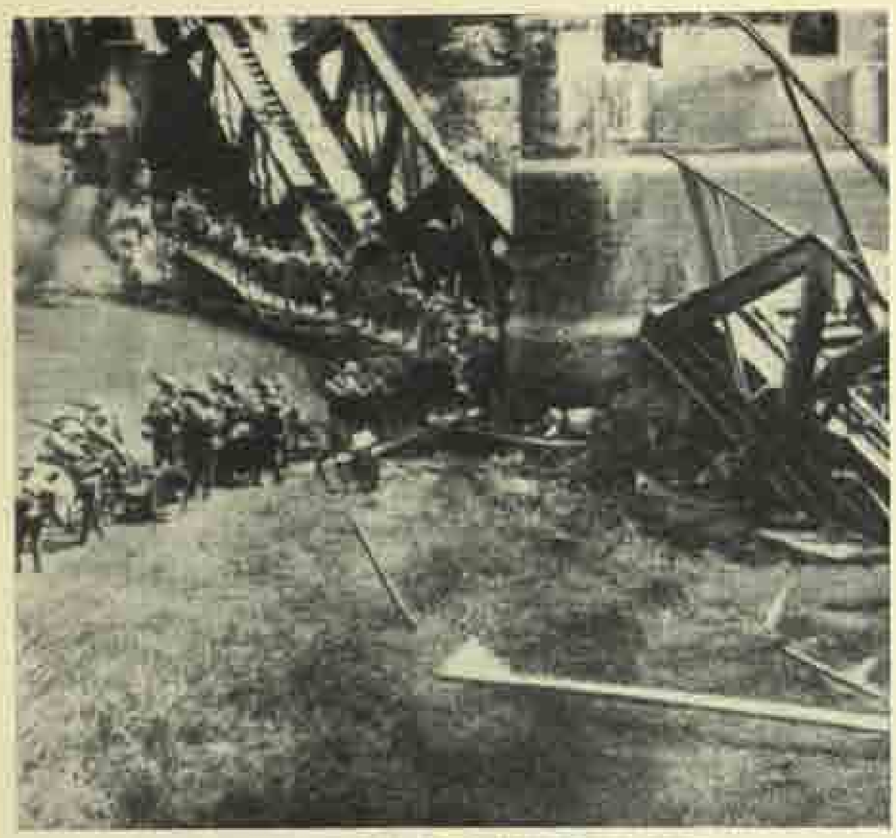
The garrison in peacetime had consisted of about two British battalions

BRITISH AND IMPERIAL UNITS ENGAGED IN BURMA, December 1941–May 1942

British.—Duke of Wellington's Regt.; King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry; Cameronians; West Yorkshire Regt.; Gloucestershire Regt.; 4/7 Hussars (Mechanized); Royal Tank Regt.

Burmese.—Burma Sappers and Miners; Burma Rifles; Burma Army Service Corps.

Indian.—Indian Artillery; Indian Signal Corps; Jat Regt.; Baluch Regt.; Dogra Regt.; Frontier Force Regt.; Gurkha Rifles; Indian Army Service Corps; Indian Hospital Corps.



JAPANESE CROSS THE MOULMEIN RIVER

Striking west from Siam, the enemy entered Tenasserim in the middle of January 1942 and captured Tavoy (see map in p. 2031). Moulmein fell on January 30, after the garrison had removed stores and equipment over the Salween river. Above, Japanese cross the Moulmein on a pontoon bridge: the steel spans had been destroyed by British engineers.

Photo, Keystone

and the Burma Defence Force (organized after 1937 to dispense with Indian Army units). When Burma was part of India recruitment to indigenous units had been almost entirely from among the hardier hill folk—Kachins, Chins and Karens, the last largely a Christian community. These units naturally formed the backbone of the new Burma regular forces. The fact that Buddhism, the religion of the great majority, forbids the taking of life had always been an obstacle to the Burmans taking kindly to soldiering, but after 1937 there were efforts, which had some degree of success, to stimulate the recruiting of these people.

Burma's Defence Forces

For frontier defence in the pre-war era a small, competent and unpretentious force of military police (known after 1937 as the Burma Frontier Force) was considered sufficient. When the outbreak of war in 1939 necessitated the creation of a Far Eastern High Command with headquarters at Singapore the Burma Command was brought under that organization, over which Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham presided as Commander-in-Chief. He also had within his responsibilities the China Command at Hongkong. In the summer of 1941, when the possibility of attack from Japan loomed larger, the difficulty of strengthening Burma's defences was to some extent increased by this transfer of direction from India to Malaya. India had been hard pressed to supply the expeditionary forces in Syria, Iraq and Persia, to say nothing of reinforcements for Libya.

The danger beacons for Burma, as for Malaya, were fired in September 1940 by Japan's preliminary occupation of naval and air bases in Indo-China—owing to the helplessness of the French colonial authorities under the Vichy regime. In July 1941 further bases in that area fell into Japanese hands, with Siam still more under Japanese domination, thanks to the manner in which Japan had first encouraged the Siamese to attack Indo-China and then made between the contestants an intervention highly profitable to herself. Reinforcements were provided for Burma on a modest scale, the continuance of Japan's trading relations with that country being in no way disturbed, so that in June 1941 Japanese ships were still carrying large supplies of Burma's rice to their own land.

Burma's defence force in December 1941 consisted of one Indian brigade, four Indian units and four mountain batteries; within this organization were two British battalions. So long as Malaya remained able to bar Japan's entrance to the Bay of Bengal, Burma had reason to be confident. But Japan struck at Pearl Harbour and elsewhere on December 7; on December 19 Penang had been evacuated, and so Japanese forces could look out on the Bay of Bengal. Burma's anxiety soon increased—stimulated by the speedy collapse of Siam, whose resistance to the Japanese was never more than a token one, and officially ended as early as December 8. Five days later, on December 13, Japanese patrols were reported at Victoria Point. Mergui received the first air raid on the same day.

Lt.-Gen. Hutton Takes Over

On December 15 it was decided to withdraw the small garrison from Victoria Point (on the Kra Isthmus, at the Siamese border). A week later General Sir Archibald Wavell, within whose command Burma came soon after, arrived at Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek and General Brett (Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army Air Corps, which later absorbed the American Volunteer Group who had won such distinction in providing aerial defence of the Burma Road) [see illus., p. 1960]. These American airmen, cooperating with the Royal Air Force and the Indian Air Force, were early on the scene in Burma. On December 28 Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton became G.O.C. Burma, under Wavell.

Rangoon had its first air raid two days before Christmas, with heavy casualties. Transport and public services were disorganized, and panic caused the flight from the city of many labourers. On December 25 the Japanese were not so successful. Seventeen of their machines were destroyed by British and American airmen, who also reacted sharply to a Japanese raid on Moulmein on January 3 by shooting down seven enemy planes without loss, and by attacking the Japanese-controlled aerodrome at Taak in Siam.

Further attacks on Rangoon from the air developed, but there was no serious fighting in Tenasserim until the middle of January, when the enemy's progress in Malaya foreshadowed the loss of Singapore (which actually fell a month later, on February 15). The dislocation caused by the air raids of

December 23 and 25 on Rangoon prompted the evacuation of civilians, and the city came under military control. By January 19 the Japanese forces had managed to enter Tenasserim in great strength from Siam, and Tavoy was taken. Japanese mortars did great execution, and on January 30 Moulmein fell. The small garrison managed to get away all stores and equipment over the Salween river, which on February 2 enemy patrols crossed a few miles higher up from the mouth.

By taking Martaban on February 10 the Japanese secured command of both banks of the river. Chinese forces, which by the end of December had entered Burma to share in the defence of that country, attacked Siamese troops on February 9 and drove them over the border into Indo-China. Despite attacks by the R.A.F. on Japanese troops at Moulmein, Martaban, Paan and Thaton, the enemy advance continued. At Paan, in an engagement where Indian troops specially distinguished themselves, the Japanese were repulsed; but on February 15 the defending forces had to withdraw to the Bilin river line. (See map, p. 2052.)

By this time the fall of Singapore had already been anticipated in the dispatch by the enemy of stronger forces to Burma, where, before the end of February, those forces were put at 70,000.

Bravery on the Sittang

This enabled the Japanese to press home their attacks on the Bilin river, and on February 20 the British forces withdrew to the line of the Sittang. More and more of the enemy followed up this advance, regardless of heavy losses: British, Indian and Gurkha troops had fought with great tenacity. In unavailing defence of a bridgehead on the Sittang the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, the Frontier Force Regiment and a Gurkha battalion covered themselves with glory. Philip Jordan, News Chronicle correspondent, has described this action on the Sittang:

"In the early hours of the morning of February 23 it was found to be impossible any longer to hold the bridgehead on the E. side of the Sittang. Although many of our troops . . . were on the wrong side of the river fighting the enemy, our sappers at 5.30 a.m. blew up the bridge 'efficiently and gallantly.' There began what one man who took part in it described as 'a party that made Dunkirk look like a picnic.' Bombed, shelled and machine-gunned from the air, mortared, hundreds of doomed men began to swim the river, at this point some 600 yards wide.

"For the next three days and the next three nights hundreds of heads bobbed in torn waters, struggling to reach the far shore. How many men were drowned, how many died beneath the cruel punishment from the air is not known. Abandoning all but their arms and the clothes they stood up in, men plunged into the swift current and struck out for 'home.' Those who could not swim snatched logs, clusters of bamboos, anything that would float, and kicked their way across—not to safety but to positions from which, without any rest, they would be forced to fight again, even though they had already fought since January 16.

"A brigadier who himself swam the river . . . says that he saw gallantry there that he never saw even in the last war . . . that perhaps the most wonderful thing of all was the way the wounded were cared for and ferried across beneath the blaze of the Burman sun and the hail of Japanese steel."

The Japanese moved up from Martaban with elephant transport, but by March 1 they had not succeeded in crossing the Sittang. The position of Rangoon quickly became more difficult, for the Burma Road had been cut north of Pegu. Among the Japanese forces was the 18th Division, which had played a prominent part in the capture of Malaya. Allied Air Forces (including the American Volunteer Group) continued to harry the enemy, who, on February 24 and 26, attacked the Andaman Islands from the air, this pointing to a further bid for command of the Bay of Bengal. The withdrawal from Rangoon was finally effected on March 7, following heavy fighting in the



FIVE MONTHS OF REARGUARD ACTIONS IN BURMA

Though gallant and successful local offensives were launched by the Allies in Burma the campaign was mainly a defensive one, involving a prolonged fighting retreat. Burmese soil was invaded by Japan in mid-December at Point Victoria; a month later the enemy crossed from Southern Siam into Tenasserim and made rapid progress. The collapse of British resistance in Malaya settled the fate of Burma, and our forces eventually retreated up the Chindwin valley, fighting a last action at Shwegyin on May 10, 1942, and made their way to Assam. Chinese troops formerly under General Stilwell went north-east, harassing the Japanese all the time.



AFTER THE JAPANESE TOOK MARTABAN

The fall of Martaban on February 10, 1942 gave the Japanese control of both sides of the Salween, for Moulmein had been in their hands since January 30. Top, enemy troops march through Martaban on the way to Rangoon. Below, R.A.F. Blenheims turn away after bombing troop concentrations and stores at Martaban. *Photos, Keystone; "News Chronicle"*



cut off the Allied troops from China. Chinese under the American General Stilwell had by this time joined in the fighting on the Sittang front, and east of Toungoo had engaged Siamese forces under Japanese officers. On March 20 Chinese cavalry came into action and dispersed Japanese forces south of Pyu. Four days later a mixed force composed of Siamese, rebel Burmese and Japanese units was roughly handled by the Chinese, but by capturing the airfield north of Toungoo the enemy was able to cut the road and the Chinese forces were isolated. They managed to extricate themselves after heavy fighting.

March 25 saw the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands, which had been evacuated by the small British garrison on March 12. This underlined Japanese command of the Bay of Bengal, to which the arrival of further enemy reinforcements at Rangoon added point.

Lack of Air Support

The United Nations' forces in Burma were sadly in want of air support, for although their airmen had been able to inflict heavy losses on the Japanese, the latter had numerical superiority. At the end of March the enemy held a line from Paungde in the Irrawaddy valley to Toungoo on the Sittang. Their command of the air enabled them to prepare the way for a further advance by systematic bombing of towns ahead. Thus on April 3 they bombed Mandalay, the greater part of which was set on fire, 2,000 people being killed.

By April 13 the British forces were closely covering the important oilfields

Pegu area, where British armoured forces came into action. All installations which might be useful to the enemy were first destroyed. The withdrawing forces had to deal with a formidable road block at Pyinbongyi. The extrication of the defenders had been helped by a gallant diversion in which British and Indian troops ejected the Japanese from Shwegyin, Pyuntaza and Madauk and then returned to their former positions. (See map in this page.)

On March 5 Lieut.-General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander (who was left in command of the B.E.F. at Dunkirk when Lord Gort was recalled to England) took over the Burma Army from General Hutton. He had to meet a Japanese attempt by advance along the Irrawaddy and Toungoo valleys to



REGION AROUND RANGOON

Our troops evacuated the Burmese capital on the night of March 7, 1942, having previously withdrawn from the successive river lines of the Salween, Bilin and Sittang. Two days earlier Lieut.-General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander had taken over the Burma Command from General T. J. Hutton.







CHINESE IN TOUNGOO SECTOR

Under the command of Lieut.-General Joseph Stilwell (Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek) men of the 5th and 6th Chinese Armies gave sterling aid to the Imperial troops during the difficult days after the evacuation of Rangoon. Notably in the Toungoo region did they put up a brave show. On March 20 they severely handled the enemy's leading columns; three days later there began a fierce battle around Toungoo. The Japanese took an airfield N. of the town and cut the road, isolating the Chinese, but another division came to their aid and enabled them to cut a way out through the enemy. Here are scenes in this sector: (1) Chinese dig tank traps; in (2) is one of their own light tanks. (3) Bringing up ammunition. (4) Chinese artillery with American-built 75-mm. howitzers.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; "Daily Express"







MANDALAY AFTER THE BOMBING ON APRIL 3, 1942

Japanese bombers battered Mandalay to ruins on April 3, and fires which followed destroyed much more of the town. Top, smouldering buildings by the moat which surrounds the former royal palace. Centre, a bombed pagoda. The Civil Government was transferred to Maymyo for a time, but by May 1 the enemy were in Mandalay, held meantime by a Chinese division. Below, Japanese cycle unit on a jungle road ; note camouflage. *Photos, "Daily Express"*



at Yenangyaung, on which the Japanese were rapidly advancing from Prome (where they had been able to secure considerable assistance from local inhabitants who had been concerned in the Burma rebellion of ten years earlier). Besides the double-pronged thrust up the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys the Japanese were now launching an attack on the Chinese flank by invasion of the Shan States from Northern Siam. West of the Salween a Japanese force managed to enter Karenni and occupy Pyinmana on April 21.

The British retirement to new positions behind Yenangyaung (where the oilfields had been destroyed) was marked by conspicuous gallantry on the part of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Indiscriminate bombing of towns over a large area characterized Japanese operations at this phase. Victor Thompson, correspondent of the Daily Herald, gives a vivid account of these attacks :

"When the bombing is done we go out to investigate, driving in the direction of a pillar of smoke. . . . The centre of the town has been accurately plastered from at least 10,000 feet. These Japanese are good marksmen whether with bombs or mortars or machine-guns. Fires are already spreading, adding to the heat of a Burmese noon. A fat Burman with his blue and white skirt smeared with red dirt is busy stamping out a little pile of smouldering rubbish in the middle of the road, while his shop burns fiercely apparently unheeded five yards away. Another in a doorway sits asleep with arms folded. Even the crackling of the flames does not wake him. When we go close we see that nothing will wake him any more. . . . There is little we can do except watch the sketchy A.R.P. services trying doggedly to cope with a situation beyond them. . . .

"There is no evidence that any target of military importance was selected. But then this is the second phase of the Japanese bombing campaign. At first they concentrated single-mindedly on military objectives. Then they turned their attention to the civil population, trying to increase the thousands of refugees on the roads."

This added to the difficulties of the retreating British and Indian forces, for the large stream of refugees making their way toward the Assam frontier had to be handled. The Royal Air Force, already

R.A.F. Aids Refugees

strained to the utmost though they were, did magnificent work in assisting in the marshalling of these refugees, who, to the number of some 250,000, eventually made their way into India after great hardships borne with splendid courage and endurance.

General Alexander's choice of retreat up the Chindwin valley into Assam in preference to the line of the railway up to Myitkyina was justified by the event. The Japanese drive from

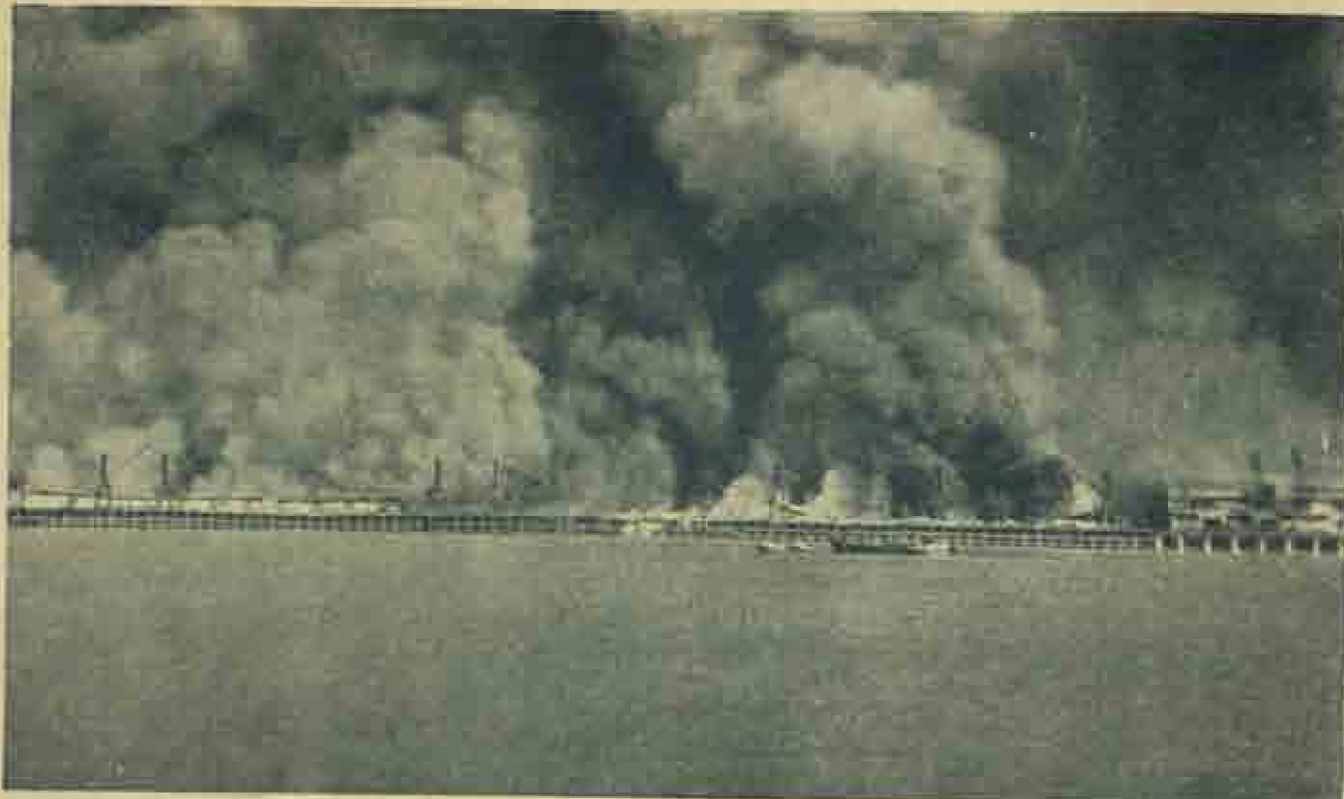


PROTECTED BY TANKS, ENEMY INFANTRY MOVE UP ON SINGAPORE

Our adversaries were well armed and equipped, while years of training had prepared them for the attack on British and American outposts in the Pacific. Note the curious cleft boots of these infantrymen, which facilitated climbing in the jungle. Below, burning oil dumps on Singapore Island at the close of the campaign.

Photos, Keystone





RANGOON SEEN FROM THE LAST BOAT TO LEAVE

Giant cranes are outlined against enormous smoke clouds as the Rangoon warehouses of the Burma Oil Company go up in flames. The top photograph was taken on March 1, 1942, from the last tugboat to leave, and enemy troops were then entering Rangoon. Below, a petrol dump at Yenangyaung set on fire on April 26, after all that was possible of the precious fuel had been taken northwards in lorries. See also illus., p. 2059.]

Photos, Keystone; Associated Press



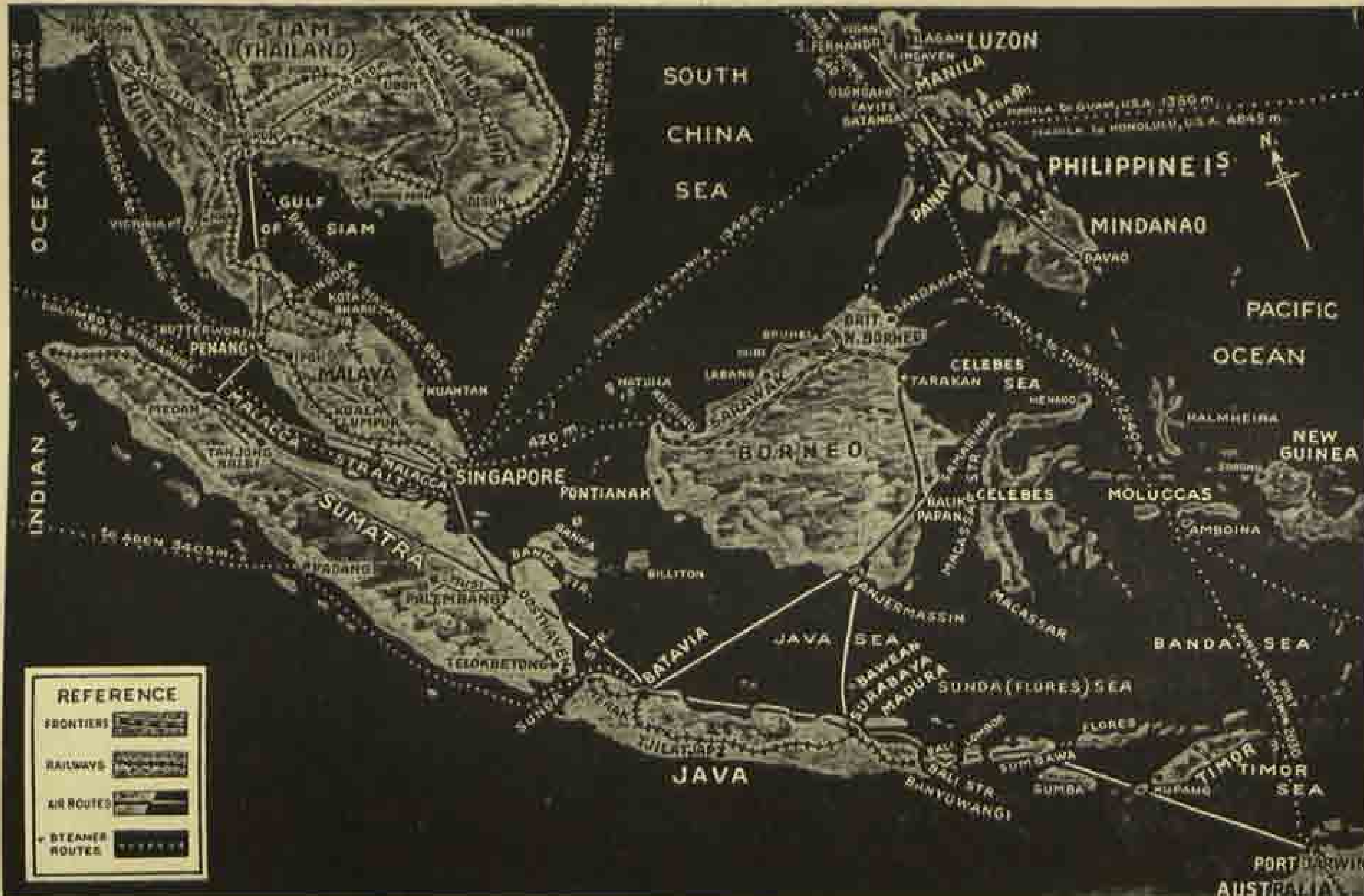


FROM UPPER BURMA ACROSS THE CHINDWIN TO INDIA

A party of American soldiers with British and Burmese nurses floated down the Uyu river to the Chindwin, using rafts on which they built rough shelters (below). The rafts had to be abandoned several miles before the big river was reached (see illus., p. 2075), and the final stage covered on foot. Top, crossing the Chindwin in dug-outs. Through a pass on the western side of the valley the party made their way into Assam.

Photos, "New York Times"; Planet News





By courtesy of "The Crown Colonist"

THEATRE OF WAR IN THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC AREA

The fate of the Netherlands East Indies was bound up with that of Malaya and Burma, while but for her seizure of territory in French Indo-China Japan would have found her scheme of swift and far-flung conquest impossible. The initial success gained by the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour and the U.S. Naval and Air Bases in the Philippines was doubled by the disaster to British capital ships in the Gulf of Siam. With much of Malaya and Burma in her hands, Japan went on to the conquest of Borneo, Sumatra and Java, and the complete occupation of the Philippines. (For separate maps of Burma see p. 2051; Malaya, p. 2045; Java, p. 2074; Philippines, pp. 2089 and 2092.)

northern Siam brought them across the railway line at Monywa early in May, and had the British forces relied upon that exit they would have been completely hemmed in. As it was, the retreat up the Chindwin valley, carried out with consummate skill and indomitable courage, enabled the Burma army to inflict severe casualties on the advancing enemy. On May 10 a sharp action at Shwegyin (near Kalewa) checked the Japanese with such emphasis that the retreating forces were able to shake off their pursuers. The Government of Burma on the previous day had signalized its escape by setting up its headquarters at Delhi.

The Burma army's safe entry into Assam was announced on May 15. General Alexander had achieved the ungrateful task entrusted to him. The tragedy was illumined only by the quality of the heroism and fortitude which British, Indian, Gurkha, Chinese and American fighting men had brought to face it.

Could Burma have been held? The rapid and powerful thrusts of the Japanese from Siam in the south in the advance on Moulmein may have come as a surprise to the British High Command. Moulmein's fall added to the danger of Rangoon, where the morale of the civil population had been heavily shaken by air raids. The Japanese drive from northern Siam completed the difficulties of the defence. Yet, in reality, the loss of Malaya seemed to settle Burma's fate, always assuming that the weak forces there could not have been more speedily or weightily reinforced both on the ground and in the air than actually they were.

Why Burma Was Lost

Burma's fate was indeed linked up with that of Hongkong, Singapore and Batavia. The fall of France gave to the Japanese military machine the chance for which it had been looking. Britain's preoccupation first with the Battle of Britain and the Mediterranean, and secondly with the development of aid to Russia, limited the extent to which the British War Cabinet could take measures in the Far East. India was heavily drawn upon for the operations in Libya, Syria, Persia and Iraq. The Royal Navy's temporary loss of command of the sea in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal accentuated Japan's dominance after Singapore had fallen. Rangoon became a closed port early in the struggle, and then fell an easy prey to the Japanese. Much was said at the time of the apathy or even the hostility of the Burmans to the British and Indian troops.

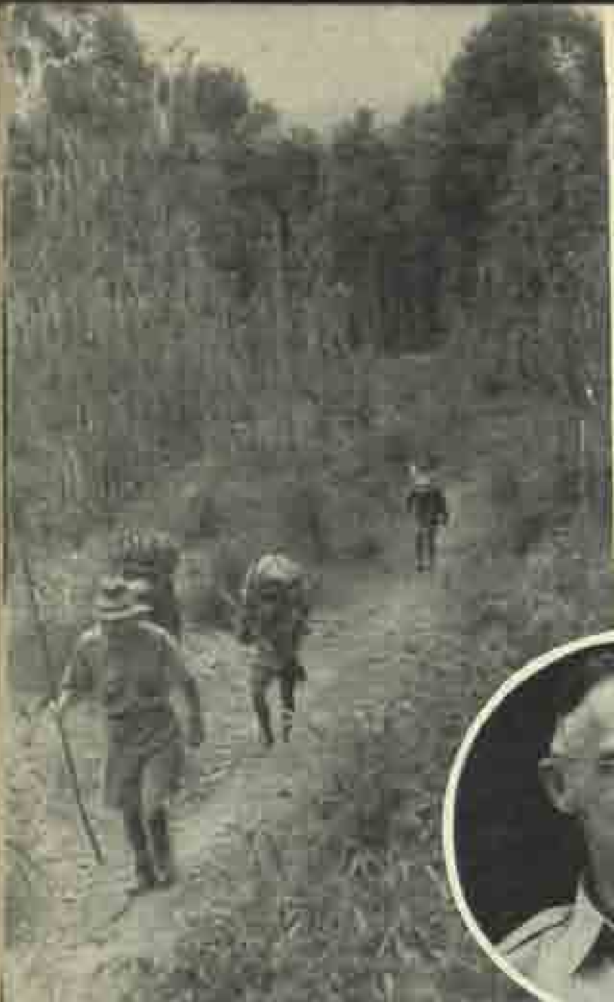


OIL OF YENANGYAUNG DENIED TO THE ENEMY

After a Japanese attack on the left flank of the Chinese forces in the Shan States our main force covering the Yenangyaung oil region was withdrawn (middle of April 1942) and the oil wells and plant were wrecked. Top, our engineers are collecting electrical machinery for destruction. Below, vital parts of large machinery were cut through with oxygen blowpipes; a gigantic gear wheel is seen.

Photos, British Official: Crown Copyright; Associated Press









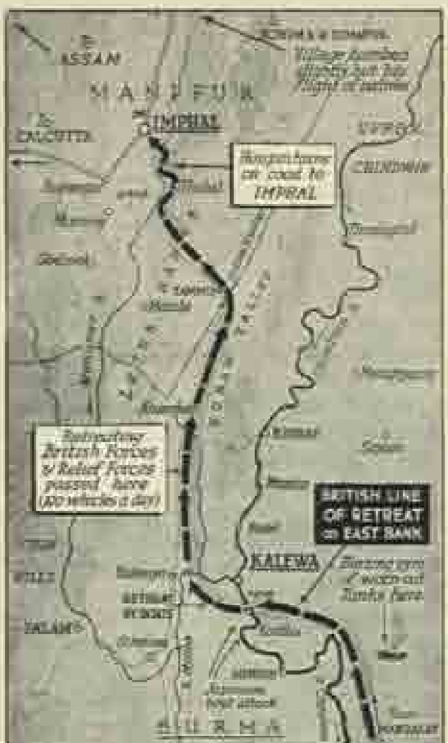


THROUGH JUNGLE TO INDIA

Some parties of Allied troops had dangerous and difficult journeys through jungle and hill country to reach India in the great retreat from Burma. (1) A clear path at Pangsau Pass (Naga Hills), over 4,000 ft. high, on the Burma-India frontier. (4) Often the jungle was so dense that parties took to river beds. Lieut.-General Joseph W. Stilwell (5) and staff made their way through central Burma to Assam; the General leads (2), followed by his Aides, Lt.-Col. Frank Dorn and 1st Lt. Richard Young. (3) Stilwell's party takes a brief rest.

Photos, "Daily Express"; Pictorial Press; Keystone; Planet News





BURMA ARMY'S RETREAT

General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander with his troops crossed the Chindwin a few miles S. of Kalewa, shelled and bombed by the Japanese. Then they made their way up the valley to Tamu, on the Burma-Indian frontier, and struck N.E. towards Imphal, in Manipur, over mountain roads 4,000–6,000 ft. high. By May 15, 1942, the Army—British, Indian and Burmese—had been extricated from its perilous position.

By courtesy of "The Sphere"

Those stories were given a hearing beyond their deserts because General Alexander's statement that 90 per cent of the people in the Prome area—the centre of the 10-year-old rebellion—were in sympathy with the enemy was wrongly taken to apply to the whole country. It is believed that the Burmese guerillas supporting the Japanese did not number more than 5,000, and the liberation of 4,000 criminals from the gaols of Rangoon had helped to swell that total.

Burmans' Attitude to Japanese

Despite Burma's unenviable crime statistics the British garrison never exceeded two battalions, and the British in Burma never found it necessary to carry fire-arms. The number of attacks on British residents was infinitesimal. After the Japanese invasion Burmans showed much courage and friendliness in giving assistance to the retreating forces. The rural population were neither encouraged nor expected to rise against the Japanese. The people accepted Japanese occupation passively, but evidence accumulates that the Japanese army is rapidly making the Burmans more pro-Ally than ever before.

In the epic of Burma's ordeal British and Indian civilians bore themselves bravely. Britons manned the auxiliary defence forces and gave leadership to the civil organization for the preservation of essential services so long as they could be kept going. As an example of British and Indian teamwork the evacuation of a bank's staff may be cited: they made their way first from Rangoon to Mandalay, and thence on a 250-mile march to Calcutta in 26 days, in intense tropical heat over successive passes of 3,500 feet and 6,500 feet through tribal country. It matched the heroic conduct of the British and Indian troops as they fought the Japanese every inch of the way up the Chindwin valley.



ALLIED COMMANDERS, BURMA

Left, General Lo Cho-ying, commanding the Chinese Forces in Burma, talks to General Sir Archibald Wavell, C.-in-C. India and Burma (centre), and General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander, appointed G.O.C. Burma on March 5, 1942.

Photo, Pictorial Press

Material for passing final judgement on the campaign in Burma will not be available until after the war. It is not possible, for instance, to say whether the diversion to Rangoon of the British division which arrived at Singapore on the eve of surrender might have changed the fortunes of Burma. Nor can one assert whether the authorities responsible in the last resort for the security of Burma—as well as Malaya—were fully aware of the power and capacity of the Japanese fighting machine; and if so, whether some effort could not have been made, despite the serious crisis nearer home, to provide both Burma and Malaya with more adequate defences on the ground and in the air as soon as Indo-China became a Japanese spring-board. Generalship, in Burma at all events, was not lacking, as General Alexander was destined before long to show in Libya at Rommel's expense.

Nor will the British Army have cause to be anything but proud of the Gloucesters, K.O.Y.L.I., Duke of Wellington's and the Royal Armoured Corps in the fighting retreat. They were as magnificent as the outnumbered Royal Air Force, who, with their American and Indian colleagues, took such heavy toll of an enemy better machined and superior in numbers. The same may be said of the Indian Army: the Frontier Force Regiment and Gurkhas recorded valour and chivalry which fully merited laurels more fortunately gained.



GYLES MACKRELL, G.M., D.F.C., SAVED 200 REFUGEES

Learning that many refugees from Burma were stranded high in the Chaukar Pass, Mr. Mackrell, a tea planter of Assam, organized an elephant convoy to go to the rescue. 'At great personal risk and after many tries' he got his convoy over the Assam mountains and reached the starving survivors. Two hundred were brought to safety. On January 26, 1943, the award of the George Medal was gazetted. Mackrell's D.F.C. had been won in the First Great War.

Photo, "News Chronicle"

Chapter 207

JAPAN'S ATTACK ON THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

This comprehensive account of the invasion of Borneo and Sumatra has been compiled by Jhr. J. N. C. van Heurn of the Royal Netherlands Navy from the most recent information placed at his disposal by the Royal Netherlands Government in London—consisting in the main of reports by eye-witnesses. The reader should consult the large map in page 2058

When on December 8, 1941, a few hours after the attack on Pearl Harbour and Manila, the Dutch envoy in Tokyo handed his Government's declaration of war to the Japanese Foreign Minister the latter refused to accept it. Japan, who had just attacked two great Powers without a declaration of war, was amazed to receive a challenge from a small and comparatively weak nation. But after the failure of Kobayashi's blackmailing attempts at the conference in Batavia the Japanese Foreign Office might have known that methods which had succeeded in French Indo-China would not avail them in the Netherlands East Indies. Dr. van Mook, the Dutch Minister for Internal Affairs, was firm in honest negotiations, but remained quite unmoved by threats.

Japan had put out feelers for a trade pact early in 1939. In the autumn of 1940 she sent as an envoy Ichizo Kobayashi, Minister of Commerce. During several weeks at Batavia he tried to extort promises of big deliveries of motor spirit and fuel oil—quantities exceeding the entire output of the Netherlands oilfields. He was offered 30,000 tons of motor spirit, in addition to that then being exported to Japan. Chagrined by his lack of success, Kobayashi is said to have told the Dutch they were tools of British and American Imperialism, whereupon the negotiations came to an abrupt end. After a retractation he departed with the meagre concession he had gained. Later another envoy, the former Foreign Minister, Kenkichi Yoshizawa, was sent to Batavia, where he remained till his recall in June 1941.

From the Netherlands point of view the immediate declaration of war was the only possible course. The Dutch had long made their choice. They were convinced that there was no possibility of compromise. A trade agreement with Japan would have meant concessions, which would be looked upon only as signs of weakness. Besides that, they were deeply aware of being one of the United Nations. The time for neutral politics had gone, and would never return.

When Queen Wilhelmina made her fateful decision she felt that the slightest delay in taking up the challenge would have brought shame to her subjects. From the beginning the people of the Dutch East Indies understood that there were dark days ahead for the rich and beautiful islands. Help from outside could not be expected in time to decide the struggle, though ultimately the democracies would prevail. Meanwhile, everything must be done to gain precious time and delay the aggressor's plans. Every shell, bomb and cartridge must be used to the best advantage; the enemy must be made to expend time, men and ships. Life must be given for the homeland, for it was better to die than become a prisoner, if victory was to be won in the end. Everything that might be of use to the invader must be wrecked or burned. That was the only course.

The United States was preparing for "all-out" aid to the Allies, and the Dutch realized that time was worth gaining even at the cost of heavy sacrifices. On the other hand, the destruction of Japanese shipping would help America later in the final assault against the enemy. Japan's weakness lay in shipping—to transport and supply her armies and to carry to her islands the raw materials she badly needed. The Dutch knew also that they might be able to help Australia in her effort to tide over the perilous period between a possible Japanese attack and the arrival of adequate American reinforcements.

Gaining Precious Time

So there were many reasons for putting up a stiff fight. The Dutch Navy found in Vice-Admiral Helfrich a leader who understood the need to attack at once. He tried to retain the initiative as long as possible before the full weight of Japanese aggression should be directed against Java and its air and naval bases. Once on the defensive, Helfrich knew that he might lose every opportunity of using his small force in the way he desired. He feared that then it might dwindle away without the chance of scoring a success.



DUTCH REPRESENTATIVES AT BATAVIA CONFERENCE

In June 1941 there was a fruitless conference between Netherlands and Japanese representatives at Batavia to discuss trade and economic problems. Dr. H. J. van Mook (right), Minister for Internal Affairs, was adamant in resisting Japanese demands. Rear-Admiral Doorman (left) commanded the Allied Naval Squadron in the brilliant action off Bali in February 1942.

Photo, courtesy of Royal Netherlands Govt.

Every precaution was taken to prevent surprise attacks before the outbreak of declared war. The Dutch Fleet Air Arm based its Dorniers as far north as possible in the outskirts of the vast archipelago, to keep a ceaseless watch. The surface ships were kept in the open sea as much as possible, while submarines were ordered westwards, where they took up position in the Gulf of Siam, south of Cambodia. The commanders were already peeping through their periscopes at Japanese convoys when these started moving westward, in the direction of Malacca.

There was only one British submarine in Singapore at this time, as of course the enemy knew. The sudden appearance of a number of Dutch submarines was a complication which the Japanese had not expected. The Dutch did not molest the heavily escorted convoys en route, but made daring attacks in very shallow water, near the landing places. In the first weeks these submarines sank ten large transports, most of them laden with troops, two tankers, and one large Asagiri-class destroyer. Some of the submarines did not return, and their score is not known. One survivor struggled for 35 hours in the sea, not merely drifting around but actually swimming—an astonishing feat.

Feats of Dutch Airmen

In the meantime the Fleet Air Arm had some astonishing results with its heavy and rather slow Do-24 flying boats, built in Holland under licence and fitted with American engines. Gradually most of them were lost in hopeless fights against greater numbers of fast Japanese fighters. Nevertheless, their bombing exploits were remarkable and proved the skill of pilots and crews. The number of successful combats can for the most part be explained by the Oerlikon cannon in the middle turret. Later on, Dutch pilots brought over Catalinas from America; these had a longer range, but could not stand up to the Zero fighters of the Japanese navy. When the enemy took possession of British oil plants in north-western Borneo, Dutch Dorniers based on Tarakan attacked a heavy Japanese cruiser; it was hit by three 400-lb. bombs and left burning fiercely.

As soon as the Japanese came within range General ter Poorten's Glenn Martin bombers joined in the attacks and scored many hits on enemy shipping. Unfortunately the Dutch were too weak to prevent the enemy from building and occupying aerodromes on Borneo. The Japanese forces grew stronger every week, and towards the end of the year Dutch Navy and Army bombers had to



DUTCH AIRMEN FOUGHT ON TO THE LAST

Outnumbered from the start, pilots of the Royal Netherlands Navy and Army saw their airfields fall into Japanese hands, despite all their courage and gallantry. With a thousand-to-one chance of returning, Catalinas (top) took off on bombing and reconnaissance flights until nearly all were lost. Army bombers (below) faced heavy fighter opposition everywhere.

Photos, courtesy of Royal Netherlands Govt.; British Newsreels



face heavy fighter opposition nearly everywhere. Their own aerodromes on Borneo were heavily bombed.

Dutch cruisers and destroyers joined the British forces in escort duties, for the large convoys coming from British India through Sunda Strait almost weekly needed the utmost protection against Japanese surprise raids towards the south. Owing to these urgent duties no counter-attacks could be staged against strong enemy forces which took Tarakan and Menado early in 1942.

Tarakan, a small island off the east coast of Borneo, was the first important Dutch possession to fall into Japanese hands. It also was the first Dutch stronghold to show the world the measure of Dutch resistance and the meaning of the scorched-earth policy in that region. The oil obtained at Tarakan is very fine and can be used as fuel for Diesel engines or for oil-fired boilers almost as it comes to the surface, no "cracking" or refining plants being needed. The only certain method of foiling the enemy here was to destroy the oil wells—some perhaps for ever.

When the Japanese landing operations at Tarakan began on January 10, Dutch engineers blasted the shafts with high explosives and filled them with concrete. Oil from the tanks was set ablaze while it flowed into the harbour. The sky was darkened for days by the smoke as the oil burned, and with it every other useful installation—factories, houses, workshops—that had been erected in the dense jungle for the last 30 years. The fire was not half as big as those at Balik Papan and Surabaya later on, and was not to be compared with the holocaust at Palembang. Nevertheless, it was an inferno that taught the enemy another lesson.

While army bombers attacked the invasion fleet and hit two transport ships the small force of Dutch troops at Tarakan fought delaying actions to prevent the invaders from interfering with



GENERAL WAVELL SETS UP H.Q. AT BATAVIA

Early in January 1942 Sir Archibald Wavell (right) was appointed to the supreme Allied command in the South-west Pacific Area, and on the 22nd he arrived in Batavia. Here, with Lieut.-General H. ter Poorten, Dutch C.-in-C., he inspects the guard of honour. Behind are Vice-Admiral Thos. C. Hart (U.S.N.), on right, and Vice-Admiral C. E. L. Helfrich who succeeded Admiral Hart as Allied Naval C.-in-C. on February 11.

Photo, Sport & General

the destruction. When the last reserves had been sacrificed to prevent a break-through, a second heavy attack penetrated the defence line, and soon afterwards the main munition dump was blown sky-high. Organized resistance ceased soon afterwards. Most of the defenders were killed, but a few escaped and began guerilla warfare. Very few were taken prisoner. Some survivors reached the mainland in native boats and brought the assurance that Tarakan oil had ceased to flow.

Next day at dawn the Japanese ships closed in and, on the assumption that all resistance had ceased, came within range of the Dutch shore battery. The gunners there had evidently been overlooked by the mopping-up operations of the Japanese land forces. They held their fire and opened up on destroyers and barges at a distance of only a few thousand yards. Before cruisers could silence the battery, two destroyers and some landing barges were sunk.

Tarakan's Last Stroke

Tarakan was a smoking ruin, but when the Japanese landed they thought for a moment that their Command had been right in sending some empty tankers along with the invasion fleet. Some derricks were still standing, it is true, but the enemy soon found out that the shafts underneath had been destroyed by high explosives. Smarting under this disillusionment, they sent a message to the Dutch commander at Balik Papan, farther down the east coast, threatening to shoot anyone who took part in scorched-earth tactics there. The only result was that the demolition squads in Balik Papan prepared even more thoroughly for their task, and were glad to hear that their friends in Tarakan had made a hundred-per-cent job of the oil installations and harbour.

In the air, too, the Dutch were now pushed farther south. Aircraft operating in Malacca under British command were recalled, together with the remaining submarines, which badly needed repairs. A fortnight after the fall of Tarakan a large invasion fleet moved down the Macassar Strait, between Borneo and Celebes. The first portion consisted of 23 ships, but the entire force comprised about a hundred—far too large for an attack on Balik Papan only. This thrust had to be broken, otherwise it might have developed into a major attack against Java itself.

When the invasion fleets were closing in on Balik Papan, they were attacked by sea and from the air in a conflict that lasted three days. The first assault was made by Dutch bombers on January 23. They were met by heavy anti-aircraft fire from escorting cruisers and destroyers. But many of the warships and transports were hit and left burning or sinking. During the next two days hits were scored on a heavy cruiser, which sank, only the upper part being visible a few days later. A large liner was also sent to the bottom, with other ships. The Japanese then brought up an aircraft carrier to add more fighters to their defence. An American submarine torpedoed this carrier north of Balik Papan. Flying Fortresses appeared, together with Dutch fighters from Borneo, and hit back also.

Seven of the enemy ships were sunk in a brilliant attack by the American destroyer division, consisting of five "four-stacker" destroyers under Commander Binford, U.S.N. The ample torpedo armament and low silhouette made these destroyers ideal for a night attack, though they were handicapped by the old type of torpedoes they still carried and were forced to close in on the enemy at a very short range. They did this without hesitation, and earned the admiration of all who knew enough to understand what this attack really meant. A Dutch submarine sank a destroyer and hit a cruiser, but was so hotly pursued that the commander was unable to observe if the cruiser had been sunk.

Balik Papan, like Tarakan, was set on fire and soon became a mass of smoking ruins. It had possessed an efficient and up-to-date oil installation with every possible item of modern equipment. The Japanese landed tanks and artillery, crushed the weak Dutch forces, and marched on Samarinda and Banjermasin, everywhere preceded by the raging fires of destruction. In the endless jungles the remnants of the Dutch troops started a guerilla conflict that was to last for many months after the fall of Java. Soon afterwards Macassar, the beautiful harbour of south-western Celebes, was burned with all its stores and buildings.

Holocaust at Balik Papan

The Japanese now realized that they were not yet able to attack Java without grave risks. In three days they had suffered serious losses in ships, and no inconsiderable number of their aircraft had been destroyed. The results of the Dutch air attack for three days were:

1st day. Large warship sunk; heavy cruiser left burning with a big list; another cruiser set on fire; four large transports and one destroyer left burning.

2nd day. Large transport and liner sunk; destroyer badly damaged; four fighter aircraft brought down.

3rd day. Heavy cruiser sunk; cruiser and transport set on fire; three fighters and one reconnaissance aircraft brought down.

In addition, the Flying Fortresses hit a cruiser, sank a transport, and brought down five fighter aircraft.

Including submarines and destroyers, at least 25 enemy ships had been sunk. However prodigal the Japanese might be with their abundant man-power, they could not afford to lose ships and aircraft on this scale. So they concentrated their bombers and switched the attack to Java's ports and aerodromes. Meanwhile, the Allies

continued to bomb enemy shipping in Macassar Strait.

Allied strength in the area was diminishing, as was emphasized by the loss of Amboina Island (in the Moluccas) early in February 1942. The enemy attacked by air on January 30, and later the same day a Japanese naval force with transports reached the island. No large-scale opposition from Allied aircraft or warships was possible, but the enemy suffered severely from mines laid in the bay some days before. A Japanese cruiser was sunk by fire from a shore battery; another cruiser and a submarine struck mines and sank in deep water; a third cruiser was destroyed by mines in one of the outer bays near a landing place. Prisoners, threatened with torture and death unless they gave away the exact location of the minefields, firmly refused.

Loss of Amboina Island

When the enemy landed on Amboina a surge of fires and explosions swept the island, destroying everything likely to aid him. Then the demolition parties turned about and faced the invaders in a grim guerilla conflict that continued for three weeks on this small island, the area of which is only 360 square miles.

Aerodromes in the south of Celebes were now also taken by the Japanese, and the large-scale bombing of Java started. On February 11 Vice-Admiral Helfrich had been appointed Allied Naval Commander-in-Chief in the South-Western Pacific. The choice of the man was the choice of his method: he would do everything to save time, and would therefore sacrifice all to hit the enemy's warships, transport and supply vessels. General van Oyen, the Dutch Air Force commander, was just as ready to send his last bomber against the coming invaders, if he could see a single opportunity to weaken the enemy at any given point. His fighter force was being slowly worn down by the continuous enemy raids on Java. Many of his bombers had already been lost in Malacca, but the spirit of his pilots and crews was excellent. Nor were Helfrich's Naval airmen less cheerful, though their reconnaissance tasks became suicidal as the Japanese established more and more aerodromes for their Zero fighters. One Dutch flying-boat after another disappeared. Very often, before they took off on an operational flight, the men knew they had only one chance in a thousand of returning. Later, Queen Wilhelmina honoured the Dutch Naval and Army Air Forces with the highest military decoration—the Order of William—to show that every man in these services deserved the honour.

In the meantime Java had won a few precious weeks. Towards the middle of February it became evident that the Japanese were concentrating ships in the South China Sea, and it seemed that now Palembang was their target. If Palembang fell, Singapore would be cut off at last. Palembang, about 60 miles inland in the southern part of Sumatra, is surrounded by impenetrable jungle and can only be reached over the long Musi river from the east or by rail from the southern tip of Sumatra, where a ferry links the Java and Sumatra railroads. Another route, of course, was by air, and the most elaborate precautions were taken to prevent a surprise by parachute troops.

Palembang possessed up-to-date cracking plants with large installations for the production of high-octane petrol. The oilfields, with shafts and derricks, were some 90 miles deeper in the jungle. Pipelines brought the oil to tanks near the river, where large tankers from all over the world came to load their cargo. There were low brick walls around the oil tanks, and in case of a surprise attack the action of one lever would cause the oil to flow into the walled-off space, where an electrically operated ignition charge would fire it and turn the tanks into a mile-wide barrier of flame. The immense heat would scorch everything within thousands of yards. Further, the plants with their turbines and boilers, engines and motors, were ready to be blown up instantly. Capture by surprise was impossible.

Royal Air Force bombers and fighters from Malacca were welcome reinforcements for the Dutch Air Force. For lack of suitable airfields these British units had had to be withdrawn from Singapore, where the end was rapidly drawing near. On February 15 the Japanese launched their expected attack at Palembang. From about a hundred planes three groups of parachute troops were dropped. Two attacked oil installations, while another made for the airport. Heavy and sanguinary fighting went on all day. The parachutists near the oil plants were

Aid by R.A.F. Pilots

BURNING OILFIELDS OF BALIK PAPAN, DUTCH BORNEO

After the Dutch engineers at Tarakan, N.E. Borneo, had destroyed oil installations and wrecked the oil wells, a Japanese message was sent to the Dutch commander at Balik Papan (see map in p. 2058) threatening death to anyone who should apply scorched-earth tactics there. But the engineers did their work thoroughly, and the gigantic fire at Balik Papan on January 22 is seen below. One-fifth of the oil of the Netherlands East Indies came from this great oil centre on the E. coast of Borneo





JAPANESE TRANSPORTS APPROACH BURNING PALEMBANG

Palembang, in southern Sumatra (see map in p. 2058), possessed up-to-date refining and cracking plants to deal with the oil pumped from wells some 90 miles away in the jungle. On February 15 the enemy attacked, first with parachute troops. That evening the oil plants were ordered to be fired, and next night, after a dogged fight, the defenders withdrew. Here a Japanese transport is seen in the wide Musi river. In the background are the burning oil tanks of Palembang.

Photo, Associated Press

wiped out, while the third group was got under control. The Dutch losses here were very heavy.

Most units of the Netherlands East Indian Army comprised both Indonesian and Dutch troops and officers. At Palembang the troops were largely Amboinese, Menadonese and Javanese. They always went in with the *klewang*, a sword that they handled very well. The confused fighting in and around the installations gave them many opportunities to use this weapon. In the evening the Dutch commander decided to set fire to the oil plants, since the defenders, weakened by the heavy losses of the first day, might not be able to withstand another attack. So on that night of February 15-16 Palembang was destroyed. Scores of huge tanks burned for days. The mighty factories and refineries were reduced to the same heaps of torn and twisted steelwork as at Balik Papan and Tarakan.

Burning of Palembang

Blenheims and Hurricanes of the R.A.F., together with Dutch Glenn Martins, strafed the fleet of small craft, towed by motor-boats from the Japanese troopships, and heavy losses were inflicted on Japanese soldiers crammed into countless barges. The invasion fleet, at anchor in the northern entrance of Banka Strait, was also attacked. Several ships were hit and left burning, but the enemy had by this time brought up a large fighter and bomber force. Air battles raged all day long. Towards the end of the second day the Allied air force saw its airfields endangered by parachute troops and had to withdraw to bases on Java, where also some of the British ground-staff and the A.A. artillery evacuated from Oosthaven (on the Sunda Strait) made their way. Most of the Dutch and some British troops retreated into the jungle towards Padang, on the west coast of Sumatra.

On the first day of the battle for Palembang an Allied naval striking force under Rear-Admiral K. Doorman tried to harass the Japanese seaborne landing. Doorman's squadron comprised five cruisers (H.M.S. "Exeter," H.M.A.S. "Perth," and the Netherlands warships "De Ruyter," "Java," and "Tromp"), together with two British, four Dutch, and four American destroyers. During the sweep along the north coast of Banka the Allied squadron was bombed for seven hours by large enemy formations. Anti-aircraft fire from the ships kept the Japanese planes at a height of about 15,000 feet. Here, as almost everywhere, the enemy used a method of high-altitude pattern bombing, but in this case did not hit a single ship. Nevertheless, Doorman was forced to abandon his intention of attacking the transport fleet, since he could not afford to engage a stronger enemy squadron under continuous air attack. Palembang had promised air support, but was unable to provide it. Any possibility of a surprise attack by night had also gone, so Doorman's squadron steamed off into the Indian Ocean to elude enemy air reconnaissance.

The plight of Java grew worse. All the keypoints, harbours and aerodromes were being regularly pounded by huge forces of enemy bombers with strong fighter escort. The Japanese fighters increased their range by carrying streamlined reserve fuel tanks under their fuselages. These were dropped after emptying them as soon as the aircraft were engaged by Dutch fighters. A similar device had been used in the Philippines.

The Japanese did not proceed immediately to the major attack on Java, but made for Bali, the small island immediately to the east, separated from Java by the Bali Strait, a narrow channel. The first landing on Bali was made on February 19. A week later, with Bali in their hands, the Japanese also held Oosthaven, on Sunda Strait, and were in position to drive at Java from three directions. The battles for Bali and Java are described in Chapter 208.

BATTLE OF BALI AND THE FIGHT FOR JAVA

The records of the Royal Netherlands Navy have been drawn upon for the following graphic description of the final stages in the conquest of the Netherlands East Indies by Japan. The writer, Jhr. Lieutenant J. N. C. van Heurn, in the course of his duties, interviewed many of those who took part in the operations. *See maps in pages 2058 and 2074*

AFTER the fall of Singapore and Palembang on February 15 the Allied naval force under Rear-Admiral Doorman steamed through Sunda Strait into the Indian Ocean. British units then went northward to take up convoy duty again, while the Dutch and American cruisers and destroyers sailed south-east to refuel at Tjilatjap, the only port on the south coast of Java. Here the crews could take a well-earned rest. In the blazing hot harbour they quenched their thirst with grapes, oranges and apples from a big cargo vessel which had just arrived from California. The fruit had been destined for Singapore, where the troops and inhabitants would now have to make do on a scanty diet of rice, doled out by their Japanese conquerors.

While Doorman's squadron was refuelling at Tjilatjap the Japanese were preparing for the first operation in their attack on Java—the conquest of Bali, the comparatively small island immediately to the east, separated from Java by the narrow Bali Strait. This beautiful island was a very popular resort of tourists, who came there in the smart K.P.M. liners and in the big American-built planes of the K.N.I.L.M. (Royal Netherlands Indies Airways). These craft were now being used to bring medical supplies and to evacuate women and children from the threatened areas. The large aerodrome was intact, though unfortunately it was very vulnerable, being only a few hundred yards from the south-eastern shore of the island.

On February 19, 1942, a large Japanese force landed on Bali, overran the small Dutch garrison and captured the aerodrome. It would now become possible for the enemy to ferry large forces across Bali Strait to Java under fighter cover based on the Den Pasar aerodrome. Bali Strait is very narrow, and from Banjoewangi on the Java side very good roads lead deep into the heart of Java, to the town of Malang and the naval base of Surabaya.

It was reported that large invasion fleets were already being assembled in Macassar Strait and in the South China Sea—obviously intended for Java. Gauging the strength of the enemy forces off Bali was very difficult, and the Dutch airmen lost many machines in attacks and in attempts to obtain this information. There was no doubt that the covering force consisted of at least three times as many cruisers as were available to the Allies at that time. But from Batavia Admiral Helfrich gave immediate orders to Rear-Admiral Doorman to attack the enemy with his forces in the Indian Ocean and with others at Surabaya.

The plan was at once very simple and highly dangerous. Doorman's striking force in Tjilatjap consisted of two Dutch cruisers, one large Dutch destroyer and two American destroyers.



DUTCH NAVAL C.-IN-C.

Vice-Admiral C. E. L. Helfrich succeeded Admiral Thos. C. Hart as Commander Allied Naval Forces, S.W. Pacific, on February 11, 1942. He directed the magnificent fight by Dutch, British, and American Naval units until, with the fall of Java and the loss of practically all his forces, he laid down the Command on March 4.

Photo, Central Press

They were to proceed at full speed to Lombok Strait (between Bali and the island of Lombok) and engage the Japanese before midnight next day, when the invaders were expected to be busy with landing operations. The night would be fairly dark, with little moon. After midnight there was to be a second attack. A second force, made up of the Dutch light cruiser "Tromp" and four small American destroyers, was ordered to steam from Surabaya to the southern entrance of Lombok Strait, after first passing through Bali Strait and rounding the southern point of Bali. (See map in page 2058.)

Admiral Doorman's Plans

Both Allied formations had orders to torpedo, shell and machine-gun all ships they encountered, since it was certain these could only be enemy craft. Should they succeed in breaking through, they were to try to reach Surabaya, or to disappear again into the vast Indian Ocean.

There was a snag in this apparently straightforward operation: it was probable that the enemy had already closed in on the coast of Bali. To the Allied attacking force the Japanese would appear against a very high and shadowed background of black mountains; the Allied force, on the other hand, would be silhouetted against the light and clear horizon on the moonlit sea behind them. In these circumstances it was very unlikely that the enemy would be taken by surprise. Moreover, before the Allies could shell the Japanese warships and invasion craft it would be necessary to light up the entire bay with star shells, giving yet another warning of Doorman's approach.

After steaming out of the narrow Tjilatjap harbour in the night—a difficult operation—Doorman's squadron raced all next day along the south coast of Java, well out from the shore to elude enemy bombers. The men were very



DUTCH WARSHIPS OF IMPERISHABLE MEMORY

Under Rear-Admiral Doorman these cruisers and destroyer took part in the brilliant Battles of Bali and the Java Sea in February 1942. The cruisers 'Java' (1) and 'De Ruyter' (4) with the destroyer 'Piet Hein' (3) and two American destroyers attacked Japanese warships and transports off Bali on the night of February 19. Both cruisers were damaged and the 'Piet Hein' was sunk in this ten-minute raid. A few hours later the cruiser 'Tromp' (2) and four U.S. destroyers made a second attack with great success, but the 'Tromp' was badly mauled and escaped with difficulty. The 'Java' and 'De Ruyter' were torpedoed and sunk on the night of February 27-28 in the course of a fight between Doorman's squadron (including also the cruisers 'Houston,' 'Exeter,' 'Perth' and nine Allied destroyers) and a big Japanese force in the Java Sea.

Photos, courtesy of Royal Netherlands Navy; Sport & General







keen to engage the enemy; they had been bombed for weeks without a chance to hit back, and now their turn to strike was coming. The cruisers had been long engaged in seemingly never-ceasing convoy duties. To all Navy men this Bali attack meant an engagement with warships and not aircraft—for the repelling of enemy bombers did not mean "action" in the sense in which they understood it.

At 9.0 p.m. on February 19 the bells rang for action stations. First, in line ahead, came the Dutch cruisers "De Ruyter" and "Java"; they were followed by the Dutch destroyer "Piet Hein." Two U.S. destroyers under Commander Binford (U.S. Navy) brought up the rear. By now the attackers had worked up to full speed; at 30 knots they dashed straight towards the dark black mass of mountains that was Bali. There were what seemed endless minutes of nerve-racking suspense, and then suddenly the leading Dutch cruiser appeared to have sighted something. There came a short flash, the roar of her guns, and a moment later the bursting of star shells which lit up a number of Japanese ships at close quarters.

From this moment everything happened with nightmare rapidity. The line of attackers steered through many Japanese vessels; cruisers, destroyers and transports were seen to port and starboard. "De Ruyter" had barely time to train her guns and fire. The 40-mm. Bofors guns of both Dutch cruisers swept the decks of some passing destroyers. "Java" fired her 6-inch

guns at several transports, one of which began to burn. By now the enemy had recovered from his surprise and opened fire. The "Java" was hit in the stern by what later turned out to have been an 8-inch shell, but no vital damage was done. Everywhere the enemy switched on searchlights. The "Piet Hein" loosed off her torpedoes; the first went astray, but the second and third hit an enemy cruiser. The American destroyers lived up to their Macassar reputation by sending torpedoes into several transports and a cruiser. In the confusion of burning ships, exploding shells and torpedoes and the many searchlights it was difficult to estimate the extent of the Allied success, but it was obvious that the Americans had done considerable damage. A casual remark of Commander Binford gives a vivid picture of the situation: "I never saw so many ships so near in all my life."

The Netherlands destroyer "Piet Hein" was unlucky. On the afternoon of the 18th her gunnery officer had told the men that everything would be "like target practice Regulation No. C-4, but that this time the targets would be allowed to shoot back!" This proved to be true enough—but there were too many targets and they all shot back. A heavy shell from a cruiser hit the "Piet Hein" amidships in her boiler room. Steam pressure fell rapidly, and the searchlights failed. Another enemy shell started a big fire behind the bridge. The fire control and range-finders on the upper bridge had already been damaged. The Dutch destroyer was now almost stationary and, while she lay helpless, shells poured into her from enemy ships on both sides. Her commander tried to fire the torpedoes still remaining; he turned the ship to starboard, but she now stopped altogether and listed heavily. Just at this moment several of her crew saw a Japanese cruiser go down stern first.

End of the Destroyer 'Piet Hein'

The situation now began to improve a little. An engineer officer went down into the boiler room and managed to shut off the most badly damaged sections of the oil and steam supply systems. Then he tried to carry the unconscious stokers on deck. After saving many of them he himself fell victim to the smoke and heat and failed to come up any more. Others had attacked the fires behind the bridge and in the rear magazine. Now one forward gun opened up again with a new crew; the first team had been swept away by enemy fire. But this brave offensive proved futile; the enemy closed in, and from both sides the destroyer was swept by tracer bullets, while shells struck her again and again. "Piet Hein" had fought her last battle; slowly she settled down in the water. At last her commander gave the order to abandon ship, and all who were able to swim took to the rafts. As one survivor said later, it was a "hell of a job" to get the wounded to the rafts by swimming with them through the oil-covered water.

Shortly afterwards the destroyer was hit by a torpedo, and sank within half a minute. The enemy now turned his fire on to the helpless men swimming towards the rafts, and machine-gunned the floats themselves. Many were killed; others, after swimming all night, were washed ashore on a small island, but even there some were killed when the surf dashed them against the rocks. Another had been attacked by a shark and had lost a foot. When a few survivors reached the white beaches of Bali they were covered with oil and utterly exhausted. Because of their colour the Balinese at first mistook them for Japanese, but when they spoke in Malay the natives brought them food, washed the filthy mess from their bodies with coconut oil, and gave them "sarongs." The sailors got in touch with a Dutch civil servant who, like all others in the service throughout the archipelago who were ordered to stay, had stayed near his post. He provided bicycles on which the survivors made their way to the north coast, whence they sailed to Surabaya.

Meanwhile the larger part of Doorman's force had broken through the enemy. Whatever doubt there might have been about the Japanese strength, the Admiral was now convinced that it was not possible to turn and engage the enemy once more. It was, of course, impossible to ascertain the precise result of this ten-minute attack, but



AFTER THE EVACUATION OF BATAVIA

Java was invaded on March 1, and the next few days saw the practical occupation of the island. Here is the scene as enemy advance units approached Tandjong Priok, the harbour of Batavia—capital of the Netherlands East Indies. Oil tanks and tank-cars had been fired, and little of service to the Japanese had been left undamaged.
Photo, Planet News



JAPANESE CYCLE TROOPS ENTER BATAVIA

Admiral *Helfrich*, Dutch C.-in-C., left Java with his staff on March 1, 1942 when a three-point Japanese landing in strength had left no hope of holding the island. Within a week the defenders had been driven back and scattered, but resistance lingered on. The enemy occupation of Batavia, the fine capital of the Netherlands East Indies, was a bitter blow to the Dutch, while the loss of the islands removed the barrier which till then had shielded Australia.

Photo, Associated Press

Doorman had taken the measure of his opponents. At least six Japanese cruisers had been sighted, and there were probably two more. A few of them were 8-inch-gun ships, as was proved by the hole in the stern of the "Java." So the small Allied squadron once again sailed off into the darkness, leaving behind it the glow of burning ships, one of which was the "Piet Hein," whose memory would henceforth live on in the annals of the Royal Netherlands Navy.

In retrospect it appeared that the entire engagement had come as a surprise to the enemy. The Japanese might have swallowed their own propaganda, which made out that the Allied squadron had been so badly damaged by air attacks that it had become "reasonable" and had left the Dutch East Indies. What no one on the Allied side understood, however, was why the Japanese had not bothered to set a guard at the southern entrance of Lombok Strait. With their tactical advantages they ought to have been able to open fire first at any intruder, no matter from which direction he might come. The transports had dropped anchor and were an easy target for torpedoes. Some eye-witnesses even gained the impression that several Japanese cruisers also were at anchor. There was much confusion, it is true, but it appeared as if the enemy had come to the conclusion that the danger had passed when the attackers drew off after the loss of the "Piet Hein." In any event they again neglected to send a destroyer patrol to the southern end of Lombok Strait.

Enemy Caught Napping

It was in these circumstances that, a few hours later, the "Tromp" and four American destroyers appeared on the scene. The night had become somewhat lighter by this time. The "Tromp" was a very light cruiser, with 6-inch guns and hardly any armour, and her commander thought himself lucky that it had now become light enough to engage the enemy immediately, without having first to fire star shells which would give away his own position. There were even lights on some of the Japanese ships—perhaps where attempts were being made to repair damage from the earlier attack. The Dutch cruiser opened fire on a dark silhouette sighted on her port bow. The range was not long and the fire control was able to observe hits. In her wake the four U.S. destroyers, steaming on at 30 knots, headed towards the mass of enemy ships.

So far there had been no hitch in the Dutch plans, but now for a while the "Tromp" seemed to be heading for disaster: in the darkness she had passed an enemy warship unawares against the dark background. This opponent had turned, and suddenly opened fire from a few thousand yards on the Dutchman's starboard beam. Both ships switched on their searchlights. The gunners at the twin-mounted 6-inch turrets on the "Tromp" had been firing furiously at targets on the port bow. Now they were blinded by the piercing blue-white beams of the enemy's searchlights, which shone right into their own gun turrets from the back, where the guns were unscreened. In a few moments the "Tromp" was struck by 8-inch shells. One hit the fire control with devastating effects: two officers and several men were killed. The only survivor was the first gunnery officer, and he, wounded in the thigh, could hardly stand. He climbed down, however, from the wrecked control tower and reached No. 2 turret, in front of the bridge.

'Tromp's' Narrow Escape

The gun crews were nonplussed, for they had received no orders, and the entire fire control still indicated a target on the port bow, which by now had become quite near. The Bofors A.A. crews did not hesitate for a moment, and trained their power-driven twin-mounted guns against the blinding searchlights. Meanwhile the gunnery officer had ordered his 6-inch turret into one wild sweep around to starboard. A few seconds later it opened fire against the giant. The other gun crews understood and followed suit, firing at breakneck speed, since they knew that it was a matter of life or death and that a second or two might determine whether they or the enemy were destroyed. The guns, aimed at the searchlights, automatically received at this short range a correction which sent the shells into the hull of the Japanese warship. More and more 8-inch shells struck the "Tromp," eight in all. Many of the crew were killed,





LAST DAYS IN SURABAYA

On the Kali Mas river, in the eastern part of Java, Surabaya was the naval and military headquarters of the Netherlands East Indies and an important oil town. The Japanese entered on March 9, to find the naval base a smouldering ruin and the quays blocked by sunken ships. (1) The grim spectacle as the Dutch ships left. (2) Clearing up after a bombing raid: crater at right was made by a 250-lb. bomb. (3) Indonesian rescue workers searching for trapped victims. (4) Dutch sailors board a Netherlands destroyer.

Photos, courtesy of Royal Netherlands Navy; Associated Press; Paul Popper

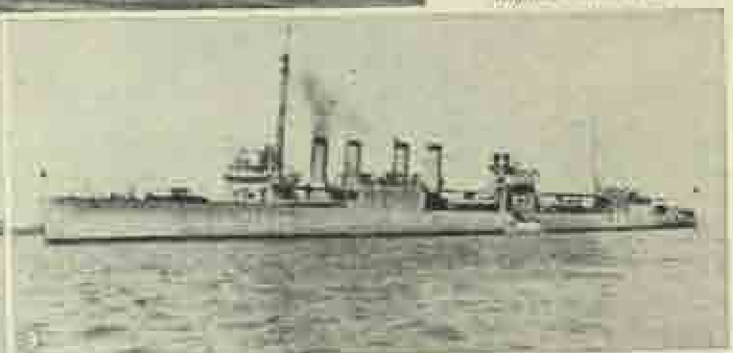


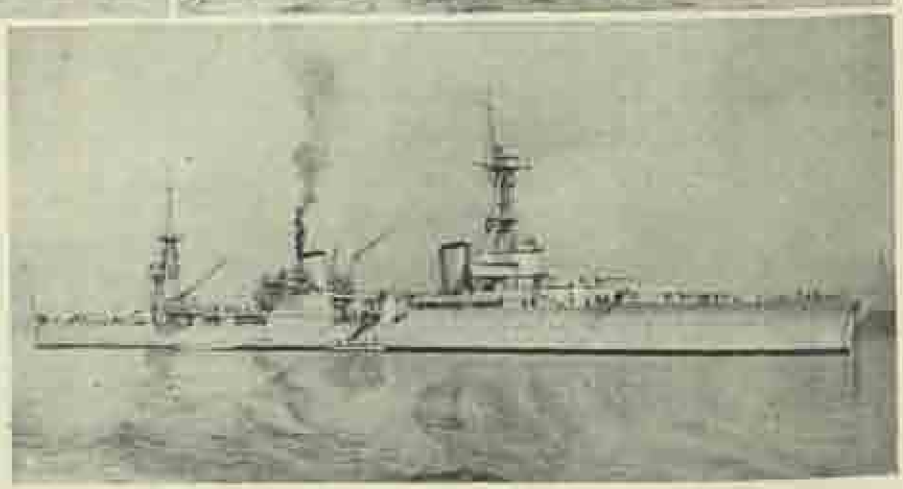




JAVA SEA BATTLE
These Allied warships were engaged with others (see p. 2068) in the final battle between Doorman's depleted squadron and the Japanese off N.E. Java on February 27–28, 1942. After two Dutch cruisers had been torpedoed, H.M.A.S. 'Perth' (1) and the U.S. cruiser 'Houston' (4) broke off the fight; they were lost later in trying to get through to the Indian Ocean. H.M.S. 'Electra' (2) was sunk by shell fire. The U.S. destroyer 'Ford' (3) and three other American destroyers escaped into the Indian Ocean later.
Photos, Keystone; Wright & Logan; Planet News







but no vital parts of the cruiser were damaged. The ship kept up a high speed and fought back fiercely at the enemy. Suddenly a burst of 40-mm. shells from her Bofors guns put out the searchlights which were so hampering the Dutchman, and she now poured in more and more 6-inch shells. The enemy's fire ceased.

During this running fight the four American destroyers had each launched their dozen torpedoes, hitting a cruiser, several destroyers and some transports. Among the enemy there was much confusion, with wild shooting in all directions. One of the American destroyers was hit in the stern, but in spite of the gaping hole she was able to follow the "Tromp" out of this inferno. Two others, cut off by the Japanese, turned and steamed away southwards.

Four American Destroyers

No commander could expect his vessel to survive after such punishment as the Dutch light cruiser had received, and the "Tromp's" captain broadcast what he expected to be his last message; together with her identification call she radioed repeatedly, "Badly damaged; badly damaged!" All Allied ships listening anywhere in the Dutch East Indies picked up this message and thought, "There she goes!" But there was a much happier sequel. After breaking off the engagement the Dutch commander did not consider it wise to send out any more signals, so that it was not until the morning of February 20 that it was learnt that the "Tromp" was still afloat. She was sighted then with two American destroyers off Patjinan Point (Java).

On this day, as previously, the invasion fleet off Bali was bombed again and again by Dutch Navy and Army aircraft and by American Flying Fortresses. A large Japanese cruiser was seen being towed away towards Macassar. Most of the enemy transports had been sunk. It was estimated that off Bali the enemy had lost 20 ships in all, among them at least one cruiser. Submarines accounted for two more of the invasion fleet. So the use of Bali for the attack on Java by land forces was denied to the enemy. One at least of the three great tentacles was cut, but unfortunately it proved impossible to deal with the other two, and they sufficed for the enemy's task.

The defence of Java was a difficult problem. The Government was at Batavia, while the main centre of resistance was Bandung with its surrounding mountains. Both these towns are in the western part of the island. In the east are the important naval base of Surabaya and the oil centre of Tjepu. The mountains of eastern Java provide terrain suitable for a protracted defence, but the crucial factor in the situation was the vulnerability of the island, with 650 miles of northern coast along which the enemy could land almost with impunity. Even if the Dutch had possessed forces ten times as strong if

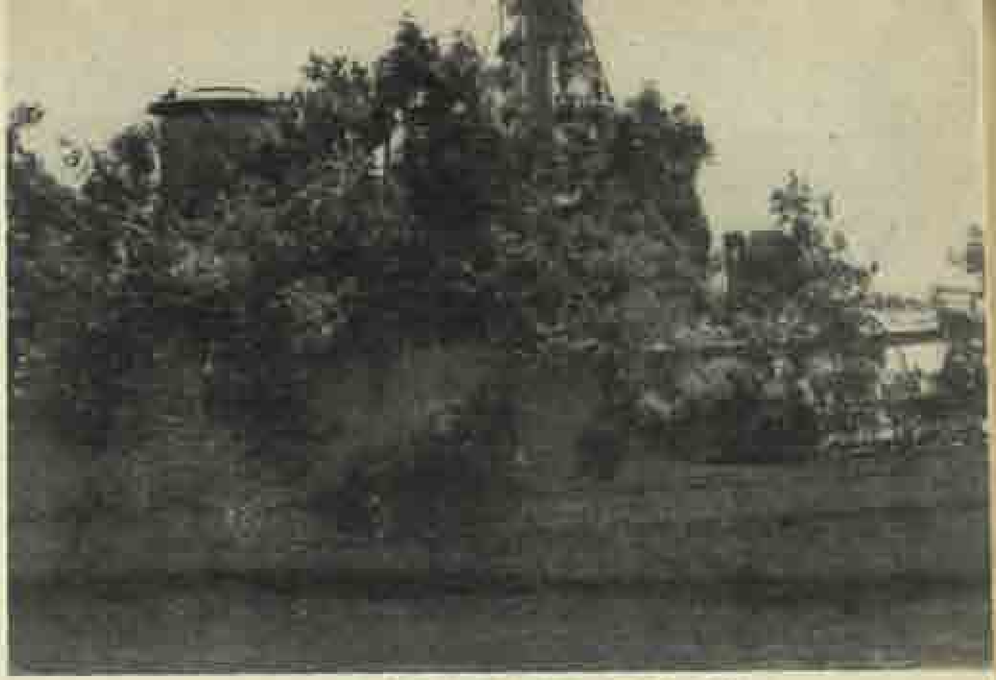
was unlikely that the Japanese could have been prevented from driving across the island and thus splitting the Java defenders in two.

Inevitably, then, the major part in the defence fell to the Dutch and Allied Naval force led by Rear-Admiral Doorman. The Dutch Army had lost much of its strength in land and air battles in the other islands. Now, it became clear, it would have to meet two Japanese forces—one sailing southward from Macassar Strait and the other coming from the South China Sea. So Admiral Helfrich determined to send his small striking force under Doorman against the far superior enemy fleet. As it turned out, the subsequent Battle of the Java Sea was to be the final offensive effort of the United Nations in the South-West Pacific for a long time to come.

After refuelling at Surabaya Rear-Admiral Doorman made sweeps along the north coast of Madura and Java so as to be ready for an encounter with the invasion fleet from the east. Under his command were five cruisers: "De Ruyter" and "Java" (Dutch), "Houston" (U.S.A.); H.M.S. "Exeter" and H.M.A.S. "Perth." His nine destroyers comprised three British ("Electra," "Encounter" and "Jupiter"), two Dutch ("Witte de With" and "Kortenaer"), and four American ("Edwards," "Alden," "Ford" and "Jones"). The Admiral's plan was to bring off another night attack like that which had been so successful in Macassar Strait and in the Battle of Bali. Though it called for the taking of great risks and involved the utmost courage and daring, it had certain advantages. A transport fleet, once landing has begun, is handicapped. Its warships and troopships are an easy prey to torpedoes, and the escort must stay close to the convoy—at the risk of failing to intercept a large-scale attack. Time could be won for the Dutch Army if the planned operation interfered with the concentration of the enemy and depleted the invading force. Doorman could do his utmost against one at least of the attacking fleets.

Doorman's Final Offensive

Doorman's force steamed out of the western approach to Surabaya after dark and made its way along the heavily mined north coast of Madura. A landing on this island had been expected, but the invasion fleet moved on farther west along the coast of Borneo, and in view of this the Allied squadron returned to Surabaya once more. Accurate air reconnaissance was impossible in face of the overwhelming strength of the enemy fighters, but while returning from the



HOW THE 'CRIJNSSEN' ESCAPED FROM JAVA

Reaching Surabaya on March 6, 1942, the Dutch minesweeper 'Crijnssen' found the naval base a mass of flames and the Japanese near by. Her commander determined to attempt the perilous passage to Australia through the enemy-infested narrows of the Archipelago. Brushwood and foliage were gathered (centre), and the warship was cleverly camouflaged until she was indistinguishable from the shore-line background. Top, the funnel and navigation bridge partly concealed. At bottom, the camouflage completed, the 'Crijnssen' steams slowly along, hugging the shore; she reached Australia in safety.

Photos, courtesy of the Royal Netherlands Navy





second sweep the Dutch commander at last received some information. The Japanese fleet of warships and transports was now steaming southward and was off the island of Bawean (about 60 miles N. of Surabaya, in the Java Sea); it comprised 45 transports with several covering squadrons. Doorman immediately resolved to attack. He took a north-westerly course, hoping to come up with the Japanese during the night (February 27–28, 1942). There would be a full moon, and it was likely that the enemy might begin his landings by its light without waiting for dawn.

The Japanese, who had beaten down the Allied air reconnaissance, were fully informed of Doorman's movements. Sending their transports northwards, they concentrated their naval squadrons and steamed at full speed to the south-east. At 4 p.m. on the 27th (Java time) the two forces sighted each other and a long-range battle began. The Japanese force was much stronger—eight cruisers, including Nati- and Mogami-class warships, with about 13 big destroyers. After a quarter of an hour the enemy put up a smoke screen—a tribute to the accuracy of Doorman's shooting. (The U.S. cruiser "Houston" could fire only two of her triple turrets, the third one having been put out of action some time before by air attack.) The Allies tried to close in on the enemy, and at about ten miles' range a large column of smoke indicated that one of the Japanese had been hit.

As the enemy shooting grew more intense most of Doorman's ships came under concentrated fire from two or even three of their opponents. H.M.S. "Exeter" was hit in the boiler rooms, lost speed, and dropped out of line, leaving the "Houston" as the only 8-inch-gun cruiser. The Dutch commander decided to cover the "Exeter." As the Allied line turned to port the Dutch destroyer "Kortenaer" was torpedoed, and sank within a minute (at 5.20 p.m.). It looked as if Doorman's squadron had run into an enemy submarine line, for torpedoes were seen by several ships while Japanese destroyers were still too far distant to be responsible for these attacks.

While the Dutch destroyer "Witte de With" escorted the limping "Exeter" back to Surabaya, the rest of Doorman's force steamed to re-engage the enemy. A quarter of an hour after the loss of the "Kortenaer" the enemy made a destroyer attack. Allied destroyers took up the fight at very short range, and a confused battle raged for some time in the smoke-screened area. Here the British destroyer "Electra" was sunk by enemy shells, while the Japanese lost two (and probably three) destroyers. After beating off the enemy Doorman's force steamed on southward. During the conflict a Japanese destroyer which had broken through had attacked the "Witte de With," but was fought off. When very near the coast H.M.S. "Jupiter" was torpedoed and sank.

After sunset both forces disengaged. Rear-Admiral Doorman reported by wireless that he had damaged and set on fire a Mogami-class cruiser. Other enemy cruisers had been hit, and on balance the Allies had suffered less in this daylight action than the enemy. But Doorman's striking force had now dwindled to four cruisers; his destroyers had fired their torpedoes and were too low in fuel to join the cruisers in the westward sweep the latter now undertook. The Dutch commander desired to make one final effort to elude the enemy covering force and reach the transport fleet itself, but the weather was unfavourable for such a move. There was an almost full moon, so that in a clear tropical night the visibility was nearly as good as by daylight.



BATTLES OF BALI AND THE JAVA SEA

On February 19, 1942, Admiral Doorman's squadron engaged the Japanese invasion fleet off Bali, but could not prevent enemy landings next day. A week later came the titanic battle between Allied and Japanese ships in the Java Sea. On March 1 the enemy landed in Java at Bantam, Indramayu and Rembang. Batavia was evacuated on the 5th; Bandung and Surabaya were in enemy hands on the 9th.

Courtesy of "News Chronicle"

Doorman made the attempt. Enemy aircraft kept contact with the Allied cruisers and indicated their whereabouts by flares dropped incessantly, thus preventing the cruiser force from surprising the transports. So, shortly after midnight, the opposing warships clashed again.

Allied Squadron's Last Fight

The enemy had doubtless received reinforcements. Fire was opened at a range of five miles, and the "De Ruyter" was hit several times. Suddenly the two Dutch cruisers were torn by violent explosions and quickly sank—they had been torpedoed. U.S.S. "Houston" and H.M.A.S. "Perth" broke off the fight and made for Tanjong Priok, the harbour of Batavia. But the way through Sunda Strait into the Indian Ocean was already blocked by Japanese cruisers, while many enemy torpedo-planes and bombers were available from Palembang and from an aircraft carrier. Both cruisers were lost later in the attempt to break through to the Indian Ocean.

The Dutch destroyer "Evertsen" also tried to steal through Sunda Strait, but was caught by two Japanese cruisers and was beached after being badly damaged. After slight repairs H.M.S. "Exeter" left Surabaya with the British destroyer "Encounter" and U.S.A. destroyer "Pope" in an attempt to get through Bali Strait. They were engaged by a strong enemy force and nothing further was heard of them. Four American destroyers were the only warships to escape by making use of the eastern approach, which was not suitable for cruisers; they got through Bali Strait and away into the Indian Ocean, though not without a fight.

By February 28, after the destruction of nearly all the Allied squadron which had fought so hard and gallantly against overwhelming odds, the Java Sea had come entirely under Japanese control. On Sunday, March 1, the enemy landed at three points on the northern coast of Java. Crossing Sunda Strait from Sumatra, one large body landed in Bantam. An invasion fleet landed its



EPISODE IN THE GREAT RETREAT FROM BURMA TO INDIA

Other stages in this remarkable journey are illustrated in p. 2057. The party of American soldiers and British and Burmese nurses came down the Uyu river on rafts, which had to be abandoned before reaching the junction with the Chindwin. Here the party is traversing the sandy approach to the big river, across which native dug-outs furnished the only means of passage. A pass on the farther side of the valley led into Assam.

Photo, "New York Times"



ALLIED RETREAT IN BURMA

Owing to the absence of any satisfactory supply route from India, the Burma Army had to be withdrawn. For much of the way it was a fighting retreat, carried out in masterly fashion under General Sir H. R. L. G. Alexander. For 20 days British, U.S. and Chinese troops made their way through dense jungle, along streams (as here), and over high mountain passes to India.

Photo, Pictorial Press



Photo, Associated Press

U.S. CARRIER 'YORKTOWN' FIGHTS OFF JAPANESE PLANES IN THE BATTLE FOR MIDWAY

It was about 9 p.m. on June 3, 1942, that the Japanese force of warships and transports was first sighted, some 900 miles W. of Midway Island. At dawn next day American bombers and torpedo-planes attacked the approaching enemy; meanwhile U.S. Naval units and the shore installations were themselves attacked by Japanese aircraft. The 'Yorktown' became a target for nearly 40 aircraft from the 'Hiryu' and was put out of action; later, while under tow on June 6, she was torpedoed, together with the U.S. destroyer 'Hammann,' and both warships sank

troops at Indramayu, about a hundred miles east of Batavia; the eastern fleet of transports put troops ashore near Rembang, 90 miles west of Surabaya. The latter force was attacked by Dutch motor torpedo-boats, which sank an enemy flotilla leader. (*See* map p. 2074.)

As the result of the first day's operations the invaders had firmly established their beach-heads. While heavy equipment was being put ashore, light troops moved far inland. With the limited numbers at its disposal the Dutch Command was unable to concentrate big enough forces at the critical moment to attack the beach-heads on a large scale. The defenders had destroyed Tjepu, the only Javanese oil centre, situated near the point where the eastern group had landed. In command here was General Ilgen, who had under him a few battalions of infantry and some Marines—to oppose a Japanese force at least two divisions strong. The defence was thus outnumbered five to six times, and this was typical of the situation at the other landing points. Allied bombers pounded the enemy continually during the first days. Though the enemy's air umbrella was not yet so strong as it later became, owing to the distance from the nearest bases and aircraft carriers, the defence was much too weak to deal a decisive blow at the Japanese in the air.

Three Java Landings

In the east General Ilgen kept up a determined resistance for eight days, but at last he was surrounded and had to yield. In the west, General ter Poorten had to deal with two enemy spearheads. After fighting delaying actions he fell back to mountain positions around Bandung. The enemy circumvented the Dutch coastal defences and used infiltration tactics on a large scale; advancing rapidly across the Java plains towards the mountains, they left the Dutch "hedgehogs" and other defences far behind them. As a result, most of General ter Poorten's advance troops were cut off before they could get to the mountain line. Against key-points of the line itself the Japanese massed heavy artillery and crushed them by sheer weight of metal. After the first week of the invasion their bombers had free range and could choose their targets with impunity, for the Allied air force had been beaten down and driven off.

Bandung fell, but organized resistance went on for a few days longer, until the mountain positions became untenable owing to lack of supplies and incessant hammering from the air. Small, well-trained groups under General



DUTCH GOVERNOR AND C.-in-C. ENTER INTERNMENT CAMP

After the fall of Bandung and Surabaya on March 9, 1942, the Governor-General of the N.E.I., Jhr. A. W. L. Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer (left), and the C.-in-C. of the Dutch Army Lieut.-General Hein ter Poorten (right), were taken prisoner by the Japanese and interned. Above, they are passing together through the gateway into the prison camp.

Photo, Associated Press

Schilling and General Pesman continued to fight in the mountains. General ter Poorten and Governor-General van Starkenborgh Stachouwer were taken prisoner. Despite Japanese reports to the contrary, no order was given to cease resistance. On the contrary, in the last broadcasts from Bandung all commanders of Army units were told to fight on to the end. It suited the Japanese plans to minimize the growing guerilla warfare everywhere in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes; the same hard fight went on also in other Dutch islands farther east, notably in Timor.

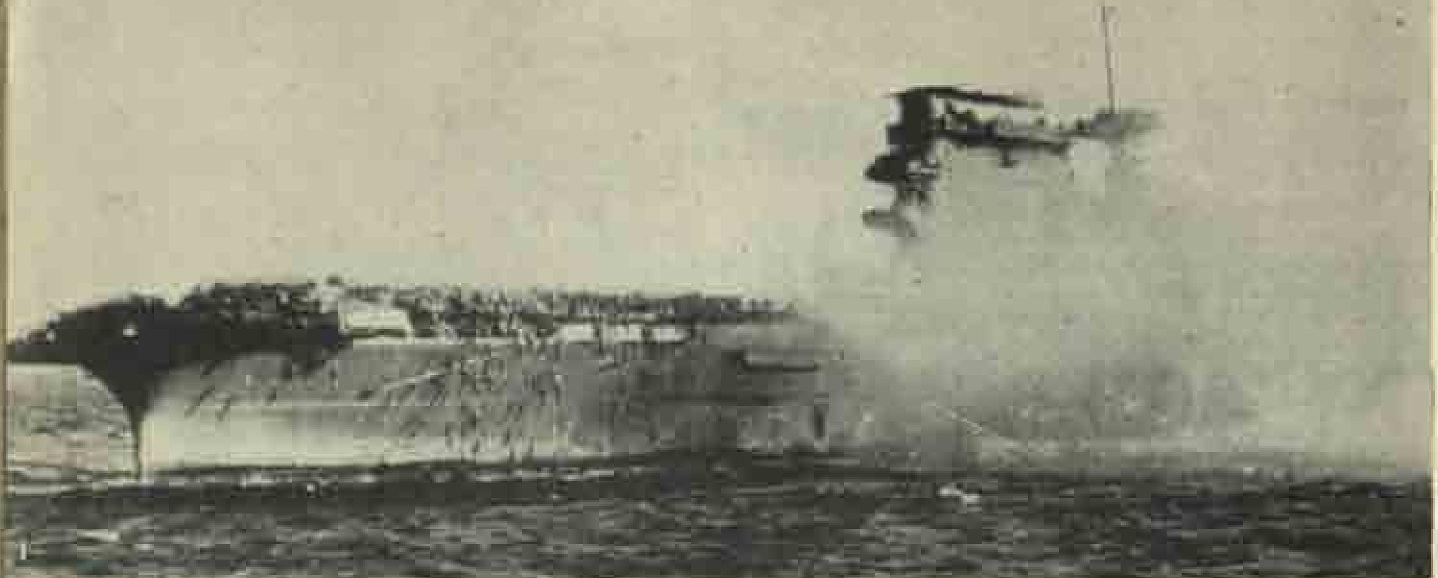
On March 1 Admiral Helfrich left Java with his staff. Naval personnel and the survivors from some Dutch ships were taken off from Tjilatjap at about the same date. Three days later, on March 4, Admiral Helfrich laid down the command of the Allied Force in that area. His ships had in fact fought on to destruction, and the squadron no longer existed. During the brief period since the Japanese onslaught early in December it had written history and achieved immortality. In the noble comradeship of battle Netherlands warships, with those of Britain, Australia and the United States, had been handled with boldness, bravery and skill unexcelled anywhere in the many theatres of war east or west, and had taken toll of the enemy to an extent which must have left its influence on the later campaign.

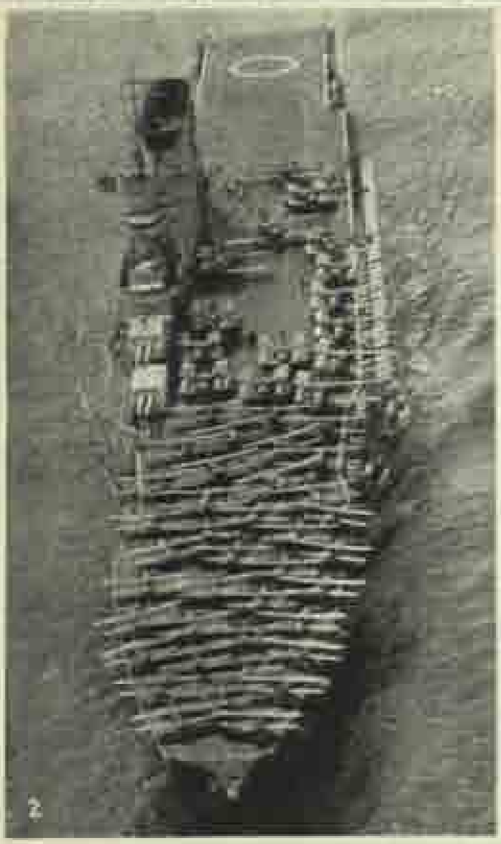
By the middle of March the Battle of Java had ended. When the Japanese entered Surabaya (March 9) they found the naval base and harbour a smouldering heap of ashes. Ships had been sunk along the quays and in the harbour entrance. Oil tanks had been alight for a week, and everywhere there was devastation impossible to repair. Surabaya's dockyards and factories, like those of other towns of the Netherlands East Indies, would have to be rebuilt from the ground up, and every scrap of machinery and equipment would have to be brought from Japan.

What Japan Lost

Java and the rest of the Dutch islands could not immediately be employed by the Japanese as a base for an attack on Australia. The islands had hardly any industrial resources left.

In many ways the conquest must have proved disappointing to the enemy. There were tens of thousands of rubber trees still intact, and rubber still flowed, of course, but the factories had been burnt down and it would be impossible to keep up the production of sheet rubber on a large scale. Tin dredgers everywhere had been demolished, together with the plant for treating the product. All that the enemy was likely to get out of Java was rice, grown in abundance by millions of peaceful and industrious Javanese peasants.





BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA, MAY 6-7, 1942

On May 4, 1942, the American carriers 'Lexington' (2) and 'Yorktown' with escorting cruisers and destroyers under Vice-Admiral F. J. Fletcher had bombed Japanese warships and transports at Tulagi, in the Solomons. Fletcher's forces then steamed into the Coral Sea to deal with other enemy warships. On May 6 aircraft from 'Lexington' sank the enemy carrier 'Ryukako' (4), seen just after a torpedo hit. Next day, after more heavy attacks from the U.S. carriers, the Japanese force was turned back. 'Lexington' was hit by two torpedoes and many bombs; blazing fiercely she steamed away, but a very heavy explosion (3) of petrol vapour damaged her so much that the crew abandoned ship (1), and she was finished off by American torpedoes. The 'Yorktown' received some bomb damage





Chapter 209

WAR AT SEA: ALLIES' UPHILL TASK IN THE PACIFIC

This Chapter gives a general review of naval activities in all oceans during the first six months of 1942, when the United Nations were reeling from the shock of Japanese aggression. For a first-hand account of the sea battles around the Netherlands East Indies see Chapter 208

During the early months of 1942 the Pacific demanded most attention, although constant vigilance was necessary in other areas to counter the manoeuvres of Germany and Italy. The Japanese operations, in the main successful, were not only a danger to all Allied territory in the Pacific but threatened the Indian Ocean and the Cape route along which all our supplies to the Middle East army were carried. Japanese methods were not unexpected; it had long been obvious that Japan would not risk her more important naval material against Allied fleets designed and able to meet an enemy in battle. Like Germany, she held her heavy metal in reserve, working southward with her oldest armoured ships supported by many cruisers and innumerable small craft.

The Americans were successful in concealing the real extent of damage by the Pearl Harbour attack. Tokyo repeatedly flew kites in search of information about the position and strength of the main U.S. fleet, claiming that it had been entirely destroyed; Washington was perfectly truthful in announcing the ships actually destroyed, but did not tell of those damaged until a year afterwards, by which time they were on service again. The fleet at Pearl Harbour had numbered 86 units, apart from small craft, and included eight battleships and seven cruisers. (For a fuller account of events in Hawaii see Chapter 197.) Of the battleships only the "Arizona" was entirely lost, but four others were so severely damaged that they were out of action for a long time, while three other battleships and many smaller vessels sustained serious injury.

Pearl Harbour

Another serious handicap to the Allies was the shortage of aircraft carriers. The British ones had been designed to work with the fighting squadrons and were large and very expensive ships which took a long time to build; the American carriers were more varied in size, but were all elaborate. The number of U.S. carriers available was not published, but Mr. Churchill announced that in December 1941 the Admiralty had only one on service in the whole fleet; four out of the total of seven had been sunk and two others were under repair. The one which was ready could not be spared to go East. On the Japanese side the number of specially designed carriers had been kept very secret, but in addition Japan was using many converted merchantmen (including tankers and passenger liners) whose speed was quite inadequate for tactical operations with naval squadrons. These auxiliaries, operating from pre-selected bases among the Pacific islands, proved exceedingly troublesome and took the place of shore airfields which would have demanded long preparation.

In the New Year the Japanese accelerated their attacks on the Dutch East Indies, as the obvious step towards an assault upon Australia, while a powerful combined force maintained the investment of the Philippines. The United Nations were outnumbered on, under, and over the water, but their naval forces, particularly submarines, were reinforced as quickly as possible and the Japanese ships were harried. The closest cooperation between the naval and air arms produced invaluable reconnaissance in spite of many difficulties, which were increased when the U.S.S. "Langley" was sunk in February while carrying a large number of badly needed aircraft. This cooperative reconnaissance of the two arms detected a big Japanese convoy of about 40 transports with cruiser and destroyer escort passing south through the Macassar Strait on January 23, when a six-day combined air and naval attack was immediately launched by the Allies. Ten transports were sunk or probably sunk and others damaged, while enemy warships were hit by torpedoes and bombs. One cruiser was almost certainly put down. One destroyer was sunk by a Dutch submarine and at least two were "probables" from bombs. At the same time (Jan. 26) two veteran destroyers from the First Great War—H.M.A.S. "Vampire" and H.M.S. "Thanet"—intercepted a superior Japanese force off the east coast of Malaya covering a landing. One transport was sunk and the "Thanet" picked up survivors; the two British destroyers then attacked the main enemy fleet of one cruiser and three destroyers. In a running fight the "Thanet" was sunk, but one Japanese destroyer also went down and another was damaged. Early in February American surface ships sank a cruiser off Amboina.

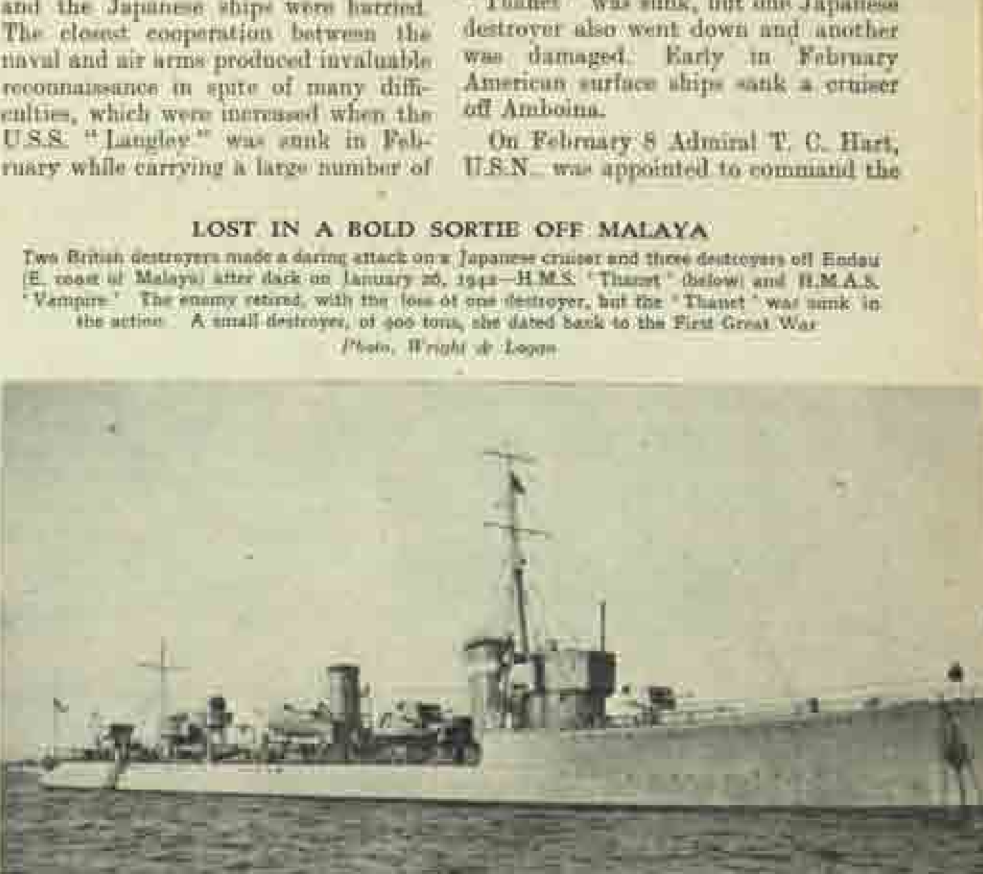
Macassar Strait

On February 8 Admiral T. C. Hart, U.S.N., was appointed to command the

LOST IN A BOLD SORTIE OFF MALAYA

Two British destroyers made a daring attack on a Japanese cruiser and three destroyers off Endau (E. coast of Malaya) after dark on January 26, 1942—H.M.S. 'Thanet' (below) and H.M.A.S. 'Vampire.' The enemy retired, with the loss of one destroyer, but the 'Thanet' was sunk in the action. A small destroyer, of 900 tons, she dated back to the First Great War

Photo, Wright & Logan







LOST IN THE BIG RAID ON COLOMBO

Early in the morning of April 5, 1942, about 75 carrier-borne Japanese aircraft bombed Colombo, a third of them being shot down and another third damaged. The 8-inch-gun cruisers 'Cornwall' (left) and 'Dorsetshire' had left the port, but were sunk by the first dive-bombing attacks. Top, survivors from the 'Dorsetshire' seen from a rescuing destroyer; more than 1,100 were picked up from the two cruisers.

Photos, Fox; Wright & Logan

combined American, British, Dutch and Australian forces in the Pacific, but within a few days he was relieved owing to ill-health and was succeeded by the Dutch Vice-Admiral Helfrich. (*See* Chapter 208 for a detailed account of the operations in the Dutch island waters.)

On February 19 the Japanese landed on Bali Island, but were successfully attacked by Allied ships under Dutch leadership in one of the most dashing exploits in Dutch naval history. On this day also the first active move by the enemy against Australia took place—an air raid on Darwin which caused a certain amount of damage in the harbour. Japanese landings on Java were preceded by the Battle of the Java Sea (February 27), when Admiral Helfrich ordered the Allied forces to attempt to break through the strong Japanese covering fleet to reach the transports. Under Rear-Admiral Doorman they made a sweep along the northern coasts of Madura and Java. The fleet consisted of the Dutch cruisers "De Ruyter" and "Java," and the destroyers "Witte de With" and "Kortenaer," the British cruiser "Exeter" and the destroyers "Jupiter," "Encounter" and "Electra," the Australian cruiser "Perth," and the American cruiser "Houston" with four U.S. destroyers.

A night attack on the Japanese was planned, but inferiority in the air prevented exact intelligence being transmitted; the Japanese observed the movement, sending their transports northward for safety while they concentrated their warships. The action started at long range at four in the afternoon, but the enemy, whose superior force consisted of numerous cruisers and heavy destroyers, soon shortened the range under cover of smoke screens.

Considerable damage was done to the enemy in the early stages, but H.M.S. "Exeter" was hit in the boiler room and had to fall out of the line, escorted to temporary safety by the "Witte de With." The "Kortenaer" was hit amidships and sank at once. The Allied line then turned southerly to cover the retirement of the "Exeter," but the Japanese launched a destroyer attack at 5.30, sinking H.M.S. "Electra," but losing two and probably three destroyers. Soon afterwards H.M.S. "Jupiter" was sunk, apparently by a submarine. The action was broken off then, but the Allied fleet returned after nightfall in another attempt to reach the transports, seriously hampered because the destroyers had run out of torpedoes and fuel.

The Allies were discovered by Japanese aircraft and soon after midnight the action was resumed at about five miles' range. The "De Ruyter" and "Java" were hit by torpedoes and sank rapidly. The U.S.S. "Houston" and H.M.A.S. "Perth" succeeded in reaching Batavia, but after refuelling there and attempting to pass the Sunda Strait they were sunk. Although the enemy losses were estimated at one heavy cruiser and several destroyers sunk, with several cruisers damaged, the wiping out of the Allied fleet permitted the landing operations to continue uninterrupted. On March 1 the "Exeter" with H.M.S. "Encounter" and the U.S. destroyer "Pope" were sunk in Javanese waters. (*See* Chapter 208.)

Loss of 'De Ruyter' and 'Java'

On March 4 the Dutch Rear-Admiral Van Staveren succeeded Admiral Helfrich in the Allied command, and six days later the naval base of Surabaya fell. The old American destroyer "Stewart," under repair there, was destroyed. H.M. destroyer "Stronghold" and H.M. Australian sloop "Yarra"

were sunk in the East Indies, fighting gallantly to the last.

Allied air attacks on Japanese ships were incessant. Many of the enemy ships were sunk and more damaged, so that they experienced difficulty in carrying out even temporary repairs in the secret bases they had established in the islands. Allied submarine forces were also increased, and succeeded in sinking a number of enemy vessels of all types. In April two American motor torpedo-boats of Lieut. John Bulkeley's squadron (*see* Chapter 210) made a particularly dashing night attack on a cruiser escorted by four destroyers off Cebu; the cruiser was left in a sinking condition. These comparatively minor successes were encouraging and kept the enemy on the jump, but the situation was exceedingly dangerous. The Allies determined to hold at all costs Port Moresby, which controlled the Torres Straits and the easiest invasion route to Australia. Meanwhile America rushed men and munitions to Australasia.

The unexpectedly rapid Japanese advance through Malaya brought the enemy opposite Singapore at the end of January. On the 30th the British withdrew to the island of Singapore, the Navy and R.A.F. assisting a very difficult operation.

Fall of Singapore

The Japanese followed them up on February 8, and a week later the fortress capitulated. The loss of Singapore was a terrible shock to the Empire and a grievous setback to the Allied cause. Deprived of the great base, the Allied naval forces were in a very difficult position. The Japanese were vague about the material which they claimed to have captured, and the British made no statement at all. The fall of Singapore left the Indian Ocean practically open from the east, and the Japanese now intensified their attack on Burma, taking Rangoon on March 8 and Mandalay on May 7. The Andaman Islands were attacked by carrier-borne aircraft on February 24 and occupied a month later after the British force had withdrawn.

The overwhelming Japanese naval preponderance in the Indian Ocean threatened very serious results, but surprisingly little advantage was taken of it—although of course there were casualties. Merchant shipping in the Bay of Bengal was attacked by enemy surface craft and aeroplanes, and H.M. Indian sloop "Indus" was sunk by bombing attack while attempting to protect Allied ships. On April 5 carrier-borne Japanese planes carried out a very heavy day raid on Colombo, but secured little result, and this at heavy cost. Unfortunately the British 8-inch-gun cruisers "Dorsetshire" and "Cornwall," which had left the port, were sunk by the first dive-bombing attacks. Four days later (April 9) enemy planes bombed the naval base of Trincomalee, Ceylon, when 16 were shot down and their carrier was attacked by British aircraft. H.M. aircraft carrier "Hermes" was suddenly attacked by massed dive-bombers when she had no fighter planes in the air. A heavy bomb struck the ammunition hoist; another demolished the bridge. Several fires were started and the "Hermes" was abandoned in a sinking condition.

As the year wore on Japanese submarines began to show themselves on the East African supply lane to the Middle East. There was evidence that the Japanese were using the Vichy-controlled island of Madagascar, and on May 5 a combined Allied expedition which had been prepared in admirable secrecy arrived. Rear-Admiral Syfret commanded the ships and Major-General Sturges, Royal Marines, was in charge of the land forces. Vichy ships in the ports attempted to resist, but could do nothing, and the operation was carried out with a naval loss of one corvette only.

On New Year's Day the Japanese had entered Manila (*see* Chapter 210). The near-by U.S. naval base of Cavite had already been evacuated. Fighting in the Philippines continued on the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor Island, in which the personnel of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps took a full part, although the fleet itself was unable to give much help. Corregidor did not surrender until May 6.

The approaches to Australia were stubbornly contested. On March 20 a Japanese heavy cruiser was sunk and another damaged by aircraft at Rabaul; but on April 6 a Japanese landing in the Solomons caused further anxiety. A month later a big Japanese force consisting of capital ships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and small craft covering transports was intercepted apparently attempting a descent on the north-east coast of Australia. It was immediately engaged by an Allied task force and the Battle of the Coral Sea forced the enemy to withdraw next day. After the first action the Allies turned south-west and lured the Japanese into pursuing them within range of land-based aircraft from Australia. It was later officially announced that the Japanese aircraft carrier "Ryukaku" and three heavy cruisers, in addition to nine other vessels, had been sunk and a score damaged. The enemy made great claims, but the official U.S. report

Battle of the Coral Sea



ADMIRAL HALSEY'S RAID ON WAKE ISLAND

In a successful attack made on February 24, 1942, and announced on March 25, a force of American cruisers and destroyers commanded by Admiral Halsey sank two enemy patrol boats and three seaplanes; anti-aircraft batteries and aircraft runways were damaged. Above, one of Halsey's cruisers bombarding Wake Island. On March 4 the squadron attacked Marcus Island.

Photo, Keystone



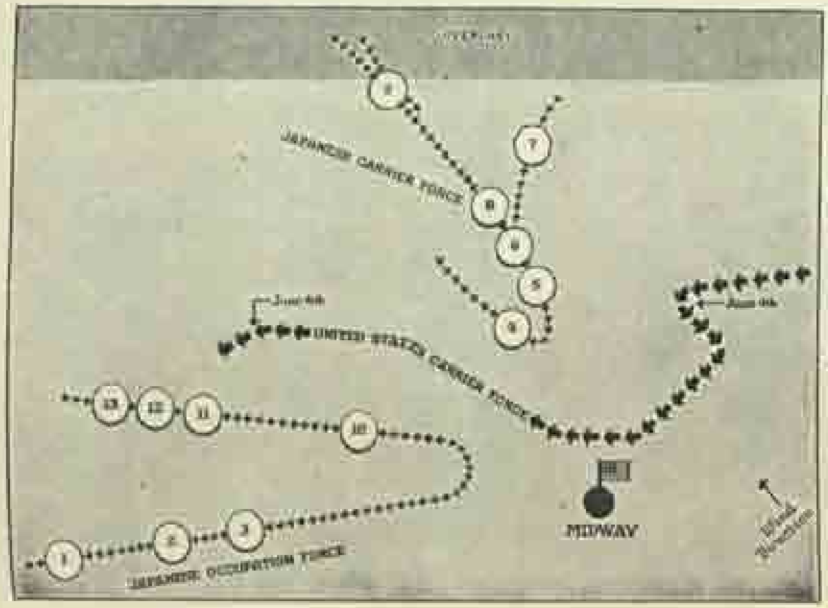


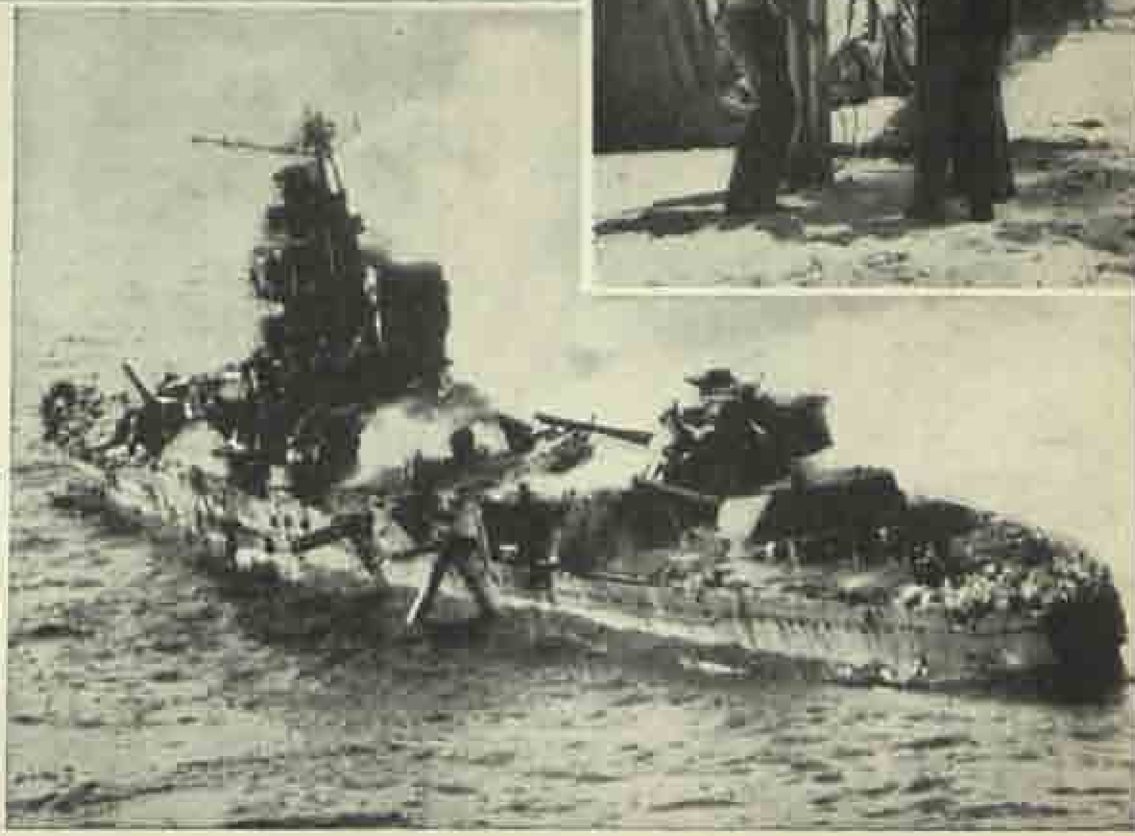
JAPANESE OCCUPATION FORCE

1. Many Japanese ships sighted by Navy patrol planes, morning, June 3, 1942.
2. Enemy ships attacked by Flying Fortresses in afternoon of June 3. Hits on cruisers and transports.
3. Navy patrol planes scored hits in night torpedo attack.
10. Fleeing Japanese ships attacked by Marine dive-bombers and Flying Fortresses on morning and afternoon of June 5. Several hits on cruisers.
11. 12. 13. Carrier dive-bombers made repeated attacks on fleeing Japanese ships; 2 cruisers and 2 battleships sunk.

JAPANESE CARRIER FORCE

4. Japanese striking force consisting of 3 carriers, battleships, cruisers and destroyers. Air attack on Midway launched by this force in early morning of June 4. Attacked by Army and Marine bombers and torpedo-planes, morning of June 4.
5. Carrier-borne dive-bombers and torpedo-planes attacked 3 carriers and 2 battleships, leaving 3 carriers aflame, helpless, and stopped; 1 battleship a mass of flames; 1 destroyer sunk.
6. Carrier 'Soryu' attacked by U.S. submarine; left sinking.
7. Fourth and last Japanese carrier attacked on afternoon of June 4 by carrier-borne dive-bombers. 'Hiryu' crippled, sinking later; 2 battleships damaged, 1 cruiser hit.
8. Army Flying Fortresses attack damaged enemy ships in late afternoon of June 4. Hits on carrier, battleship and heavy cruiser; destroyer sunk.
9. Remnants of Japanese force escaping in bad-weather area.





JAPANESE DEFEAT AT MIDWAY ISLAND SAVED HAWAII

Coming only six months after the crippling American disasters at Pearl Harbour and Manila, the repulse of the Japanese fleet which sought to capture the Naval Base of Midway on June 3–6, 1942, pointed to the speedy recovery of naval strength by the U.S.A. A Japanese success here would have opened the way to the overrunning of Hawaii. Leading events are given above the Chart. Top, left, the U.S. aircraft carrier 'Yorktown' was hit by aerial torpedoes and bombs; she is listing heavily, with destroyers standing by. While under tow to Pearl Harbour on June 6 she was sunk by a Japanese submarine. Below, a Mogami-class cruiser after attack by American carrier-borne aircraft. Top, right, hoisting the U.S. flag at Midway during the battle. Altogether the enemy lost the carriers 'Akagi,' 'Hiryu,' 'Kaga' and 'Soryu,' and the 8-inch-gun cruiser 'Mikuma'; two battleships and the cruiser 'Mogami' were damaged.



CAPTAIN C. T. M. PIZEY, C.B., D.S.O., R.N.

Led the destroyer attack on the German warships 'Scharnhorst,' 'Gneisenau' and 'Prinz Eugen' after they had escaped from Brest during the night of February 11-12, 1942. For his services Captain Pizey was made a C.B.; he had previously won the D.S.O. and bar in destroyer exploits.

Photo, British Official: Crown Copyright

gave the losses as the aircraft carrier "Lexington," a destroyer and a tanker. Other ships suffered only minor damage. This action was followed by air and submarine activity on both sides. At the end of May a big Japanese cruiser was sunk, and on the 30th the much-publicized Japanese miniature submarines attempted to raid Sydney Harbour (see p. 2106), damaging a small depot ship and losing at least three of their number.

In the North Pacific the operations were principally to divert attention and disperse forces. Thus on February 24 there was a dashing reprisal upon the Japanese at Wake Island; an American force of cruisers and destroyers suddenly appeared, and in a very short time did a great deal of damage for the loss of only one plane. Elsewhere the Japanese carried out a number of nuisance raids with surface craft and aircraft, the latter apparently launched from submarines, in the hope of keeping many American ships tied up.

Reprisal at Wake Island

Operations on a much bigger scale were attempted by the enemy on June 4, when a force of aircraft carriers, with capital ships and cruisers, attacked Midway Island and were repulsed with heavy loss. The defenders were ready for the attack and the Japanese withdrew after three days of ineffectual assaults. Four enemy aircraft carriers were bombed and probably sunk—"Akagi," "Kaga," "Hiryu," and "Soryu"—in addition to the cruisers "Mikuma" and "Mogami." Three battleships and ten other enemy vessels were damaged. The American losses consisted of the carrier "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Hammann." The carrier was disabled by bombs and later, after the destroyer had attempted to aid her, both were torpedoed.

An operation even more disconcerting began on June 3, when carrier-borne planes attacked the U.S. naval base at Dutch Harbour in the Aleutian Islands. Four days later, assisted by the usual fogs in that area, a combined enemy force descended on the outermost islands of the group, which were practically uninhabited, and established a base at Kiska. There they were constantly attacked and could do little, but conditions favoured them and they remained a direct menace to the Western United States and to Canada.

American submarine attacks in Japanese waters were both sustained and successful, and steadily increased in number. They diverted considerable forces, demanded escort and the arming of merchantmen, and caused a serious shortage of tonnage to the enemy. Convoying warships as well as merchantmen were sunk during these operations.

The role of Germany and Italy during these critical operations in the Pacific was to prevent the dispatch of Allied reinforcements to that area, and for this purpose they intensified the submarine war. Nuisance attacks were carried out on isolated positions and ports, but far more serious was the extension of the area of operations to the Western Atlantic, where depots had apparently been established beforehand. Our losses were heavy, especially before the U.S. Navy could be adequately supplied with patrol craft and American merchant ships could be defensively armed. On the other hand, there were incessant air attacks on the European submarine bases and the areas where submarines were built. Many combined operations took place against these objectives, and a number were not regarded as sufficiently important to be announced. There was a particularly successful operation against the submarine base at St. Nazaire on March 28. H.M. destroyer "Campbeltown" (formerly the U.S.S. "Buchanan") was brought alongside the lock gate leading to the submarine basin and blown up. Commando troops landed, while lively fighting took place between light naval forces of both sides.

Early in February there was a spectacular (and successful) break-out by German warships at Brest. It might have been designed to help Japan by keeping a considerable British force tied down, or to further Germany's own plans against Russian supplies.

The battleships "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" and the cruiser "Prinz Eugen" had been sheltering in Brest, the first two since March 1941 and the cruiser since the end of May. They had been bombed a great many times, but the damage had evidently been made good. After dark on the night of February 11-12 they steamed out towards the west. Helped by the weather, they had a strong escort and were protected by a huge air umbrella reinforced from shore bases as they proceeded along the Channel. (The air battles over them are described in Chapter 213.) As they got through the Straits of Dover our destroyers and motor torpedo-boats attacked them. Our light craft were immediately attacked by aircraft well out to the beam of the fleeing ships, although without result.

'Scharnhorst' and 'Gneisenau'

Enemy motor torpedo-boats laid a smoke screen alongside the big ships, and our attack was carried out under great difficulties. Motor gunboats gallantly supported our motor torpedo-boats, and in spite of German destroyers our light craft returned, when they had expended their torpedoes, without



COMMANDER A. C. C. MIERS, V.C., D.S.O.

In command of H.M. submarine 'Torbay,' he attacked enemy shipping in a defended Mediterranean harbour; he charged his batteries on the surface in full moonlight, and waited till daylight to discharge his torpedoes. In July 1942 he was invested with the V.C., and 27 of his officers and men also were decorated; in a year 'Torbay' had sunk or damaged 70,000 tons of enemy shipping.

Photo, Planet News

casualty and with only slight damage. Later the "Gneisenau," very severely damaged, was observed at Gdynia, and the "Scharnhorst" was seen in dockyard hands at Kiel.

The "Prinz Eugen" went north. She was seriously damaged by H.M. submarine "Trident" off the Norwegian coast on February 23, and was then towed into Trondheim. On May 17, having sailed with destroyer and air escort for Germany, she was attacked by our aircraft off Southern Norway and hit by torpedoes. Her mission was apparently connected with the Germans' main purpose of intercepting convoys to Russia. In this the enemy was greatly assisted by his advanced naval bases and airfields on the Norwegian coast, so that the Allied convoys invariably ran the gauntlet of attack.

Attack on 'Prinz Eugen'

On one of these occasions, at the end of March, German surface craft attacked a convoy, but were driven off by H.M. ships with Russian assistance. Three enemy submarines at least were severely damaged in this action, and of the British escort only the cruiser "Trinidad" and the destroyer "Eclipse" suffered damage. Shortly before this the German battleship "Tirpitz" had been attacked by the Fleet Air Arm off Norway, but had escaped under a smoke screen after bringing down two of our planes. Her departure from Trondheim had been reported by aerial reconnaissance; she was apparently proceeding north to attack the convoy mentioned, but was headed off.

Another noteworthy naval and air attack in these waters lasted from April 30 until May 3. A convoy bound for Russia with supplies and another returning empty were both attacked; three outward-bound ships were sunk and one returning. One German destroyer was put down and another seriously damaged, while many enemy aircraft were destroyed. H.M. cruiser "Edinburgh" was torpedoed by a submarine on the first day of the action; with her steering gear out of action she continued at reduced speed, steering with her screws. Later, when in tow, she was attacked by three destroyers; she sank one and damaged another, but one enemy torpedo got home, and towing became so difficult that it would have endangered the convoy. She was therefore sunk by other of our ships.

Apart from these Russian convoys the main activity in Home Waters was constant actions between the light forces (motor torpedo-boats and motor gunboats) and cross-attacks on commerce and supply ships. The task of the motor gunboats was to draw off the German warships while motor torpedo-boats got home on the supply ships. There was also an immense amount of mine-laying, largely from the air, making it increasingly difficult for the Germans to persuade Swedish seamen to man supply ships.

In the Mediterranean there was great activity. In April an Allied submarine sank a big Italian 8-inch-gun cruiser. On May 11 H.M. destroyers "Lively," "Jervis," "Kipling" and "Jackal" were attacked by waves of aircraft. Only the "Jervis" survived.

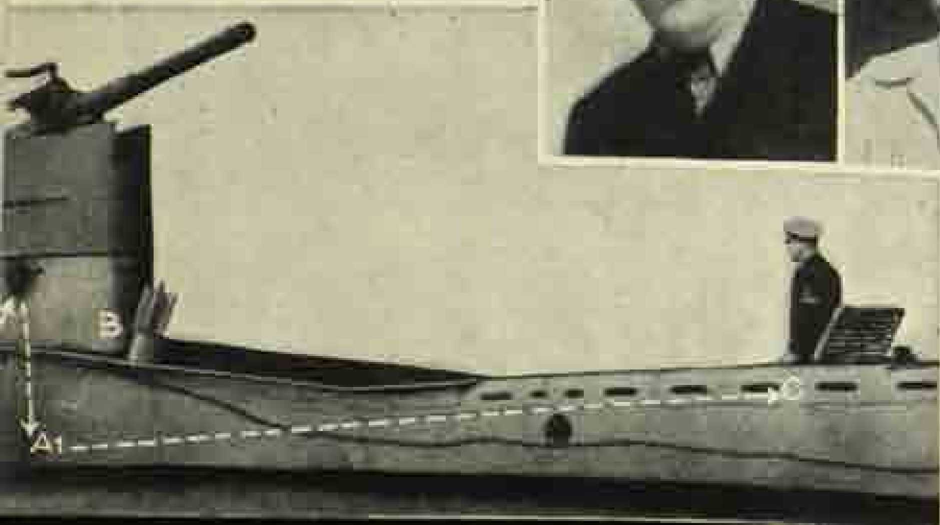
Incessant air attacks on Malta engaged most of our aircraft based there and thus permitted Axis supplies and reinforcements to reach North Africa—despite the good work of our submarines. It became absolutely necessary to throw supplies into the island. On March 22 an allied convoy attempting to force its way through from Alexandria was attacked by four Italian cruisers, which were driven off by the escort without damage. The enemy later returned in greater force, including battleships, of which one was torpedoed. Two enemy cruisers were also damaged as well as one British cruiser and three of our destroyers. The convoy was continually battered from the air, but suffered little damage until it was delayed by a fierce gale which gave the enemy their opportunity, although even then only one merchant ship was sunk.

In the middle of June another big attempt was made to aid the island, with the simultaneous dispatch of two convoys, one from the west and one from the east. The eastern convoy, under Rear-Admiral Vian, found its way barred by two 35,000-ton battleships of the Littorio class, four cruisers, and at least eight destroyers. These ships were attacked by our aircraft from Malta and the Western Desert.

A 10,000-ton cruiser of the Trento class was bombed, and was later sunk by a British submarine; the convoy reached Malta without being actually engaged, but of the escorting force the cruiser "Hermione," the destroyers "Bedouin," "Hasty," "Grove" and "Airedale," the Polish destroyer "Kujawiak" and 30 aircraft were lost. The Italians had one battleship torpedoed but not sunk, and lost one cruiser, two destroyers and a submarine. The western convoy sailed under Vice-Admiral Curteis. The naval opposition which it encountered was not so serious, but it was under constant air attack and eventually only part of the convoy reached Malta. In the meantime the enemy had advanced in North Africa, the Navy helping to cover Auchinleck's fighting retreat, and on June 21 came the fall of Tobruk.







HEROISM ON THE 'THRASHER'
On February 16, 1942 the submarine 'Thrasher' sank a heavily escorted supply ship and was herself attacked. After dark, when she surfaced, two unexploded bombs were found in the gun casing: below, (A) where one entered and (A-1) where it lodged. Position of the second bomb at (B). Lieut. P. S. W. Roberts, R.N. (left), and Petty Officer T. W. Gould (right, and at C, below) removed the bombs; the first one had to be dragged 20 feet through the casing from (A-1) to the hatchway at (C). On June 9, 1942, Roberts and Gould were awarded the V.C.

Chapter 210

HARD-FOUGHT CAMPAIGN IN THE PHILIPPINES

This authoritative account of General MacArthur's tenacious resistance to Japanese aggression in the Philippine Islands, culminating in the heroic defence of the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor, is based in the main on cables from the Associated Press correspondent with the American Forces in Luzon, and Official U.S. Communiqués. The campaign lasted five months

"We lost the Philippine campaign on the opening days of the war. More correctly, we lost it before the war started. Our foreign policies and our military policies in the Far East were not coordinated. We were not in any proper sense prepared to implement our political opposition to the Japanese course of empire, or even to defend what we owned." So writes Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, Military Editor of The New York Times, when endeavouring, in July 1942, to assess the causes of his country's setbacks in the Pacific. He points out that Japan's initial blows at the Philippines, like the attack on Pearl Harbour, had one purpose—to neutralize the offensive power of the U.S.A. The United States Fleet had already been weakened by transfers to the Atlantic when the Pearl Harbour catastrophe further reduced its ability to interfere with the Japanese drive towards the south-western Pacific.

The fate of Luzon and Bataan was, in fact, sealed just before 1 p.m. on December 8, 1941 (local time), ten hours after the attack on Pearl Harbour. The main American bomber force (which apparently consisted of about 36 aircraft) was at Clark Field, 40 miles N. of Manila. Here the machines had been lined up, with crews standing by, waiting orders to bomb Japanese bases at Formosa. American fighters were at Iba Field, near by. Fighters, with some bombers, had been up that morning, but had been recalled for orders. While the expected instructions were being issued the enemy struck from the air.

Japan's Crippling Blow

At ten thousand feet, 54 Japanese heavy bombers roared over Clark Field, showering high explosives on the grounded American bombers, destroying many aircraft and wrecking hangars and runways. In their wake came 86 Zero fighters, which made low-level attacks on ground forces and A.A. batteries. Simultaneously, other raiders dived down upon the parked fighter aircraft at Iba Field. At both aerodromes the enemy left a roaring hell of flames from burning planes and, though some aircraft were saved, the main strength of the American air force was gone. Presumably the enemy bombers had flown from Formosa and Hainan, while the fighter escorts had come from two aircraft carriers.

Earlier on the 8th Japanese bombers had struck at American outpost airfields along the N. and W. coasts of Luzon. Even certain "secret" aerodromes completed only ten days before were attacked. By perfectly planned and well coordinated operations the enemy destroyed some aircraft on the ground at every place. Enemy aircraft had been flying over Luzon several nights before war broke out; they had been located by detectors, and once a formation of fighters tried unsuccessfully to intercept them. At Aparri, on the N. coast, at the mouth of the Cagayan river, agents of the Japanese had prepared a large landing ground, which was camouflaged as a rice field. Machines which landed here on December 8 were operating from this airfield a few days later. They were not left unmolested, and American fighters destroyed many in the air or on the ground.

Soon after midnight of December 8–9 Japanese bombers came in over Manila Bay and raided Nichols Field on the outskirts of the city, where American fighter planes were stationed for the defence of Cavite naval base. The raiders were guided by fires lit on the ground by local agents. The turn of Cavite came a day and a half later: about noon on the 10th a heavy bomber force criss-crossed the naval base for several hours without hindrance. The first bomb hit a power station and the second a fire station; damage and casualties were heavy. Most of the ships of the squadron were at sea, but by the destruction of Cavite the United States Navy lost its only effective operating base in the Philippines. Its submarines continued to operate for some days in the island waters, where they attacked enemy ships, but most of the surface vessels were withdrawn to Java. Spies and enemy agents aided the Japanese, and a number were captured

Raid on Cavite



PRESIDENT QUEZON VISITS GENERAL MACARTHUR ON LUZON

Manuel Quezon (right), though debilitated by a long illness from which he had not fully recovered when Japan struck, displayed fine qualities of fortitude and determination. After the evacuation of Manila he shared the dangers and hardships on Corregidor until February 20, 1942, and then left by submarine to visit other Philippine Islands and hearten the defence. Eventually, from Mindanao he was flown to Australia, where he arrived on March 27

Photo, Keystone



CHECKING THE ENEMY ADVANCE IN SOUTHERN LUZON

From S. and S.E. Luzon the American and Filipino troops fell back to prepared positions nearer the capital, mining bridges and destroying roads as they went. Here soldiers of both nationalities are digging pits to take the explosive charges that will wreck a bridge near Nasugbu. (See map in p. 2094)

Photo, Pictorial Press

during the early days. Radio beams were used to guide enemy bombers to Clark Field and Cavite.

On December 9 the Japanese landed at various points along the N.W. and N. coasts of Luzon between Vigan and Aparri. Three days later another force landed at Legaspe, in S.E. Luzon, and could not be dislodged. Another stage in the operations began on December 22 with landings in force along the Gulf of Lingayen, 125 miles N.W. of Manila. There were about 80 transports with a large and powerful naval escort. Despite strong resistance by American and Filipino troops the enemy made headway, landing tanks which immediately went into action.

When the first Philippine President, Manuel L. Quezon, had begun to form a national army in 1935 he had selected as his adviser General Douglas MacArthur, who had recently retired from the post of Chief of Staff, U.S. Army. One of America's ablest soldiers and a skilful organizer, MacArthur also fully realized the vital importance of the Philippines to both his own country and Asia. But although he tackled his complex task of rendering the islands "impregnable" with characteristic vigour and dispatch, political intrigue both internal and external combined with apathy in Washington to make progress very slow. When on July 26, 1941, General MacArthur was abruptly appointed Commanding General of the U.S. Forces in the Far East, it was too late to retrieve the situation.

MacArthur found himself in command of about 50,000 men, most of whom were Filipino reservists, green and untested, poorly armed and equipped. The few American troops included National Guards from various States, the 31st Infantry, the 4th Marine Regiment, and the Philippine Scouts. Owing to the lack of naval or air support, MacArthur was compelled to fight delaying actions, as the enemy overcame opposition and pressed down southwards from the Lingayen area. American officers did their best and the Filipinos fought bravely, but the Japanese were in overwhelming numbers and had indisputable control of the air. MacArthur was forced back upon a strategy of withdrawal into Bataan.

The official plan had been prepared some years before; it called for the holding of Bataan for two months, until *reinforcements* could be sent from America, and took it for granted that the United States would have the necessary air and sea power to protect its troop transports. But it seems that the crushing blows at Pearl Harbour and the mid-ocean bases, plus the enemy's enormous strength in the air, made it impossible to aid MacArthur. American commanders who knew the truth had a heartrending task sending young Filipinos to die on the battlefield in a cause already lost. Those who led the native troops fought gallantly enough, and nerved their men to take a heavy toll of the invaders.

Withdrawal into Bataan

The movement towards Bataan was so well screened that, despite their many agents, the Japanese apparently failed to detect it. On several occasions the invaders might have destroyed American and Filipino forces before they could have reached Bataan, but they did not press their attacks. The Peninsula was at that time virtually undefended, and an enemy landing there would have blocked MacArthur's way into Bataan.

The withdrawal began on December 21. The Japanese advanced rapidly,



HEROES OF BULKELEY'S TORPEDO-BOAT SQUADRON

In the text are related some of the exploits of the six light M.T.B.s commanded by Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley (third from left). Notable among these operations were the taking of General MacArthur's party through the Japanese sea lines to the Cuyo Islands on March 11, 1942, and the transport of President Quezon from the Visayas to Mindanao a week later to board a plane for Australia. Left to right, Ensign A. B. Akers, Lieut. R. B. Kelly, Lieut. Bulkeley and Ensign G. E. Cox.

Photo, Pictorial Press

despite terrific losses, and threatened to turn MacArthur's left flank. A stand was made along the Agno river, where a fierce battle was fought, but ground had to be given to the enemy. While some units fought a brilliant delaying action to draw off the main enemy force, Major-General Jonathan Wainwright (MacArthur's second-in-command) was able to disengage his army and make his way towards Bataan with nearly all the guns and supplies. Wainwright fought all the way, using a limited number of tanks to the utmost advantage and keeping his line intact. As he retreated, he destroyed bridges and wrecked anything likely to be of aid to the Japanese. Behind his protective screen everything possible was transported to Bataan by land and water.

Landings in S.E. Luzon

In S.E. Luzon the Filipinos under Brig.-Gen. A. M. Jones had to fall back as more and more of the enemy landed—at Antimonan (75 miles S.E. of Manila) and at Mauban (30 miles N. of Antimonan on Lamon Bay). By the 25th there was increasing pressure from this direction. Filipino troops in the sector were inexperienced and few in number, and orders were given for a withdrawal north-east towards Manila. Many units were cut off and were disbanded by their officers. Rifles were buried and the officers made their way towards the capital, destroying bridges as they went. Other enemy forces landed at Nasugbu, 15 miles from the entrance to Manila Bay on the the S.W. coast.

On Christmas Day a determined attempt was made to halt the Japanese in the south; near Laguna de Bay (see map in p. 2092) American troops counter-attacked with tanks, but the accurate fire of the enemy's anti-tank guns destroyed most of Wainwright's armour. Henceforth there was virtually nothing between the enemy and Manila but well-paved roads.

From north-west and south-east the invaders were now converging upon the capital, which was declared an open town on December 26, and the civil government withdrawn. Despite this, Manila was bombed for three hours on the 27th by low-flying aircraft; it was raided again the following day. President Quezon had left for Corregidor on December 24. All the ground supplies at Clark Field had been destroyed by the defenders on Christmas Day; the same night American naval units had set fire to buildings and dumps at Cavite Bay. Fort Wynn, on Subic Bay, and the naval station at Olongapo were also destroyed, while military installations around Manila Bay were similarly put out of action. No attempt was made by Japanese



CAMPAIGN IN THE PHILIPPINES

The main Japanese attack was against Luzon; strong enemy forces landed on the W. coast on December 22, and others drove N. from S.E. Luzon. Manila was evacuated on December 24. General MacArthur withdrew his armies into Bataan, where they fought on until April 9, 1942; Corregidor Island held out until May 6. Davao, in Mindanao, had been bombed, like the Manila bases, on December 8. Twelve days later a Japanese force landed here, others reaching Zamboanga on March 1. Cebu Island was invaded on April 10 and fell on the 18th. Japanese landed at Panay on April 17, and on Mindoro on March 7. (See also map in p. 2032.)

aircraft to bomb troop concentrations on the roads during the 27th.

There were occasions during the critical last ten days of December when the withdrawal into Bataan might have been turned into a disorderly retreat, but MacArthur and his field officers held the army together and successfully completed the operation—an achievement which ranks with the subsequent brilliant defence of the Peninsula. Wainwright's northern army and the troops from south-eastern Luzon under Brig.-Gen. Jones had joined forces in the face of strong enemy attempts to prevent this concentration at the last moment. By 3 a.m. on New Year's Day the task of withdrawal into Bataan was finished; the last blacked-out lorry convoy from Manila crossed the bridge at San Fernando on the road to Hermosa in bright moonlight, and Wainwright's engineers blew up the bridge behind it.

The Bataan Peninsula is 15–20 miles wide and about 32 miles long; its area is a little greater than that of the Isle of Wight. It is dominated by the Mariveles Mountains (4,661 ft.) and,

nearer the neck of the Peninsula, by Mt. Natib (4,222 ft.). A road runs down the east coast, by way of Hermosa, Orani, Abucay, Balanga, Pilar, Limay and Cabcaben (see map in page 2092). The first front line ran from Moron (on the W. coast) to Abucay, with secondary positions on another line below Bagac and Pilar. These lines were not continuous, but consisted of "foxholes," machine-gun nests and strongpoints. In the original main defence line the Americans had Mt. Natib at their backs, giving good observation for artillery fire. The flanks were held by Filipino divisions, while Philippine Scout units were on the transpeninsular lines, with United States Infantry—the only American infantry in the Philippines. Mechanical excavators cut out two runways on the ricefields behind Cabcaben (at the S.E. tip of the Peninsula) for the remnants of MacArthur's air force—now only a handful of fighter planes. One hospital was improvised in a building at Limay, and another set up in the open air near Baguio. A.A. guns were installed overlooking Corregidor and Manila Bay.

A few of the remaining light naval craft patrolled Manila Bay; these were mostly minelayers, with three Yangtse gun-boats. A squadron of six torpedo-boats under Lieutenant Bulkeley kept guard off shore. Ammunition was fetched from Corregidor Is. in small boats at night and distributed by lorries, and since there were few buildings on Bataan everything was dumped in the open. Fortunately the weather kept favourable during these tense days of preparation for the imminent Japanese assault, when only aerial attacks had to be met.

Bulkeley's M.T.B. Squadron

The fortress of Corregidor, on an island off the tip of the Peninsula, was first bombed on December 29, when 20 of the garrison were killed and 87 wounded. There was a heavier attack on January 3, and until the 7th the island was given little respite. Day after day heavy bombers pounded the defences but failed to cripple them. The Naval station at Mariveles, on the S.W. tip of the Bataan Peninsula, was also very heavily bombed and the town razed. The floating dock escaped damage, and although the submarine tender "Canopus" received three direct hits it was not sunk. Corregidor was attacked by air again on the 9th and 20th.

The Bataan offensive had really begun on January 6, when the Japanese came up with American advance positions; in the clash that followed some 700 of the enemy were killed. On the 10th, when his reinforcements had arrived, the enemy made another assault (mainly on MacArthur's right flank), but was again checked and withdrew. American artillery north of Abucay (on the coastal road along the Bay side of Bataan) played a large part in this repulse. On the 15th, with the aid of many dive-bombers, the Japanese attempted once more to overrun the defence. Heavy fighting went on until the 17th, when MacArthur's centre was penetrated, the positions being recovered by an American counter-attack two days later. But the enemy was receiving fresh troops daily, as his transports landed in Lingayen Gulf and at Subic Bay. He opened another heavy attack on the 22nd, and next day, on the eastern slope of Mt. Natib, drove a salient half a mile square into MacArthur's defence lines.

Both Moron and Abucay had been taken by the enemy's first drive, but MacArthur ordered counter-attacks which retook these key positions. American infantry drove the invaders out of the frontal salient, but so many snipers had infiltrated that it became impossible to hold the line; moreover, the American artillery observation posts on Mt. Natib were lost. The enemy spent his troops prodigally, advancing down open roads under artillery fire which killed thousands, while hundreds more piled themselves up on the American wire and were killed by machine-gun fire. A remarkable counter-attack on the right caused the Japanese to draw off troops which were threatening to drive in MacArthur's left flank. On January 26 MacArthur withdrew to his second line, which ran across the Peninsula from Bagac to Pilar in lower ground between the two mountain masses of Natib and Mariveles.

Moron-Abucay Line Lost

Although the initial frontal offensive had compelled the defenders to withdraw, it lacked the strength to push the advantage farther. In the second phase of the battle the Japanese tried new tactics. After a heavy attack along the entire line (Jan. 29-Feb. 1) landing parties swarmed ashore during the night of February 2, at four points on the western side of Bataan—the nearest only a mile from Mariveles. Their mission was to cut the road, but American sailors and marines, together with Philippine Scouts, forced their way into the jungles and wiped out the enemy. The threat—an extremely serious one—was countered. At one crucial point Bulkeley's torpedo-boats sank several landing barges. Pilots of American fighters tied bombs to improvised racks and by their daring attacks

WHERE AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS HELD THE ENEMY

Though the story of the Bataan fighting speaks of successive lines of defence, these positions were mere unconnected series of weapon pits and slit trenches to which the U.S. forces gave the name of foxholes. They afforded little protection, especially from the air, as the one shown at left makes all too clear. Right, Filipino scouts, one of whom displays a sword taken from a Japanese officer. These native troops fought magnificently in most arduous conditions.

Photos, Pictorial Press







HERE THE SICK AND WOUNDED OF BATAAN WERE TENDED

Shortage of drinking water and the very hot weather made the proper care of wounded soldiers extremely difficult. The utmost heroism was displayed by nurses and helpers when, as often happened, the flimsily covered field hospitals were bombed by the enemy. Left, three U.S. Army nurses outside their "quarters." At right, Field Hospital No. 2, with an ambulance in foreground

Photos, Pictorial Press ; Keystone

broke up an enemy effort to reinforce his troops. The Japanese called off the invasion attempt by orders dropped from aircraft, and told the survivors to try to swim back to the transports; few succeeded. There had been an attempted landing on Corregidor during the night of January 31, but this was beaten off by the guns of the fortress and many Japanese craft were sunk.

American field artillery on the Peninsula kept up almost continuous fire at night. Most of the guns were concentrated on a small open tract of ground along Manila Bay. Some gun positions had been hacked out of the jungle on the western flank, but the terrain here made the extensive use of big guns impossible, and in any case there was not enough heavy artillery.

There followed a lull of a few days until February 9, when heavier assaults were made on front and flanks. The American and Filipino troops used the interval to strengthen beach defences and to improve supply and communication lines. Tanks patrolled the shore lines. On the right flank Filipino scouting parties penetrated as far as the region beyond Mt. Natib, where the enemy had begun to dig in. The bearing of the Filipinos was splendid, and in the few weeks of battle young recruits had become like veteran soldiers.

Lull Before Onslaught

MacArthur's men had learned that they could beat the enemy, given a fair chance, and only needed reinforcements to stage strong counter-offensives. But it was impossible to send them the help they wanted, for the Allies had lost the mastery of the Pacific. Moreover, on February 6, nine enemy transports had landed troops along the Lingayen Gulf, and as soon as these formations reached Bataan the struggle recommenced on an even bigger scale. By now there were five Japanese divisions on Bataan, and another holding the lines of communication; in Manila was a seventh enemy division.

On the 9th the Japanese attacked in force near the left centre, but were repelled; enemy "suicide squads" tried to work round the flanks, and dive-bombers pounded the entire line. A new threat developed with the posting of heavy Japanese artillery on the southern shores of Manila Bay, near Cavite, whence the guns battered Corregidor and other American forts.

In a successful counter-attack during February 12 Igorotes (Luzon natives) aided the Filipino troops. Some rode on tanks and acted as guides; others, armed with rifles and keen-edged bolos (knives), held a line in the hilly country on the west of Bataan, resisting to the last in their "foxholes"—pits to hold one or more riflemen—trenches, and machine-gun nests. Where the trees were too close together for tanks to penetrate, Igorote volunteers cleared a way with their bolos. Moros (scarcely more than recruits) from the southern Philippines also took part in the counter-attack and did well in hand-to-hand encounters. MacArthur's tanks overran the enemy positions and the infantry mopped up, straightening the defence lines.

There was another lull after the 16th, but artillery fire and dive-bombing attacks continued. More Japanese were landed, this time at Olongapo and Subic Bay. Fort Frank and the other fortresses at the entrance to Manila Bay were heavily shelled from the Cavite position. Local counter-attacks by American and Filipino troops gained some success, and on the 25th certain advance positions on the right were taken from the enemy and held; others were relinquished after inflicting heavy casualties on the invaders.

Drinking water became scarce as the weather grew hotter and most of the brooks dried up. The food problem on the peninsula was worsened by the presence of many thousands of civilian refugees who had fled before the Japanese. A refugee camp had been established at Cabcaben.

American aircraft on March 3 attacked Japanese transports in Subic Bay, sinking three; two launches were also destroyed and many small craft damaged. Enemy stores on Grande Island and at Olongapo were bombed and set on fire. Some of the newly landed enemy formations were surprised on March 8 when moving in lorries to the eastern side of the Peninsula; 29 of the 90 lorries in the column were destroyed by artillery fire. Brilliant operations such as these emphasized the fact that if the defending forces could have been reinforced and given normal aid in guns, aircraft and tanks, the story of Bataan would have been very different.

MacArthur had done all that was possible, and now he was summoned to leave the Philippines. He had been directed by President Roosevelt on February 22 to transfer to Australia, there to assume supreme command of the forces of the United Nations in the S.W. Pacific. He had delayed his departure until he could perfect arrangements within his Philippine Command. He handed over to Major-General Jonathan Wainwright, senior officer remaining in Bataan.

MacArthur Leaves Bataan

Later, President Quezon stated that General MacArthur had accepted the new post primarily in order that he might reconquer the enemy-occupied areas of the Philippines.

The General and his party left Corregidor on the night of March 11 in four of Lieut. Bulkeley's M.T.B.s (the remaining two boats had been lost in operations) and sailed for the rendezvous in the Cuyo Islands, off Panay. With the General were Mrs. MacArthur and their little son Arthur. The rest of the score of passengers was made up of technicians and certain high officers of the three Services. After some difficulties the four craft made the rendezvous early in the morning of the 12th



GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR'S DEFENCE OF BATAAN

A general map of the Philippines is printed in page 2089. General MacArthur, after successfully uniting his northern and southern armies, withdrew them into the Bataan Peninsula, completing the operation on January 1, 1942. After his outposts at the north of the Peninsula had been driven in, MacArthur took up the line Moron–Abucay, holding this until January 26 against violent and frequent attacks by superior numbers. The second defence line ran across the Peninsula from below Bagac to below Pilar. With some lulls the Japanese attacks continued, culminating in a final onslaught (March 31–April 7) which enforced a withdrawal. (MacArthur had handed over to Maj.-Gen. Wainwright on March 17.) On April 9 came the news that the Bataan defences had been overcome. Corregidor held out until May 6.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR *by Felix Gardon*

and hid up out of the way of enemy aircraft. One M.T.B. had dumped most of its fuel when an enemy vessel had been thought to be approaching, and so would not be able to continue the journey to Mindanao.

An American submarine was due to meet the M.T.B.s at the Cuyos on March 13, prepared to take the party to Australia if necessary, but the General decided to follow the first plan and go on to Mindanao. So three of the motor boats set off at dusk on the 12th; the other was destroyed when the submarine in due course reached the meeting place next morning, its crew being landed at Corregidor and its commander (Lieut. Schumacher) going on to Australia in the submarine.

The next lap, to Mindanao, was begun at 6.30 on the evening of March 12. Not long afterwards the party sighted an enemy cruiser and had a narrow escape. It was a rough passage to Mindanao and the party suffered much from seasickness, but between 6 and 7 a.m. on the 13th the three motor boats landed at Cagayan and General MacArthur was met by General Sharp, commanding on Mindanao. MacArthur left on the 18th by air for Australia.*

Harbour defences at the entrance to Manila Bay were under extremely heavy fire from Japanese artillery (some apparently of nearly 10-inch calibre) on March 21. There were sharp skirmishes along the Bataan front, and indications that the enemy was regrouping his forces for another offensive. His naval craft were particularly active, attempting to blockade the unoccupied islands. A demand for surrender was sent on March 22 by Lieut.-General Yamashita, but Wainwright made no reply. There were mass raids on Corregidor by Japanese bombers from the 24th onwards.

On the night of March 31 the expected attack began on Bataan; the Japanese had ample forces and gave them plenty of support with tanks and heavy artillery. The defence lines were strafed by dive-bombers. Wainwright had expected a break-through, and had prepared other positions in the rear. Fighting stopped early in the morning of April 1 and was resumed at nightfall; the second attack then pierced the American line, which was soon after restored by a counter-thrust, pocketing many of the Japanese. Again there was a lull, until the night of the 3rd, when a combined offensive drove back the American right centre some little distance. Landings were attempted from the eastern side of the Peninsula, but the enemy barges were sunk or driven off. Another attempt, made at Patungan, on the southern shores of Manila Bay, was broken up by the guns of the harbour defences. The enemy tried many times to land troops behind the defenders' lines, but in each case he was frustrated by sailors and marines manning the beaches.

Crucial Japanese Offensive

Right up to the night of April 7 the heavy land attacks went on, in what the U.S. War Department termed the longest sustained push by the Japanese since the initial offensive early in January. Sparing no expense, the enemy drove onwards and continually gained ground. That night, since his lines had been penetrated and the positions could not be restored, Wainwright ordered a general withdrawal. He had received a message from President Roosevelt leaving him free to make whatever decision he deemed necessary.

In a report from Wainwright on the 9th (via Corregidor) it was indicated that the position was now very grave. The enemy had enveloped the east flank of the Bataan defences, where the lines were held by the 2nd Corps. An attack by the 1st Corps to relieve them failed owing to the complete exhaustion of the American and Filipino troops. Later on the 9th a brief announcement from Washington stated that the defences of Bataan had been overcome. According to a Japanese statement from Tokyo the actual surrender of Bataan was made by Major-General Edward B. King, Jr. General Wainwright had made his way to Corregidor, and

* The above description of General MacArthur's journey from Corregidor to Mindanao is based on W. L. White's account in "They Were Expendable" (Hamish Hamilton, London).

on the 10th he reported that all communications with Bataan had been cut for 24 hours. Most of the 3,500 sailors and marines on Bataan had been transferred to Corregidor during the hours of darkness. With them had gone a few troops and 68 U.S. Army nurses.

At the time when the Bataan resistance collapsed there were reported to be 36,853 effective American and Filipino troops under Wainwright. Besides these there were 5,500 sick, wounded and non-combatant troops and 25,000 civilians. Late in April the Japanese announced that they had taken 53,400 prisoners in Bataan, of whom 9,553 were Americans. They stated that American and Filipino dead numbered 5,000; out of 1,677 in hospital 986 were Americans. Filipinos constituted the greater part of the defenders of Bataan, the Americans being mostly men of the 31st Infantry Regt. with the crews of two tank battalions and units of self-propelled artillery, and sailors and marines from Cavite. At the start of the Luzon invasion air force personnel numbered 5,000; of these, during the later stages of the battle, some 2,000 fought as infantry after their aircraft had been destroyed or (mainly long-range bombers) transferred to the Netherlands East Indies.

Personnel in Bataan

Food had been rationed after January 11; several shiploads of supplies had later reached the Philippines by ships which ran the blockade, but for every cargo landed two had been lost on the way. There had been no shortage of ammunition, however.

With the Bataan Peninsula in their hands the Japanese now began the task of subduing the strong fortress of Corregidor and the other island forts in the mouth of Manila Bay. There still remained in the north of Luzon small units of American and Filipino troops who fought on in the Cayagan valley, and it is probable that there were other pockets of resistance on the island. An outstanding achievement was a 2,000-mile flight by thirteen American bombers (three Flying Fortresses and ten B-25s) from Australia on April 13–14. Led by Brigadier-General Ralph Royce, they attacked Japanese bases and shipping at Manila, Cebu, Davao and Batangas, and brought back 44 passengers, including American and Filipino officers and pressmen.



FORT MILLS HITS BACK

Corregidor Island, on which is Fort Mills, withstood a siege of 149 days and held out for 27 days after the fall of Bataan. Not till May 6, 1942, did its guns become silent. On one day alone (March 20) enemy air echelons had made fifty attacks on the fort with heavy bombs. *Photo, Associated Press*

The American forces in Corregidor comprised (besides the naval and marine units transferred from Bataan) 2,275 officers and men of the U.S Navy, and 1,570 officers and men of the Marines. The island—an extinct volcano—was naturally strong, and had been further strengthened by well-planned engineering works. Even by modern standards it was a tough obstacle for an invader. Fort Mills had been in U.S. hands for 40 years and had guns up to 12-inch calibre and cunningly sited secondary armament. But its strength depended on the holding of the Bataan Peninsula, at the tip of which was the sister fort of Mariveles, with a naval station. The island has an area of about twelve square miles and is long and narrow. From Bataan it is separated by the two-mile-wide channel known as the Boca Chico (North Channel); on the southern side is the wider channel of the Boca Grande (South Channel), in which are the three island forts of Hughes, Frank and Drum. Events during the opening stages of its siege have been told earlier in this Chapter.



END OF THE FIVE MONTHS' BATTLE

Major-General Jonathan M. Wainwright (right, wearing steel helmet), seen here in a prisoners' camp, took over the command of the Bataan and Corregidor forces when General MacArthur left to go to Australia on March 11. After the fall of Bataan on April 9, Wainwright transferred to Corregidor. *Photo, Associated Press*

President Quezon had taken refuge at Corregidor on Christmas Eve. He was slowly recovering from a long illness and his health caused anxiety. On the evening of February 20 he left the island by submarine and safely reached Panay. With his Cabinet he visited various islands to encourage their defence. Eventually, on March 18, Lieut. Bulkeley took him from the Visayas to Mindanao to join a plane for Australia, where he arrived on March 27.

Corregidor held out for 27 days after the fall of Bataan. It had its 250th air raid on April 27 and was bombed daily. In addition, the fortress was pounded by heavy artillery from the Bay and later from guns on Bataan, only two miles away across the channel. From the beginning of May Corregidor and the forts in the mouth of the Bay were raided from the air a dozen times daily. At midnight on May 4 came the land attack which finally broke down all resistance. First the beaches were shelled to destroy the wire and put machine-gun posts out of action. Then, in steel barges, Japanese troops

crossed from the tip of the Peninsula and rushed the defences. No further news was received by the outside world until, in the early morning of the 6th, General MacArthur's H.Q. in Australia announced that Corregidor and Forts Frank, Drum and Hughes had surrendered. Three hours later the U.S. War Department stated that "the resistance of our troops has been overcome." General Wainwright had chosen to stay with his troops and share their fate.

Some weeks later, in paying tribute to the gallantry and determination of the fortress garrisons, President Roosevelt disclosed the enormous odds against which they had fought. On March 15 about a thousand 240-mm. shells were fired at Fort Frank and Fort Drum; large numbers of smaller shells struck Fort Hughes and Fort Mills. Five days later more than 400 240-mm. shells were fired at Fort Frank, while enemy air echelons made 50 attacks on Fort Mills with heavy bombs. In the weeks that followed this, fire was greatly intensified. Enemy bombers attacked Corregidor at least 300 times.

Corregidor had been bombed an hour or two after the outbreak of war in the Pacific; it had withstood a siege lasting 149 days, and while it held fast the Japanese could not capitalize their gains and make use of the fine harbour of Manila for other aggressive expeditions. Coupled with the glorious stand of Bataan for 98 days, the long fight of Corregidor gained for America (and no less for the United Nations as a whole) most valuable time in which to build up new strength.

By the conquest of Luzon the Japanese had gained their main objective in the Philippines, though this had been a lengthy process, with delays that had played no inconsiderable part in slowing down the already rapid march of aggression. But there are 7,000 islands and reefs in the Philippine archipelago, and it was impossible to comb them thoroughly and stamp out all centres of active or latent opposition.



TWO OF MACARTHUR'S GENERALS

General William F. Sharp, left, was C.-in-C. American and Filipino forces in Mindanao, second largest of the Philippine Islands. Brigadier-General Albert M. Jones commanded the forces in south-eastern Luzon, and successfully withdrew them to unite with MacArthur's northern army for the transfer to Bataan. He was personally invested by MacArthur with the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism.

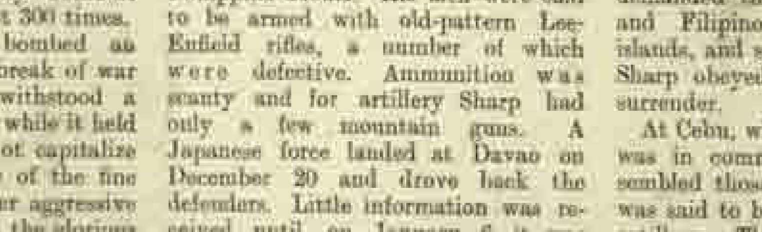
Photos "New York Times"; Pictorial Press

Mindanao, second largest of the group, had been attacked by air on December 8, 1941, when bombs were dropped on Davao. The American commander here was Major-General W. F. Sharp, with a force of about 20,000 Filipinos and two companies of Philippine Scouts. His men were said to be armed with old-pattern Lee-Enfield rifles, a number of which were defective. Ammunition was scanty and for artillery Sharp had only a few mountain guns. A Japanese force landed at Davao on December 20 and drove back the defenders. Little information was received until, on January 6, it was learnt that U.S. heavy bombers had sunk a destroyer off Davao and scored three direct hits on an enemy battleship. Then on the 20th fighting was reported between the invaders and General Sharp's forces about 25 miles north of Davao.

Enemy troops landed from four transports at Zamboanga (at the western tip of Mindanao) on March 1, and warships shelled Bugo. Three weeks later (21st) American and Filipino troops made a surprise attack and inflicted many casualties on the enemy with little loss to themselves. A daring raid on the 25th penetrated to within a mile of Zamboanga, and there were local clashes at Digos. Such raids went on during the following weeks, with skirmishes near Zamboanga, Digos and Moncaya in mid-April. On the 15th there was the splendid feat by Fortress and other American bombers (referred to earlier) which flew from Australia to attack enemy shipping at Davao and other places in the islands. More of the enemy landed at the end of April, at Cotabato and Parang.

As a condition of the cease-fire at Corregidor on May 6 the Japanese demanded the surrender of American and Filipino troops on the other islands, and so far as is known General Sharp obeyed Wainwright's orders to surrender.

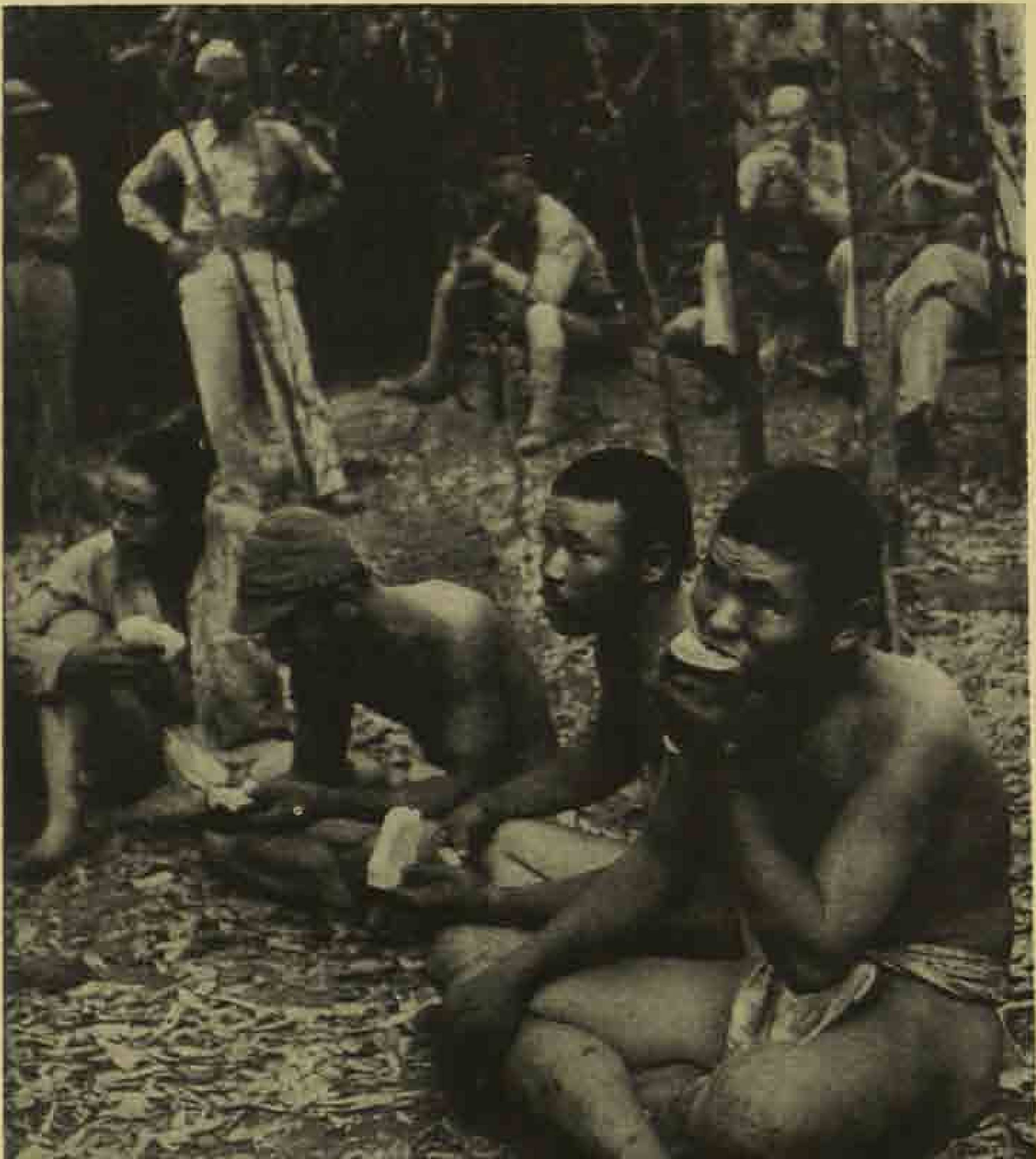
At Cebu, where Colonel I. C. Scudder was in command, the conditions resembled those in Mindanao, but there was said to be little equipment and no artillery. The first landing was made on April 10, when the enemy was supported by warships and dive-bombers and sent tanks ashore with his troops. The island had been shelled by a Japanese warship on March 1. Despite a fierce resistance for some days Cebu fell into enemy hands on April 18. On May 22, in reprisal for guerilla activities, the Japanese burnt the city. Panay Island was invaded on April 17, when landings were effected at Iloilo and Capiz. At Mindoro Island a small force of Japanese landed with tanks near Calahan on March 7, while a warship shelled other places.



No army has ever done so much with so little and nothing became it more than its last hour of trial and agony. To the weeping Mothers of its dead I can only say that the sacrifice and halo of Jesus of Nazareth has descended upon their sons and that God will take them unto himself

MACARTHUR'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEN

He would have preferred to stay on Bataan till the last, but was called away to become C.-in-C. in the S.W. Pacific. In this poignant tribute, in his own hand, he also wrote "The Bataan Force went out as it would have wished, fighting to the end."



JAPANESE CAPTURED IN THE BATAAN BATTLES

They were given food from the scanty supplies available for the American and Filipino troops and are obviously in fine condition, despite the customary Japanese diet of fish, rice and vegetables. Many conclusions might be drawn from this photograph, but at least it offers evidence of the tough task before the United Nations in the Pacific—against primitive people such as these, to whom hardship and short commons are natural.

Photo, Keystone





BRIEF RESPITE ON CORREGIDOR

During intervals between the frequent air attacks on Fort Mills, Corregidor, this sergeant of U.S. Marines (right) teaches his Filipinos the mechanism of a Lewis gun. The story of the Philippine campaign brings out clearly the loyalty, camaraderie and fine spirit of the islanders, who fought bravely and gallantly under their American commanders. Roughly four-fifths of the Bataan troops were Filipinos. Left, a U.S. Army dispatch rider takes a nap beside his mount, his machine-gun across his body.

Photos, Keystone; Pictorial Press